THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

II-4. 3.

PRINTED BY DAVID J. CLARK,
23 ROYAL EXCHANGE SQUARE, AND
92 UNION STREET,
GLASGOW.

THE CASE

FOR

TARIFF REFORM.

Being a Series of Addresses on the Fiscal Question—combined and enlarged. ::

BY

J. ROBERTSON WATSON, M.A.

LONDON:
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & CO., LTD.
GLASGOW:
JOHN SMITH & SON (Glasgow) LTD.,
19 RENFIELD STREET.
1909.

All rights reserved.

NATIONAL UNIONIST ASSOCIATION
REFERENCE AND
25 NOV. 1920
POLITICAL-LIBRARY

HF
2046
W33 e

PREFACE TO PUBLIC EDITION.

The General Election being now upon us I have pleasure in issuing this volume in Public Edition at a price within the reach of all.

In doing so, allow me to thank my numerous friends for the very handsome reception they have given to it in its Private Edition.

J. R. W.

Anderson's College,
Glasgow, November, 1909.

DEC 16 40 LIBRARY SETS
HARDING
379703

PREFACE TO PRIVATE EDITION.

DEAR SIR,

I am not quite sure that an apology is needed—in view of all that still remains to be done for Tariff Reform in the country, but in any case mine is quickly made.

On the 10th of November, 1903, I happened to give an address on *The Absurdity of Free Trade* in the Camlachie Institute, Glasgow, and a brief report of this having appeared in the newspapers, I received, a few days afterwards, a letter from a stranger asking if I would be good enough to publish the address in full at his expense.

It seemed a little ungracious to return a mere blank to such a courtesy, and in a moment of expansion I wrote back declining one part of the kindness, but agreeing to meet the other.

As I had delivered the Institute address from notes only I was compelled in this innocent way to take up my pen and—& I'm afraid that's what did it. What I wrote I sent almost immediately to press, but I hadn't written very far before I resolved that what I wrote should be as complete and final as I knew how to make it. I therefore began expatiating and expanding, (in my flowery way,) as I moved along, and kneading into the growing amalgam the materials of the various fiscal addresses which I have from time to time delivered up and down the country.

In the result, of course, I am guilty of a thousand imperfections : many of them quite incurable : but if you think in looking over my humble effort (and that after all is the thing that matters) that it will help in advancing that great cause which has become now with such appalling suddenness one of National and Imperial existence, I shall feel obliged if you will make its appearance known as widely, and, in view of an early General Election, as quickly as possible.

I am,

Yours respectfully,

J. ROBERTSON WATSON.

12 MUIRYFAULD DRIVE,
PARKHEAD, GLASGOW.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

PAGES 1—117.

INTRODUCTORY.—A fair hearing, p. 1.—Our familiarity with Protection, p. 3.—The Protectionist a Free Trader, p. 8.—The Free Trader a Protectionist, p. 26.—The whole and sole point of difference, p. 28.

THE PURCHASE OF FOREIGN CHEAP GOODS.—Measure of Cheapness, p. 32.—Causes of Cheapness:—Foreign Bounties, p. 50.—Home Bounties:—Differential Railway Rates, p. 56,—Bounty of Cheap Coal, p. 58.—The Royalty Argument, p. 61.—Bounty of the Open Market, p. 63.—Inequality of Conditions, p. 69.—Nature of Goods:—Vital Industries, p. 79.

THE PAYMENT OF FOREIGN CHEAP GOODS.—Reciprocity, p. 88.—The Illusion that Free Importation is a Good-in-itself, p. 91.—Opinions of Prominent Free Traders on the Payment of Imports, p. 99.—The Free Trade Syllogism, p, 113:—The Imports are Paid for, p. 114.—They are not paid for by Gold, p. 116, (see p. 586.)—Therefore they are paid for by British Goods, p. 117.

PART II.

PAGES 118—405.

WHAT GOODS?—Enormous Increase of Goods for which we pay, p. 118.—Enormous Increase in Manufactured Portion of these, p. 119.—Difficulties which the Foreigner puts in the way of Payment, p. 120.—Change in the Character of our Payment, p. 123.

(THE RAMIFICATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE.—A reply to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, p. 128.)—Resumption of Argument, p. 193.

DIMINISHING INDUSTRIES.—Agriculture, p. 205.—Silk, p. 206.—Linen, p. 210.—Lace, p. 212.—Woollens, p. 212.—Cottons, p. 214.—Glass, p. 220.—Earthenware and China, p, 225.—Cement, p. 226.—Straw Hats, p. 227.—Gloves, p. 228.—Musical Instruments, p. 228.—Boots, p. 230.—Hosiery p. 232.—Chemicals, p. 234.—Furniture, p. 235.—Jewellery, p. 235.—Stationery, p. 236.—Sugar, p. 237.—Toys and Games, p. 239.—Jute,

p. 240.—Iron, p. 241.—Granite, p. 244.—Hoops, p. 247.—Hops, p. 247.—Raw Hides and Leather, p. 248.—Milling, p. 251.—Tin, p. 252.—Haberdashery, p. 253.—Cutlery and Hardware, p. 253.—Soap, p. 254.—Figures that speak for themselves, p. 256.—An Ambulance Waggon, p. 258.

INDIFFERENCE ON THE PART OF THE FREE TRADER and its cause.—If one Industrial Door shuts another opens, p. 259.—A Profound Joke to the convinced Free Trader, p. 261.—'It is so little that we ask of the Blockhead,' p. 262.—'You say they drift!—But how and where?' p. 265.—The Dirt-easiest of the Sciences, p. 266.—The Physiology of Commerce, p. 267. A common or garden Directory, p. 268.—'God knows they dont lack for Illustrations,' p. 271.—The same men came back from starvation, p. 274.

INCREASING INDUSTRIES.—The Free Trader triumphantly right, p. 275.—List of British Exports which have increased, p. 276.—Nothing in the whole range of Political Economy more delightfully delightful, p. 278.—'We have misconceived our National Genius and misapplied our National Energies,' p. 283.

Machinery.—The Export has its less fascinating aspect, p. 285.—Japanese Statistics, p. 288.—The Seven Shakespearean Stages:—The Machinery Exports go bounding up, p. 290.—The markets begin to fail us to which the Machinery goes, p. 291.—The English-Machinery-equipped countries begin to invade and capture the surrounding markets, p. 294.—They begin to invade and capture the Home Market, p. 295.—They begin to make their own Machinery, p. 297.—Our Machinery Exports follow the brilliant lead of the Textiles, p. 298.—In the end they make the Machinery so much better that we have to import it, p. 299.

Shipbuilding and Shipping.—"United States as terrible example," p. 303.—"Made in Germany," p. 305.—Growth of German Sea-Shipping, p. 306.—Foreign Seamen in British Ships, p. 312.—An illustration from the past, p. 313.—"Our huge Shipping Trade lives on Coal," p. 319.—And Importing Manufactures, p. 320.—Naval supremacy of the World attained under Protection, p. 324.—"How British Shipping is handicapped," p. 330.—Leading Articles, *Glasgow Daily Record* and *Glasgow Herald*, p. 332.—Tubs and Tubs, p. 337.

Coal.—Majestic Increase in our Exports, p. 339.—"A highly manufactured article," p. 350.—Our Coal Resources, p. 352.—The Royal Commission's Report, p. 356.—Mr. Morley at Dumfries, p. 358.

(SPEECH TO NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM MINERS ON DOUBLING THE COAL TAX, p. 361.)—Resumption of the Argument, p. 400.

PART III.

Pages 406—602.

WHY GOODS?—The full Free Trade Argument, p. 407.—Analysis of Exchange, p. 415.—'What is merely automatic and necessary,' p. 423.

THE SCIENTIFIC BEGINNING OF THE FREE TRADE END.—Germany and Naval Secrets, p. 426.—Illustrious Income-Tax Payers, p. 430. A strange statement from America, p. 432. The Tale of Farmer Hicks, p. 433. The Stately Homes of England, p. 458.—The American Heiress, p. 467. Germans and Welsh Coal, p. 470.—An English Surgeon, p. 479.—The Economic Splendour of Free Trade, p. 492. An Economic Detective, p. 500. British Securities purchased by Foreigners, p. 507.

THE FREE TRADE COUNTER.—Our super-abounding, ever-increasing wealth, p. 510.—The ordinary Protectionist Reply, p. 515. The non-need for such, p. 520. 'Imagine a Manufacturer,' p. 522.—Why shouldn't our Wealth increase? p. 524.—Loch Katrine, p. 538.

ANNUAL MILLIONS OF ACKNOWLEDGED LOSSES. Drainage and Sewage, p. 540.—Waste of Coal, p. 541.—Fire Losses, p. 544. Marine Losses, p. 545.—Naval and Military Waste, p. 546.—Industrial Casualties, p. 550.—Strikes and Lock-outs, p. 551. Unemployment, p. 552. Emigration, p. 556.—Liquidation, p. 558. Mis-Employment, p. 559.—'Have you forgotten Mr. Spender?' p. 568.—Another drowning method of clutching at the elusive Straw, p. 568.—An unconvinced and final Free Trader, p. 569.

GOOD MORROW, GOOD JONATHAN!—'Now in the event of my agreeing to admit these Agricultural Instruments, how do you propose to have them paid for?' p. 570.

IN SUMMATION.—Wealth: Current and Accumulated, p. 579.—'Now if you happen to be a very poor man,' p. 580. The Stupendous Absurdity of our present Free Trade Position, p. 583. A Blank Lien upon our British Wealth p. 585.—A little Joke in passing, p. 587.

OUR VILLAGE. 'The case for Mr. Chamberlain's Preference in a little Wooden Parable,' p. 588.

AN ARGUMENTATIVE OMISSION MADE GOOD.—Interest on Foreign Investments, p. 595. How the Great Big Fool Protectionist Nations do about the Annual Interest which is owing to them by the Foreigner, p. 597.—"From Great Britain we take chiefly Raw Material and half-finished Goods for our Manufacture," p. 600.

PART IV.

Pages 602—917.

THE COSMOPOLITAN ARGUMENT.—p. 602.

THE ACADEMIC ARGUMENT.—p. 604

THE GREAT TROUBLE ARGUMENT.– p. 605.

THE GREAT PIKE ARGUMENT.—p. 606.—Serving Mammon with the most up-to-date zeal, p. 607.—"There never was a time when we more needed Free Trade than we did now." Mr. Haldane at Westminster, p. 609.

THE UNEMPLOYED ARGUMENT.—p. 609.—The Labour Party's Position a particularly lame one, p. 610.—Unemployment in Germany and the United States. A reply to Mr. Asquith from Mr. Ellis Barker, p. 611.—Why does Germany no longer fear France? p. 615.—The Problem of the Unemployed can never be solved on Free Trade lines of Industrial Policy, p. 616.

THE GREAT EXPECTATIONS ARGUMENT.—p. 616.—'What are we going to get from the Colonies in return? They aren't going to give us Free Trade,' p. 616.—The Price which a young Empire has to pay for its Growth, p. 617. —A wiser and deeper Economy lying still in the background, p. 619.— When will Free Traders learn that Free Trade is only for the Strong? p. 620.—What are those National Assets by which we hope to retain our Industrial Greatness under Free Trade? p. 623.

THE DOCTRINAIRE ARGUMENT.—p. 625.—'Here are some Goods, see! Woollens they seem to be,' p. 626.—The classical sequence of Free Trade, p. 626.— 'If every ounce of Coal that lies beneath the soil of England lay on its Surface,' p. 627.—An Exaggerative Fallacy of Geographical Orientation, p. 628.— Civil Industrial War, 628.—British Gum the best of all British Lubricants, p. 630.—"March of the Upper Unemployed to the East End," p. 635.—A Criminal Eternity of Cosmopolitan Waste, p. 637.

THE GREAT MUTILATION OR AGONY ARGUMENT.—p. 638.—'Foreign Nations, forsooth, who injure us by their Tariffs, do also injure themselves!' p. 639, —Tariff Wars, p. 640.—We take all the kicks and refuse the happy coppers, p. 641.—The Most Favoured Nation Treatment, p. 641.—'If I am tramping on another man's corns,' p. 643.—A delightful other calm assumption, p. 644. —"We do not like Mr. Chamberlain's Proposition." New York Press, p. 645.—Why not take some country and try? p. 646.

THE CONSUMERS' ARGUMENT.—p. 646.—Three Preliminary Propositions, p. 647.—(1) In imposing a Tax upon Foreign Goods a Nation as a Nation stands to lose nothing, p. 649. (2) In imposing a Tax on Foreign Goods a Nation in reality stands to gain, p. 654. (3) 'Not a single British Import but has come under the Devil's harrow,' p. 667.—'Every one of us is a Consumer.' Duke of Devonshire at the Guildhall, p. 671.—Motor Cars, p. 673.— Silk (Warner's Estimate), p. 678.—Lace, Embroidery, etc., p. 683.—Difficulty of stopping on the inclined plane, p. 688.—Cottons and Woollens, p. 689.— (How a Working Man's Income is spent, p. 691.—How Masons, Miners, etc., would benefit under Protection, p. 693.—The Incidence of an Import Tax, p. 694. (see p. 914).—The Principle of Internal Competition, p. 704.—Cheapness the best Commercial Policy, p. 709.)—Boots, p. 711.—Fuel and Lighting: p. 713.—Paper, p. 713.—House Plenishing: p. 715.—Crockery, p. 716.—

Rent :—Cost of Erecting a Modern Glasgow Working-class Tenement, p. 717.—Operative Joiners in Glasgow District, Excerpt from Bye-Law No. 12, p. 719.—Food :—Food Taxation under Free Trade and Protection, p. 725.—Flour, p. 725.—Conversion of 'Offal' into Bacon, p. 728.—Milling in Germany, p. 729.—Wheat, p. 730.—Boston Harbour and Yorktown, p. 735.—The Viscount Goschen's Fallacy, p. 736.—An extraordinary Paradox, p. 737.—The proposed Preferential would increase our trade in a delightfully easy way, p. 739.—'The cost of the Working Man's living not to be raised.' p. 740.—Giving the case for Tariff Reform completely away, p. 741.

THE TRUST ARGUMENT.—p. 748.—British Combines, p. 749.—The International Trust, p. 753.—A beautiful really and worshipful Principle, p. 756.

THE GREAT RATE PER HEAD PER ASS ARGUMENT.—p. 757.—The Law of the Rate per Head, p. 765.—Three little Sums in Proportion, p. 767.

THE LORD CROMER ARGUMENT.—p. 768.

THE PURITY OF PARLIAMENT ARGUMENT.—p. 769.—The subtle innuendo which underlies the argument, p. 770.—Low grade American Oils, p. 770.—Automatic Coupling, p. 771.—Irish Land Purchase, p. 772.—A master Solomon Stroke, p. 775.—A Wild Awakening for our Children's Children, p. 779.

THE GREAT HISTORICAL ARGUMENT.—p. 780.—A feminine shriek, p. 781.—Repeal made little difference in the price of bread, p. 782.—Mr. Gladstone gives "Facts that cannot be denied," p. 787.—The Experience of Germany under duty-free Wheat, p. 790.—The Great International Steeplechase.—Great Britain's Incommensurable Start, p. 792.—"A World's Metropolis, a Treasure-house of all great Capital, a Banking Establishment for all Nations," p. 799.—Another Incommensurable Augmentation, p. 800.—Table of Freights, p. 802.—"The Enormous and Crushing Advantage of Free Trade," p. 803.—Ruin and Havoc wrought by Protection, p. 804.—Germany at the start of the Steeplechase, p. 812.—The Result as it strikes an American Writer, p. 814.—The Result as it strikes a German Writer, p. 816.—The Result as it strikes an English Writer, p. 817.—Facts and Figures: Comparative Population, Income Tax Test, Coal Production, Exports, etc., p. 818.—The most critical and decisive Industrial Cup Test Race of the Series, p. 821.—A Free Trade Historian on the Development of English Industry, p. 826.—"Half a Century's start in front of the Nations of Europe," p. 828.—"Germany's Progress under Protection has been steady, continuous and rapid," p. 830.—But wouldn't Germany have done better under Free Trade?—Effect of Free Trade Policy in Germany, p. 835.—Letter of Bismarck to Minister of Finance in 1880, p. 837.—Effective Causes of British post-Corn-Law-Repeal Prosperity, p. 839.—Railway activity in 1845-1846, p. 840.—Table of Tariffs in existence up to 1860, p. 843.—Increase of Exports between 1850 and 1860, p. 851.—A Free Trade Prophecy and a Free Trade Reply, p. 853.—Thiosulphate of Sodium in

dressing them, p. 854.—Woollen Industry. A Heavy Loss." Record, p. 857.—The Lesson that explains our past Low Wages. Prospects, amazing at first and then becoming closer and closer, p. 858.—"Germany derives her Industrial Strength largely from Free Trade England." Prof. Schulze-Gaevernitz, p. 862.—Land Reform and the Defence of the Empire, p. 864.

CONCLUSION. p. 867.—A Conversation of Pamphleteers and their Only Talk to Operatives in Bristol, p. 867.—The Export Duty on Coal, p. 867.—The Colonial Premiers Are invited to a Conference, p. 870.—Mr. Lloyd George and the Patents Act, p. 872.—The Great Hop Agitation, p. 875.—The Sugar Conventions.—"Time, Grave and Serious Charge against the Action of the Liberal Government," p. 877.—The Irish Devolution Bill, p. 877.—Small Holdings Bill, p. 878.—The Veto of the House of Lords, p. 880.—Chinese Labour on the Rand, p. 881.—'What have you to sell? Votes?' 'What is your price?' p. 883.—Convincing the Inconvertible, p. 885.—A thoroughly characteristic irresistible British Argument, p. 885.—"The West of Scotland Reciprocity Association, 1849," p. 886.—'To whom, or to what, do we owe Free Trade?' p. 887.—'What indeed a Spectacle for the poor future English Historian!' p. 891.—'If we owe our prosperity to Free Trade how comes it to pass that no other Nation credits the Astounding Fact?' p. 892.—Foreign Nations' anxiety that we should cling to the system that has brought us so much Wealth and Glory, p. 896.—What it is the Free Trader asks us to believe, p. 897.—Employing the Negation of Free Trade as a counter in Negotiation, p. 899.—Entering the Industrial Lists equally handicapped with our Rivals, p. 900.—Results of the New Patents Law, p. 901.—Why not give Tariff Reform a Moderate Trial? p. 905.—A Commission of Experts, p. 907.—'What we owe in double share to any power in Science,' p. 909.—The Colonies of Great Britain afford to get Ruined, p. 909.—A Lugubrious Prognostication, p. 911.—Tariff Changes, p. 911.—A Nation that is fit for anything, p. 913.

Appendix. p. 914.—Pictures and Truths, p. 914.—Do Import Duties raise Prices? p. 914.—Effect of Patents Law, p. 917.

THE CASE

FOR

TARIFF REFORM.

I.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

A few weeks ago, Mr. Chamberlain came to Glasgow as a Missionary of Empire.

I come to-night to this Institute

AS A HUMBLE MISSIONARY

on behalf of Mr. Chamberlain's far-seeing fiscal policy.

I dont merely endorse or homologate that policy. I can with pleasure subscribe myself, like Sir A. Conan Doyle did the other day, one of its whole-hearted enthusiastic devotees.

Now in laying my views before you, to-night, I desire to ask for your kindly co-operation.

I must necessarily ask, in the first place, for your utmost attention and patience.

I *might* even ask for a little of your confidence. I do not pretend, of course, to know this fiscal affair as well as it can be known, but I do pretend, and I am happy to feel that I can say it without the least violation of modesty, I do pretend to know it as well as many men who are posing before the world, at the present moment, as great fiscal authorities.

I pretend to know it, *e.g.*, fully as well, (to put it mildly,) as Mr. Asquith, or Lord Rosebery, or even as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

I ask finally for your sympathy. I wish you to believe that I am very much in earnest: that this great question of Fiscal Reform and the Confederation of the British Empire has touched the well-springs of my Scottish heart.

I WISH TO BE THOROUGHLY FAIR WITH YOU,

and perfectly frank. I desire you to probe me with every fiscal question that can conceivably occur to you. And, one by one, I will answer your questions faithfully, or confess that I cannot do so. I desire to hide nothing from you. I wish to give you the truth of this fiscal affair, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as it presents itself to my mind and as far as my time will allow.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, if I am to speak with sincerity to-night I have a right to expect a little free-trade reciprocity in that virtue on the part of my audience.

If I am to reason with you,

YOU MUST BE RATIONAL.

If I am going to lay my common-sense, like a foot-rule, over against your common-sense, you are not to begin by flinging yours out of the window. If I am to speak to-night out of the fulness of my heart, am I not entitled to ask that you should lay aside every barrier of old-time prejudice and give me free access into yours?

I do bespeak for my ideas not a friendly but a fair hearing.

Consider them critically. Test them by every power and principle at your disposal. Examine them to-morrow in the common light of common day. Talk over them with your fellow

workmen. Sleep over them. Dream over them. Drink over them if you must. Pray over them if you will. But, in any case, and come what may,

GET TO THE BOTTOM OF THEM.

And if, in the end, you come to believe, as I believe, that they contain the essential truth, then I will expect, and your country will have a right to expect something of you.

I will expect you to act up to that truth, to speak up to that truth, as I am trying now myself to do, and when the time comes, laying aside all personal interest and all party bias, and looking only to the national interest, I will expect you to

Vote up to that Truth.

II.

Now, in setting out my argument,

The First Point

I wish to make is this.

Many (otherwise sane) people, so far from listening to a word in favour of Protection, seem morally incapable of listening respectfully to the word itself. It is to them like a red rag to a red bull, or the offer of strong drink to a rabid prohibitionist. They will peremptorily none of it. They will neither touch, taste, smell, handle, nor hearken to, the accursed thing.

They are, as they love to call themselves, *convinced* Free Traders.

Their hearts are filled to overflowing with the honest ignorant belief that, in Free Trade Britain, we inhabit a kind of fiscal paradise, flowing with milk and honey, which is happily free from the nameless horrors that run riot in Protectionist Lands. And they are never weary in proclaiming from the house-tops that, if ever this old country is foolish enough to change its fiscal policy, it will forthwith embark upon an inclined plane, certain in the sequel to prove as slippery as a sheet of lubricated lightning, down which it will roll and run with ever increasing acceleration to the bottomless pit of economical perdition.

Well, as to this extraordinary condition of mind, the best that I can do is to repeat to you a story, told in one of the November magazines by Millicent Garrett Fawcett,

OF AN OLD LADY IN THE HEART OF CAPE COLONY,

who, on hearing of the terms of the Peace of Vereeniging, burst into tears, and, like Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted.

"How can I endure," she exclaimed, "to live under British rule?"—innocent of the fact that she had never lived under any other.

So with these political old women (and they include many honourable and even right honourable gentlemen.)

It never appears to have dawned through

THE TERRIFIED SKYLIGHTS

of their imagination that they and we and all of us who live in this paradise of Free Trade are familiar, and have been from childhood, with the economical extortions and horrors of Protectionist Lands.

What is Protection?

The essence of Protection is, for one reason or another, to screen an industry from foreign competition.

Well, but try to think how many professions and industries are already so screened.

I am a teacher and a public analyst. I am a member, therefore, of two highly protected professions.

Medical men, ministers, lawyers,

(INCLUDING MR. ASQUITH,)

all belong to highly protected professions. Especially lawyers.

Haberdashers, Greengrocers, Butchers, Bakers and Barbers, all enjoy the delightful boon of being immune from foreign competition. You hear, every day, of the Germans dumping steel on our markets, but no hairdresser has ever complained of them dumping down workmen's weekly shaves at three-farthings a piece.

Speaking at Leicester, the other day, Lord Rosebery, (amplifying the agony of one of his pithless points,) said: "I

will now give you a little homely illustration which may appeal to Mr. Chamberlain himself. I have got a son who is standing for a constituency in Scotland.

HE HAS NEVER MADE A SPEECH IN HIS LIFE."

(*The Times* has remarked that Lord Rosebery is never so entertaining as when he is least aware of it.) Well, when you come to think of this young sprig of nobility, who "has never made a speech in his life," standing for a constituency which was held, a few years ago, by the greatest orator of his age you will have no difficulty in nominating another to the list of Protected Trades.

As a matter of fact their name is legion. Masons and Bricklayers, Plumbers and Plasterers, Miners and Quarrymen, Bank Clerks and Tramway Guards, Railway Porters and Policemen, Costers, Carters, Chimney Sweeps and Crossing Sweepers are all in the lucky position of being members of highly protected callings. They are all screened from foreign competition.

In a word, in this Free Trade country of ours, you cannot buy

A COOKIE IN A BAKER'S SHOP,

you cannot take out a week-end ticket to the coast, you cannot solace your leisure by the purchase of a ha'penny newspaper, but you experience all the pangs of that Rapine, Plunder, and Extortion, which grind the unhappy victims to dust who inhabit Protectionist Lands.

But now I will tell you

AN INDUSTRY THAT IS NOT PROTECTED,

—Bootmaking.

The American cannot send Loaves of Bread across the Herring Pond, because they would get a little stale on the way, but he is sending thousands of pairs of boots every other day, and more and more every year.

Now I frankly admit, of course, that it may be utterly absurd, —in fact, a sign of political insanity, and subversive of every principle of common justice, to think of placing the Bootmaker on the same platform of fiscal equality with the Baker. But surely, in any case, the suggestion to do so might be discussed with philosophic calm, with something of scientific

precision, and something surely of that dissolving insight and far width of horizon that we associate instinctively with statesmanship.*

Certainly, there is no earthly reason, that I can think of, that it should send us, like a parcel of silly children frightened of the Bogie man, into screaming (I wish I could say speechless) hysterics.

Now before I leave this point perhaps you will allow me to make

Two Observations.

(1) You must always bear in mind that, in screening an industry from foreign competition, you do not thereby screen it from *all competition*. On the contrary, you leave it completely exposed to the full tempest of Home Competition, which, in all conscience, (many people think) is about as much in the way of competition as a man can reasonably want.

IN ANY CASE, MR. HAROLD COX THINKS SO.

Thus, in his reply to Mr. Balfour's "Insular Free Trade," he says:

> "Does Mr. Balfour really imagine that competition "exists only between manufacturers when they belong "to different countries? Is he really unaware that the "keenest competition from which every manufacturer "suffers is the competition of the man in the same "street?"

Mr. Cox, you see, falls an easy victim to that divine dispensation which compels, against his will, even the Devil to promote the cause of Truth.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, if the competition of the man in the same street is so ferocious and relentless why this consuming desire to hound into the British Industrial Cockpit all the other innumerable men in all the other innumerable streets of the Habitable World!

* In one of his fiscal addresses Mr. Herbert Gladstone adjured his hearers 'to fight Protection as if it were the plague.'

(2) Free Traders, while deprecating supposed appeals to sectional interests on the part of Protectionists, are not slow to cast an otter in the same waters when they can. Their solicitude about the poor people who have fixed incomes is heartrending. They never make a speech but they make a plaintive appeal to these unfortunates.

EVEN LORD ROSEBERY IS NOT ABOVE POACHING IN THESE WATERS.

He was wondering, the other day, e.g.,

> "how this policy will suit the very large and not
> "very opulent classes which have strictly fixed incomes,—
> "the clergy, the clerks, the Government employees of all
> "kinds, etc.".

Well, the crushing reply which I make to this extraordinary line of argument is, that, as a Protectionist, I desire to give to the people engaged in those industries, which, exposed, at home, to the withering attack of the World's Competition, have to wage an unceasing and hopeless struggle against ever-heightening tariffs abroad, to give to them something of the same fixity of income that is enjoyed by "the very large and not very opulent classes, (sic) the clergy, the clerks, the Government employees of all kinds," (including Government pensioners like Lord Rosebery himself and his adjutant Mr. Asquith,)—and to give to the capital sunk in these industries, something of the same security that is enjoyed by the capital of hundreds and thousands of those home-protected traders, manufacturers, mine-owners, and employers generally, who most loudly laud the Virtues of Free Trade and hysterically denounce the cruel and impious suggestion that their less fortunate industrial brethren should be admitted to any sort of fiscal equality with themselves.

III.

That, Ladies and Gentlemen, concludes my First Point,—my first move, so to say, on the chessboard of the Fiscal Debate.

I Pass to my Second.

The Free Trader, as I have said, will have nothing whatever to do with Protection in any shape or form. He would sooner truck with the Devil or blaspheme Heaven.

The Protectionist is far more generous.

The Protectionist believes in Free Trade.

Every Protectionist writer in the world, every Protectionist speaker in the world, waxes eloquent in its praise, and, better still, **every Protectionist Country in the world practises Free Trade**

Up to a Certain Point.

There is, e.g.,

Free Internal Trade

between the States of the American Union, between the Kingdoms of Modern Germany, between the Provinces of France, just as there is Internal Free Trade between the Counties of England or the Countries that compose the United Kingdom.

To some of you this may appear an idle observation—a mere beating of the fiscal wind. But that merely indicates your ignorance.

In England, at one time, there was no such thing as Internal Free Trade.

In Henry VIII.'s reign, e.g., a monopoly was granted to Bridport in Dorsetshire, "for the making of cables, hawsers, ropes, and all other tackling," *its citizens having complained that the town "was like to be utterly decayed" owing to the competition of "the people of the adjacent parts."* In the same reign, Worcester, Kidderminster, Evesham, Droitwich, and Bromsgrove having complained that "*divers persons dwelling in the hamlets, thorps, and villages of the county, made all manner of cloths and exercised shearing, fulling, and weaving within their own houses, to the great depopulation of the city and towns,*" had their prayers rewarded by the grant of a monopoly. Similarly York received a monopoly for the manufacture of coverlets and blanketings. And, later, in the reign of Edward VI., the manufacture of hats and coverlets was confined by statute to Norwich and the market towns of Norfolk.*

* Industrial History of England.—Gibbins.

Moreover, not only were the crafts restricted in this way, *the very craftsmen themselves* suffered, for long, under similar disabilities, "*the law of settlement effectually preventing the migration of labourers from one parish to another.*"

Now every body can see how the abolition of all such internal restrictions upon industry must enormously enhance the prosperity of a nation, and, *equally with the Free Trader, the Protectionist believes in their abolition.*

Why do I accentuate this point? Because the Free Trader forgets it. When the rapid prosperity of Germany and the United States is pressed upon his attention, what device more common than for the Cobdenite apologist to insinuate that that prosperity is due to the Internal Free Trade between the Kingdoms of the one and the States of the other!

Ladies and Gentlemen, there never was a more childish appropriation.

All the prosperity that can be attributed in any country to the operation of Internal Free Trade can be claimed with precisely the same right and precisely the same justice by the Protectionist as by the Free Trader; nay, I should be inclined to say, with more right and with greater justice, because of the cardinal importance which the Protectionist ever attaches to the Home Market, and the security and development which he desiderates for the same.

But the Protectionist goes further. He believes not merely in Internal Free Trade. He believes in

External Free Trade

Up to a certain point.

He believes, e.g., in External Free Trade in all those products and commodities which cannot be raised or grown or manufactured in his own country.

Consider, for a moment, what Trade really is! As Henry George has strikingly pointed out, Trade is really an extension of the process of manufacture. Suppose, in this heaven-forsaken climate of ours, for one reason or another, we desire to adorn our persons with gold, cut fruit with ivory-handled knives, drink

tea, eat bananas, and play golf with rubber-cored balls. How can we accomplish our desire?

In two ways.

For the production of gold we might resume the study of the transmutation of metals where the old alchemists left off. For the production of ivory, tea, bananas, and indiarubber, we might convert an English County into a Crystal Palace and, by the application of subterranean fires, endeavour to reproduce those tropical or sub-tropical conditions in which the elephant and the tea plant delight.

But there is another and a simpler way. We can go, e.g., to the banks of Loch Lomond, where there is a perpetual overflow of soft water running down the Valley of the Leven, and, setting up Calico mills there, we can print Calico by the square mile and, having printed all that we want for the home market, we can run our stamps a few hours a day longer, and, packing up the overplus in bales, we can ship these, accompanied with boxes of rainbow beads, to the West Coast of Africa, the West Indies, or East of the Suez, and, spreading out our gay wares before the niggers and natives, we can say, 'Run into the woods and the wild haunts of the Elephant and bring us back gold and ivory and bananas and cocoa nuts and we will give you these pretty things in exchange,' and, passing the mouth of the Leven, as we return with our exchange-cargo in the hold of our ship we can, looking towards Ben Lomond and the smoking stacks of Alexandria, truthfully affirm that the stamps at work there are producing not only calico prints but gold and ivory and tea and bananas and indiarubber, as well.

That is Trade. And a beautiful, beneficent, economical invention it is, *when it is rightly understood and rightly practised.*

The Protectionist believes that the freer that kind of Trade is, the better.

But there is Another Kind of Trade,

which is not so beautiful, not so beneficent, and not so economical.

———o———

I went with my wife, the other day, to Mann Byars in the Trongate of Glasgow, to see her suited with a ready-made jacket.

The jacket cost four guineas; and after it had been in wear for a short time I casually learned that it had been *made in Germany*. Now, although I paid Mann Byars in Gold, the Free Trader assures me that the German was not paid in Gold, could not, in fact, be so paid, on account of the limited supply of that precious metal, but that he was paid in kind, with British Goods which were made with British Hands.

With British Goods! Well as about 60,000 tons a-week of British Coal are shipped from the Port of Glasgow, and as part of that goes to Hamburg, (not to speak of the coal that leaves for the Fatherland from our East Coast ports, Grangemouth, Bo'ness etc.,) I am certainly doing the Free Trade argument no injustice, (*because, in any case, the Free Trader would sanction the deal.*) if I equate these purchases, and submit that the German, in payment of my wife's jacket, received between eight and nine tons of British Coal.

Now I put it to your common sense in this way, and I appeal to you to give me, to give yourself, to give especially your country, an honest straightforward reply. **Can you, or can you not, detect any difference between these two types of Trade:**

(1) The exchange of calico prints, which you can manufacture in this country, weekly, by the square mile, for ivory, tea, cocoa, and indiarubber, which you cannot, by any means at your disposal, produce in this country at all, and

(2) The exchange of raw coal, which God alone can manufacture and which, therefore, you never *can* replace, for ready-made trumpery jackets, worn to-day and discarded to-morrow, which you can manufacture by the million as well as any other nation under the sun, and which you can manufacture even cheaper than the German, *if you elect to manufacture under German conditions?*

Well, Sir, the Free Trader recognises no distinction, whatever, between these two types of exchange. He goes further. *He declares that there is none.*

The Protectionist, on the other hand, affirms that *there is* a vital difference between the two. And while, in regard to the first, he is in favour of absolute Free Trade, he resolutely repudiates Free Trade, in the case of the latter. He goes further.

He challenges the right of any Government, pretending to conserve the vital interests of the Commonwealth, *in its present and in its future*, to promote the unrestricted development of the latter.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

What do *You* Think of it All?

It is Lord Rosebery enquires.

Luckily, we are in no doubt as to what his Lordship thinks. He thinks it splendid. And, therefore, at last, like a noble Cincinnatus, he has forsaken his lonely furrow, and donned his rusty armour to defend the sacred right of the Coalmaster,

TO SELL THE KINGDOM'S BIRTHRIGHT FOR A MESS OF POTTAGE.

How do I know *this?* Because the young gentleman, his son, who never made a speech in his life, has already made a promise,—a significant promise, which you would do well to mark, learn, and inwardly digest, namely, (when he goes up into Parliament,) to repeal the export duty on coal (which I would double with delight to-morrow,) in order what for?—

TO FACILITATE ITS TRANSMUTATION INTO GERMAN TOYS AND WOOLLEN JACKETS!

Ladies and Gentlemen, this Repeal Question of the Coal Duty, for whose re-imposition, (for it was abolished only in the year 1850,) I honour the whole Conservative Party, is in itself a *vital* party issue, which you would do well to keep seriously in mind.

No doubt, Sir, the bottom idea of the Repealer is to placate the Coalmaster, who no doubt honestly believes that he receives German money in exchange for the irreplaceable British Coal. But the Coalmaster is honestly wrong. What he does receive, what he did receive, in the case that I have mentioned, for his eight tons of coal was *my money*, (my wife receiving in lieu of the same a German jacket.) But the party who should have received my money was not any Lanarkshire Coalmaster at all, but a Glasgow seamstress whose profit out of the whole transaction was more than likely a fortnight's idleness.

So that, from this point of view, the transaction, as it will appear in the National Ledger, to our great-grandchildren will run as follows :

Shipped to Hamburg, on the 15th Sept. 1903, by the s.s. Free Trade Folly, eight tons best Scotch Ell :

Received in payment,—a fortnight's unasked holiday for a Glasgow seamstress (no pay and everything else not found,) together with a notice in the windows of our warehouses to girls in quest of a situation :

'No mantle makers need apply. We buy all our mantles now and jackets ready-made. We find it cheaper.'

IV.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have brought you now round, at last, into

THE COCKPIT OF THE GREAT FISCAL DEBATE.

But before we join full and decisive issue there, perhaps you will permit me a further and finer adjustment of the Fiscal Lens in order that friend and foe of us alike, without excuse, may apprehend with unclouded clarity

THE PRECISE THICKNESS OF THE BRICK WALL WHICH DIVIDES US.

Controversies, as a rule, you know, collapse into everlasting silence as soon as the disputants come to know without prejudice what they are really controversing about.

Well, as I hope we have now seen, this great Fiscal Controversy is not, as so many people think it is, a dispute about two mutually exclusive Principles,—Free Trade versus Protection

Free Trader and Protectionist are alike Free Traders. They differ merely in the extent to which they carry into practice the Principle of Free Trade.

When a fool sits down in front of a bottle of whisky and, measuring his strength against its, in the end succumbs, we never think of faulting the whisky. The whisky may be the most excellent in the world, but the fool has carried his weakness for its excellence too far.

So with a sharp axe. A sharp axe, in the hands of a skilled workman, is an ideal principle for lopping, but in the hands of a child, (or a simpleton,) it is apt to go too far, lopping and chopping up everything, good, bad, and indifferent, that comes in its way, including the legs of your best piano, the child's own legs and toes, and, it may be, some other body's head as well.

So also with Free Trade. Free Trade, in the abstract, is an excellent Principle. Administered internally, it is an ideal tonic, and may be taken ad lib., and unreduced. But, for external application, it must be mixed with brains. Shaken up, in fact, with a little ordinary business common-sense and applied with discrimination.

THAT IS THE WHOLE POSITION OF THE PROTECTIONIST!

Protection, to the Protectionist, really means or includes or implies the scientific application of the underlying truth in the Principle of Free Trade. So that when I am billed, as I am billed to-night, to address you on "The *Absurdity* of Free Trade," you will readily understand that this is a mere **Decoy Title,** intended to flutter the feathers of the rabid Free Trader and lure him, in his anger, gently in to the House of Reason and the Means of Grace. In a word,

The Absurdity of Free Trade consists in carrying it Too Far.

You have, in point of fact, an admirable illustration of all that is implied in the Protectionist attitude, in what I may call the Principle of Free Locomotion. The liberty to move, when where and whithersoever, at will, belongs by natural right to every cart, cab, carriage, omnibus, and citizen, in the community, and, without distinction of person, (or vehicle,) every one's right is equal. But the free and unrestricted exercise, at the crowded crossings of our busy thoroughfares, of this universal liberty would lead to endlessly recurring street blocks and traffic jams, involving loss incalculable of time, temper, material wealth, and perhaps life itself, and, in any case, resulting in the negation and defeat of the very Principle itself. Out of this ever-impending Babel of Bad Language and supersaturated chaos of Waste, Danger, and Delay, the magic forefinger of the policeman evolves

a never-ending succession of civic harmony locomotive celerity and security. In fact, by a *perpetual negation* of the Principle itself of Free Locomotion, the policeman perpetually re-endows it with its own content, which it is ever on the eve of losing through the unrestricted excess of its own vitality.

So at the International Crossings of the Great Highways of Commerce, every powerful, self-conscious nation, (save one,) believes that a little regulation, restriction, negation of the Freedom of Trade does most effectively conduce to the realisation of the actual inner purpose and end and object of Trade itself.

AND THE TARIFF IS THE POLICEMAN.

These may be wise or foolish, (I mean both Tariff and Policeman,) efficient or non-effective, more or less necessary or unnecessary, but these considerations do not in any way imperil the abstract validity of the function which they have been invented to discharge.

Herein, precisely, indeed, lies the inexpugnability of the Scientific Protectionist's position against every assault of the Free Trader. Inconsequential and futile, e.g., above all things, is it that the latter should point to this or that limitation, this or that absurdity, in this or that Protectionist country.

His scientific adversary smiles:

'If I give to you, and describe to you, a strictly *scientific* 'instrument,' he says, 'capable of many modifications, susceptible 'of a thousand delicate adjustments, I am in no way, thereafter, 'responsible for the use to which a cow may put it, or the scien-'tific results which a gorilla may derive from it. If Justice is the 'theme, and its dispensation in even-handed measure to rich 'and poor alike, (and I suggest to you the inviolability of the 'English Bench,) or if I canvass the beneficent works which a 'civic corporation may carry out and carry on for the General 'Good, and cite the city of my birth to be my witness, I do not 'in any way see that it invalidates my argument if you elect to 'be governed by a Tammany Caucus or appoint a pig-tailed 'Mandarin to the Court of Assize.'

'But more, you have no earthly right to anticipate results 'which my instrument was never intended to accomplish, as

'when you point, with glee, to the fact that Protectionist coun-
'tries have an Unemployed Problem as well as we. No one
'doubts it. But what fool ever suggested that Protection, of
'itself, would solve the Social Problem? The telescope was
'never intended to take you to the moon. The best that it can
'do is to bring you a little nearer.'

V.

But not only are Free Traders and Protectionists alike Free Traders. They are in fundamental agreement upon two further vital issues; the first of which I give you as

My Third Point.

They are agreed upon the Principle that the interests of the Nation are and *must be* paramount, that merely sectional interests must give way to general interests, and subsidiary to vital.

I know very well, of course, that the *convinced* Free Trader hugs tight to his heart the delusion that *exactly the reverse* is true. I know that from a thousand political platforms, and ten thousand partisan lips, the blatant cry rends Heaven, That the whole end and aim of Protection is to bolster up decaying industries at the expense of the strong, to enrich the rich and make poorer the poor, to sacrifice the general interest of the consumer in order that a few manufacturers may reap an unjust profit.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen,

THAT PARROT CRY IS AN ARRANT FALSEHOOD.

An ignorant, stupid, mischievous untruth.

The whole raison d'etre, the whole and sole aim and end and object, the very life and being and breath of the very soul of Protection grounds on the quickening directive stimulus which it seeks to impart to the growth, development, organisation, and aggrandisement of the wealth, well-being, and power of the Nation

In its National Capacity.

Your myopic cosmopolitan doctrinaire will tell you, in fact,

that *therein* lies precisely Protection's weakness. I deny it. I believe with all my heart, with Lord Tennyson, that

"That man's the best cosmopolite
Who loves his native country best."

But be it so. What then? Why this, that the Free Trade Politician does not and *dare not* argue against Protection on the ground that it aggrandises the nation that adopts it, because he solicits the nation's suffrages on behalf of Free Trade *on a precisely similar ground.*

Protection, as a Principle, founds on the clear intellectual grasp of the organic indivisibility of a kingdom down to its least little part, a conception that appears to outleap the intellectual capacity of thousands of well-meaning people who try to debate this subject. It bases and builds up its whole economy upon the burning conviction of the identity of the whole with the part and of the part with the whole. It resents an injury to the least of its parts as you, the most highly organised being in the world, would resent an injury to your little toe. It sacrifices without a moment's hesitation, and with Nature's unerring instinct, the immediate for the ultimate, the day for the century, the interests, if need be, of *every consumer* in the land, (man, woman, and fresh-born babe,) for the interests of

UNTOLD KINGDOMS OF CONSUMERS THAT ARE YET TO BE BORN.

And it despises with all its heart, and a depth of intellectual contempt, which looks around in vain for expression, the flabby amoeboid village-pump-room particularism of the Free Importer that can stand idly by and see the organic industries of his motherland disembowelled before his eyes, lifting never so much as *one* little finger in defence of the common weal, but, on the contrary, every finger and toe that it has, and more if it well knew how, to applaud the crime, if so be it can point with pride to the very likely fact that some paltry section of the community, some jam boilers, some sour-drop confectioners, some biscuit tin-box manufacturers, (for the time being,) had thereby saved a sixpence.—Blind whelps, as they appear to the organic vision of the Protectionist, lapping with glee the oozing blood from the mortal wound of their stricken mother!

No, no, my Free Trade friends, when next you train your arms against Protection you must find a *truer* and a surer weapon.

Russia, believe me, never doubts for a moment, never dreams denying for a moment that some of her consumers may have to pay a little more for their cotton goods, as reckoned abstractly in abstract roubles of the realm, than if these goods were imported free from British looms. But what then? She has planted her industrial acorns. She is feeding them from the mole-eyed economic pigs that, taking no thought for to-morrow, would grub them up for the dinner of to-day. And with something of the leisure of the early gods she awaits the waving forests of oak.

But 'tis well. Having chosen with fervour (and fury) this line of attack, having hurled your boomerang harmlessly home, bear now, the best you can, its slashing recoil.

For this is precisely the Damning Charge

that is driven full-tilt against your own position, and which, in the deliberate opinion, (as expressed in their laws and institutions,) of every great state in the world, (save one,)

BLOWS EVERY BASTION BRICK OF IT INTO MARCH DUST.

The charge, namely, that **Free Trade itself,** and not Protection, is *par excellence* the doctrine of Economical Narrowness and Parochial Particularism, That *it*, and not Protection, it is that can see the vital interests of the whole submerged, in subserving the partial interests of the part.

For what conception could be punier, what doctrine more unphilosophic, what economical mistake **more essentially stupid** than the mistake of confusing the consumer,—of confounding the community, or a section of the community, or a section of a section of the community, (as in the case of foreign-motor-car or piano purchasers,) in its abstract capacity as an abstract consumer, with that same community in its full-blooded concrete capacity as a co-operative community of fellow citizens composing a Nation or a Great Empire?

If Free Trade, in this respect, is not a System of Sectionalism *in excelsis* the English language has no meaning for me.

Imagine a general, planning a campaign, and attempting to carry it out, under the hallucination that his foot soldiers would never get foot-sore, nor their hands weary, nor their stomachs empty!

Imagine a medical man so ignorant of physiology

THAT HE COULD SET ABOUT THE EXCISION OF HIS PATIENT'S LIVER

or his heart or his stomach with exactly the same insouciance (and expectation) as he would set about paring his patient's nails or cropping his patient's hair!

And yet the philosophy of the one and the science of the other are completely parallelled in the economic cult of the Convinced Free Trader; Who, to my mind, has neither philosophy nor science nor even common sense at the back of his head.

The Free Trader recognises absolutely no distinction whatever between an industry like that of agriculture and that of toy making, between the manufacture of steel and the manufacture of hairpins, and can witness the excision of the one from the national industries with the same economic pride and satisfaction as the other. And, miraculous to relate, (of one, mark you, who claims to have all the economical wisdom in the world), the Free Trader completely ignores in his philosophy the vital unity that men call the **Nation,** and all that national organisation and homogeneity and patriotic sentiment imply. I do not mean that he ignores it of purpose, if he did, he might still compete for a certificate in abstract logic, but even that small grace is denied to him. He argues and acts, *in pure ignorance of the fact* that the universal adoption of the Principle of Free Trade would

RECONSTRUCT THE ATLAS OF THE WORLD AS NO ARMAGEDDON EVER COULD,

that it would draw lines of demarcation there, altogether other than those magic lines that men call frontiers which race and language and long centuries of endearing struggle have already drawn and bequeathed to us as priceless heirlooms of the past.

THE ETERNAL COLLISION BETWEEN THESE BLOOD-BOUGHT BOUNDARIES,

and the racial force and fervour which they hoop and coop

together,) and those subtle ever-shifting boundaries which the free unrestricted play of economical forces would draw, if they were permitted,—

These are, in reality, the granite rocks and forces and world-profound instincts against which

THE FUTILE DOGMA OF FREE TRADE BREAKS LIKE A SPENT WAVE,

and I hope will for ever break in vain.

Once more I hear the myopic cosmopolitan urge that what I attribute to Free Trade as a crime is in reality its immortal glory.

DO NOT, MY QUAKER FRIEND, BE QUITE SO SURE.

I have thought this matter out, I hope, as deeply as you, and will be happy to debate the point with you some idle day under the auspices of some Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association. But I am dealing, in the meantime, with responsible statesmen, responsible for the destinies of their country, to-day, to-morrow, next month, next year, and with my fellow countrymen who are responsible to-day and to-morrow for their statesmen. I am dealing, moreover, with hundreds of thousands of Free Traders amongst them who constantly urge the necessity of a strong well-equipped army, and plump heart and soul for an invincible navy, and who, notwithstanding,

ARE GUILTY OF THE EXTRAORDINARY INCONSISTENCY

of endorsing at the same time a doctrine the unrestricted exercise of which would annihilate the very objects for the defence of which an army and a navy exist.

But in making *this* assertion you will tell me, I dare say, that I am calmly assuming the very point that is at issue.

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, perhaps I am, but it is because there is no longer to my mind any power or possibility of doubt or debate in the matter.

Has the harnessing of the Fall of Foyers determined a drift of workmen to its vicinity? Would the endowment of Suther-

landshire with a hundred Niagaras increase or diminish her population? Would an annual

AUTUMNAL RAIN OF FIRST-CLASS POTATOES IN PERTHSHIRE

increase or diminish the potato fields of Ayrshire? Would the discovery in Ross-shire of inexhaustible stores of ready-made pig iron blow out or blow in the blast furnaces of England? What earthly fool would debate such points?

Go read the Industrial History of your own country, and learn that before the period of the Industrial Revolution the chief manufacturing centres of England were in the East, (Norwich, etc.,) and in the West, (Bradford-on-Avon, Devizes, Warminster, Stroud, Taunton.)

Where is the Industrial Glory of these towns now?

"The vast majority of the industrial population is now found North of the Trent."

Why?

"Because the use of steam power in mills necessitated the liberal use of coal, and hence the factory districts are necessarily almost co-incident with the great coal-fields."

But these, you say, are intramural industrial changes. Prove to us that in national areas International Free Trade would provoke the same industrial migrations. Yes, but if you disbelieve in the circulation of the blood

IN WHAT ASYLUM WILL YOU FIND THE ASS

that is willing to undergo vivisection for your instruction? And where shall we find the self-respecting nation that is willing to undergo a long enough period of industrial vivisection in order to make good the want of a little logic in the back of your head. Once upon a time Germany tried it, but the experiment came to an abrupt termination, and she has not the slightest intention of repeating it. France, also, has tried it, and invincibly refuses to repeat the folly.

GREAT FAT FOOL AMONG THE NATIONS, ENGLAND

is trying it now, and, lost in delighted admiration of her Fiscal Philanthropy, the world has been wondering, '*concernedly* of late,' How long her century-upon-century of accumulated wealth and sixty years' ingrained stupidity would stand the strain!

But take Ireland. There you have had in full operation for years the beautiful doctrine of Industrial Let-alone, on a really national scale, completely unsupervised and uninterfered with by any *national* government, and in no way complicated by vast mines of natural wealth, and the results are written in characters so large that the most illiterate blockhead running may read and understand.

What is Ireland at the present moment?

A magnified county.

A BREEDING AGENCY FOR AMERICAN EMIGRATION.

A labour-recruiting ground for the industrial centres of Great Britain. In sixty years the population of poor but protected Germany has well-nigh doubled. In sixty years the population of poor but unprotected Ireland has been cut exactly in two. And yet Ireland is separated from England by the whole width of the Irish Sea. Whereas on the continent of Europe

NATIONAL AREAS ARE SEPARATED BY A DANDELION,

a rig of potatoes, or a row of turnips. And the economical forces that can leap the Irish Sea, (and the Atlantic Ocean,) are *they* likely to lie down in front of a telegraph post or an auld fail dyke?

But you tell me I am forgetting the great saving of human labour, the vital Principle of Economy.

Ah, not so. On the contrary, I charge the Free Trader with forgetting that economy is, after all, but one of many Principles that go to make up individual and national life.

Are you prepared to endorse the maxim that you should buy

YOUR MOTHER'S COFFIN IN THE CHEAPEST MARKET

and sell her bones in the dearest? And if not, why not? if abstract economy, naked and unashamed, is to be the Ruling Star of human life.

Grant that in some wind-vext isle, or ben-shadowed glen, I *have* to burn at my work an hour's daylight longer, or fetch my water from a distant well. Grant that life in my ain countree *is* a little harder and dearer. What then? The land of brown heath and shaggy wood may be *dearer* for all that. The extra

hour that I burn may be an hour of Highland sunset, and the well from which I draw may be that from which my fathers drank and the wild birds drink.

And yet the Cheap-jack Free Trader deifies this little tin dogma and expects the nations of the world to bow the knee

TO THE ONE-LEGGED CALF OF COBDEN'S ABSTRACT COW.

Can you wonder that every active and ambitious nation laughs to contemptuous scorn the silly doctrine and smothers in ridicule the delightful (made-in-Manchester) economical edict that the peoples of the world should convene to build a new Babel round the mouth of an English coal-pit,

SHOULD WRITE FINIS TO THEIR OWN DEVELOPMENT,

and consent to become, for ever after, emasculated emaciated satellites, industrial hewers of wood and commercial drawers of water, to some highly fortune-favoured industrial metropolis?

A thousand times No, Sir. The national instinct surges in insurrection against any such fate, and this national instinct I believe (and we can only believe about such things) to be divinely right. But if there be those that think it divinely wrong, I would say to that select and hyper-elect remnant this. Write me out your argumentative thesis in justification of cosmopolitan Free Trade and I will, straightway, take up your arguments, one by one, and compound them together into a still more eloquent thesis in favour of

COSMOPOLITAN FREE LOVE.

That divine apotheosis of Liberty, Equality, Maternity, Fraternity and Free Trade!

But more. Not only is Free Trade devoid of the Philosophy that insists on the world-purpose of the Nation, it is no less innocent of the Science that recognises the organic solidarity of the parts that compose that unity. Only in this way can we account for the Free Trader never being able to see the wide wood of the National Interest for the particular branching of the sectional trees.

The national interests involved in a solvent Steel Industry are to the little individualistic mole-eyed facets that compose his inorganic vision, ever and for ever, the interest of Messrs. M'Dividend & Co., the *Steel Manufacturers.*

The vital national interest involved in a flourishing Agriculture is to him, in like manner, merely the interest of the agricultural landlord: that and nothing beyond. As a matter of fact he will even go out of his way to point you with pride to the undeniable fact that bread is cheaper in Free Importing England than it is in Protectionist France.

It never occurs to him to add to the price of our bread

THE PRICE OF OUR NATIONAL INSECURITY.

That sword of Damocles that rests above our country, suspended by a thread,—

Irremediable Irretrievable Ruin

(in which England's Sun would set for evermore) in the event of a great naval disaster, he never sees.

It never occurs to him to estimate the national loss in bone and muscle to an Imperial People, resting, the world over, on the prestige of a physique fostered under other conditions,—to add that loss to the bushel of wheat and *tell us then* the price of our English bread.

Go to!—Oh Thou of the Far Sight! Hurry now, hence, to the glens and bens of Sutherland and, at the call of your country's peril,

RAISE ME ANOTHER WORLD-FAMOUS 92ND.

Could you do it? Alas, the fiery cross would run its rounds in vain and instead of the skurrying beat of clansmen's feet you would hear but the bleat of black-faced sheep!

You say it was Landlordism did this. Ay, but it was Landlordism acting under the spur and inspiration of the divine Principle, so dear to your own heart, of buying *its pound of mutton* in the cheapest market and selling its country in the dearest. These glens were depopulated on the strictest Principle of Free Trade. It *paid better* to breed sheep than to breed Highlanders, and elaborate books were written to prove it.—

If any Free Trade leader doubts my argument let him be good enough to explain to the country why he approves of this same Landlordism emptying the mines of the country, as they did the glens, by selling Britain's coal for German jackets.

Oh yes, dear friends, it is the easiest thing in the world, on Free Trade Principles, to get rid of your limp by lopping off your leg. But in that case you need a Bath chair to get about in, for the rest of your life.

The extra penny on the French Loaf may be France's Limp. But she has the magnificent consolation of knowing that

SHE IS LIMPING ON HER OWN LEGS.

Her National Life is Secure.

Why, Sir, what has produced the recent, stupendous, ruinous, ever-increasing oncost on the naval armaments of the world?

Just England's Desire to reach this French Security!

It was England's agricultural weakness that set these naval budgets rolling downhill. It is England's agricultural weakness that keeps them rolling. But for this agricultural weakness she could have been doing with a navy one fourth of its present size. And the other nations would have kept in the file of her diminished squadrons. But **the consciousness of her vital weakness,** and her natural desire, (insistently endorsed by the Free Traders themselves,) to place her National Life upon a platform of acknowledged security. That it is, and no other, that has stimulated the inordinate growth of her navy. And England's bloated sea-armaments becoming an obvious menace to Foreign Powers, these in self-defence have been compelled to follow suit. But the increase of their navies has re-compelled an increase of ours, and so the vicious pernicious see-saw goes merrily forward.—

But it never occurs to the Free Trader to add to the market price of imported wheat *the cost of it all,* and *tell us then* the Price of our Bread.

VI.

I pass to the second further vital issue on which Free Trader and Protectionist are agreed. And this I will give you as

My Fourth and Last Preliminary Point.

I have hitherto spoken of the Free Trader as if he advocated the doctrine of *absolutely unrestricted* Free Trade. He does nothing of the kind. And in point of fact this brings me to one of the most extraordinary points in this extraordinary discussion.

It is perfectly true that Cobden said: "Depend upon it, nothing can be done by fraternising with Trade Unions; they are founded upon principles of brutal tyranny and monopoly. I would rather live under the Bey of Algiers than a Trades Committee."

It is perfectly true that John Bright from his place in Parliament, on Feb. 10, 1847, denounced the Ten Hours Bill, (which reduced the labour of women and children to 10 hours a day,) as

"One of the worst measures ever passed in the shape of an Act of the Legislature."

But find me the Free Trade Cobden or John Bright who will get up on a platform and repeat in public these sentiments now.

Why, Sir, the greatest supporters of the Free Trade Doctrine at the present moment are no other than the Trade Unionists themselves.

So that the Free Trader, you see, is in thorough and hearty sympathy with the Principle of imposing Restrictions upon Free Trade.

Thus if I desire to purchase over a draper's counter in this country a cheap cotton handkerchief that has been manufactured by child labour, *I cannot purchase a British sample.* It would be illegal to make it. But I *can* purchase *with perfect freedom* one that has been made by child labour in South Carolina. (If I tried the same trick on with whisky,—if I purchased German spirit which had slipped into the country minus the Excise duty that is levied upon Home spirit, I should wake up, shortly after, to find myself and my spirit peacefully maturing in bond for a few calendar months.)

If I am an artist of genius or a popular novelist I can work till I crack for my clients. But if I am an artisan of skill and superb physique, perhaps you think I can sell my skill on the Free Trade terms that will suit my master, myself, and my family best. But in this Free Trade country I cannot do so. I must conform to the restrictions of the National Factory Acts and to the further restrictions of my Trade Union.

If I am a carpet weaver, or a bootmaker, or a steel worker, and go out on strike against a reduction of my wages, the Trade Unionist Free Traders throughout the country will support me with a splendid and wonderful unanimity. But, on one condition. I must obey the Trade Union rules. If I go back on these they will denounce me as a traitor. And if, in order to relieve my starving family, I break them so far as to turn blackleg they will, with delightful unanimity, break my head. And yet, all the time, and with the same complete and unwavering unanimity, these very men, these logical skull-openers, will go a hundred miles out of their way in order to pass resolutions at Cobdenite meetings insisting upon their own right to purchase, and the right of every other person in the kingdom to purchase, foreign carpets, and foreign boots, and foreign steel rails, manufactured under conditions which their own regulations ban (to the extent of breaking a mate's head if he attempts to practise them) and the laws of the country forbid,—

The exercise of which very right may have produced the fall in wages against which they assist me to struggle!

I said, a few moments ago, that the Free Trader had neither Philosophy, nor Science, nor even *Common Sense* at the back of his head, and in your generous haste

YOU THOUGHT THAT I EXAGGERATED!

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I accept your apology, the more so as I have one to tender, on my own account, for the unconscionable time I have taken in bringing you so far and yet so little on your way. But God knows! if I had been a free man to have followed my own will in this matter I should not have wasted the hundredth part of a second of my own time, far

less of yours, over a controversy in its essential features so inane, were it not for the tremendous vital issues at stake, and the universal ignorance, black as midnight, that obsesses the country on the subject.

For what, now, at last, is

THE MICROSCOPIC MOUSE OF DIFFERENCE

between Free Trader and Protectionist that emerges ridiculous from the tumultuous labour of this Great Fiscal Controversy?

The whole and sole point of difference that emerges is this:

That while

Both are Free Traders,

believing, as they do, in Internal Free Trade and External Free Trade in non-competitive goods,

Both, in like manner, are Protectionists.

But whereas the Free Trader believes only in the Principle of imposing Restrictions upon a country's Internal Freedom of Trade, the Protectionist, with a little more consistency and logic at the back of his skull, believes also in the Principle of imposing Restrictions upon a country's External Freedom of Trade.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I hope you will now perceive the wisdom of delaying our descent into the Fiscal Cockpit until we had ascertained with precision what we were asked to take off our coats about.

As a result of our enquiry, **I think we may keep our jackets on.**

———o———

But, now, having set the issue before you in general terms, perhaps it will assist your appreciation if I set it before you also in the concrete.

Well, in the course of last month, as I gather from the Board of Trade Returns, the unemployed Trade Unionists in the country numbered about 30,000. How many unemployed non Trade Unionists there were we have no means of ascertaining, but if I

set down the number of these also at 30,000, and add another 30,000 for loafers, who for their own good and the good of their country would be better employed, I am certain I shall be keeping well within the mark.*

Now, in the course of last year, as I am given to understand, we imported from foreign countries, "*ready for immediate sale in the British markets, without giving one single hour's work to any British artisan*," about £90,000,000 worth of goods, which we could perfectly well have manufactured in this country. Here is a list of the items imported, or at least some of them :

> Arms, ammunition, baskets and basketware, beads, bead trimmings, blacking and polishes, books, boots and shoes, brooms and brushes, buttons and studs, candles, caoutchouc, carriages, motors, bicycles, carts, china and porcelainware, clocks, cotton garments, cutlery, electrical apparatus, embroidery and needlework, fancy goods, artificial flowers, floorcloth, glass goods, gloves, hardware, hats and bonnets, implements and tools, jewelry, jute goods, lace goods, lamps and lanterns, leather manufactures, linen manufactures, machinery and mill work, matches, mats and matting, brass goods, copper goods, iron and steel manufactures, mouldings, musical instruments, paper, perfumery, pictures, pipes, silver plate, silk goods, manufactures of fur, slates, soap, stationery, toys, watches, wooden manufactures, and woollen manufactures.

The fiscal issue which Mr. Chamberlain has placed before the country and which awaits your decision is this :

Was it national wisdom,

Was it Good Political Economy,

to open our ports to this vast importation of fully manufactured goods, and at the same time to support in idleness (and poverty) three or four industrial army corps in the land?

* "The precise amount of surplus labour at present in the British market is, of course, unknown ; but, in my opinion, it represents from 1 to 1½ million full-grown men." So, M. Maltman Barrie in the Aug. number (1903) of the Nineteenth Century. For Nov. (1903) the Board of Trade Returns, if I remember, give the unemployed Trade Unionists at about 60,000.

Mr. Asquith, bobbing up and down the country, like a porpoise in shoal water, says distinctly that it was. He says we couldn't have manufactured the goods if we had tried. There's not, e.g., a mantle maker in Glasgow, he affirms, could have stitched together my wife's jacket, and there's not a loom in the country could have woven the stuff. Lord Rosebery agrees. And Mr. Haldane has given the world to understand in very precise and specific terms that if ever we attempt to lay violent hands on this sort of Free Trade, we *may* do so, but it will be over his political corpse.

What, meanwhile, does the Great Outside World say? Germany is decisive. She thinks English Free Trade is a beautiful doctrine, and the very best thing in the world,—*for England.* But if, being in the Fatherland, you suggested its adoption *by* the Fatherland you would probably, soon after, find yourself in a state fortress for state treason or lèse-something-or-other. France politely shrugs her shoulder, and says suavely, 'It is magnificent,' 'C'est magnifique mais ce n'est pas le commerce,'—as she understands it. Russia grins. America looks on with amused contempt. What we call Free Trade she calls Fool Trade. Our own colonies, (comprising thousands of colonials who left our shores but a few short months ago *convinced* Free Traders,) also look on, and wonder sadly,

'WHEN OLD JOHN IS GOING TO COME IN OUT OF THE WET.'

VII.

Of course all this proves nothing. Many and many a time the world lies submerged under a deluge of delusion, and wisdom, amid the swirling wastes of imbecility, finds no rest for the sole of her foot save, as it may be, in the ark of a single human skull.

It will be wise of us, therefore, if we accept neither any man's lead nor any country's lead in this matter, but try to expiscate the question for ourselves.

Let us begin then. And, in order to keep our ideas running in logical harness, let us take the case, to begin with, of

Foreign Competitive Goods of the Same Price and Quality as our Home Manufactured Goods.

Keeping the general interests of the country in view, which ought we to purchase? The Free Trader affirms that it doesn't in the least matter. It is merely six and half a dozen. The Protectionist, on the other hand, believes that it matters so much that he finds it possible to distinguish even between purchases from one foreign nation and another. Suppose, for example, that we have the option of buying Swiss goods or German goods of identical quality and price. On the face of it, it does not seem to matter a pin-point which we take. And yet, even here the question admits of an easy answer. If you buy the Swiss goods you encourage the industry of a nation which can never attack you either by land or sea. If you buy the German goods you add to the power of a nation which, in the opinion of many impartial observers, is preparing even now to sweep you one day from the sea. Part of the price of the goods you buy, never mind how infinitesimal the part, will find its way into the German Treasury and from the German Treasury into a German cruiser, and that German cruiser will have to be covered by a couple of English cruisers which will to the extent of a couple of millions and more deplete the English Treasury, which you, in turn, by drinking tea, sugar, whisky, smoking tobacco, and paying income tax, must help to replete.

The transaction, you see, is not the simple affair that you take it to be. And if you think that I exaggerate, go and turn up the national estimates and refresh your memory with the purchase price which was paid the other day for the site of our new naval base at St. Margaret's Hope.

I take a nearer case. Suppose that the country has the option of purchasing Russian or Canadian wheat to the extent of 10,000,000 quarters, of like quality and price. Which ought the country to buy? There is not the slightest room for indecision. If you purchase the Russian wheat you add to the resources of Russia and to the number of Russians who will one day knock at the Gates of India. If you purchase the Canadian wheat you add to the resources of Canada and increase

the number of friendly Canadians who will one day help you to line the trenches in defence of India.

But if you are agreed that it is desirable in the national interest to purchase from Switzerland rather than from Germany, and from Canada rather than from Russia, what shall be said of the desirability of purchasing Home-made goods (under similar circumstances) in preference to the goods of any other country or colony under the sun!

But, Sir, if you are agreed upon the wisdom of purchasing Home-made goods, how are you going to insure, in practice, that they *shall* be purchased?

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is but another form of the old familiar problem of the farmer's wife: How are you going to keep the pigs out of the corn?

The Free Trader, (if he yielded so far as to wish them kept out,) would say:

TRUST TO THE COMMON SENSE OF THE PIGS!

The Protectionist says:

Put a Ring Fence round the Pigs and a Tariff round the Corn!

VIII.

I pass to the case of

Foreign Competitive Goods of the Same Quality but Cheaper.

In regard to these not the shadow of a difficulty ever presents itself to the mind of the Free Trader. He says without a moment's hesitation: "Buy them." He goes further. He says: "You are a fool if you dont."

The Protectionist, on the contrary, has one or two questions to ask. And the first of these is:

How much is the Cheapness?

Let me give you an illustration. In the year 1902, 1,134,000 tons of German and Belgian steel were imported into this country.

Now no one for a moment doubts that the individual Britishers who imported this steel saved money by the transaction. But when all that has been taken for granted, the infinitely more vital, ingoing, question remains:

DID BRITAIN ALSO SAVE MONEY BY THE TRANSACTION?

(Or did she lose?) A gain in the one case, you must understand, by no means presupposes ditto in the other.

Let us examine this point.

Well, in the first place, taking the illustration as I have given you it, what was the individual Britishers' gain?

Well, that, of course, would vary with the undercut that induced the foreign purchase. But, happily, here, the newspapers come to us with a little light.

Thus, in one of them, a month or two ago, I met the following:

> "At the annual demonstration of the Cumberland "County Federation, held at Maryport on the 28th of "July, and attended by about 9000 trade unionists, "mainly coal and ore miners and blastfurnacemen, Mr. "Wells the blastfurnacemen's agent said that the Cum-"berland Railmakers
>
> "WERE LOSING ORDERS BY 3D. PER TON."

True, Mr. Wells is referring to steel rails and we are thinking of steel, but the distinction is not transcendent.—But how (in the simple beauty of its economic unadornment) the observation trembles itself on the verge of the transcendental! What a magic presentment of the Shylock Scales of Economic Self-interest! Thousands of steel tons in the one pan, and thousands of pounds sterling in the other, (and a little threepenny bit of a rider, three ha'pence, three farthings, three hundredths of a farthing, determining the final adjustments!)

Well, Sir, if we reckon now a saving of 3d. a ton on 1,134,000 tons we have on the whole transaction

THE MAGNIFICENT TOTAL SAVING OF £14,175!

I hear a hundred voices dissent that 3d. a ton is ridiculous.

I agree. But how much would you like? Sixpence! A shilling! Two and six!—I give you your choice.

—But who, by the way, please, are you that think it ridiculous? Because if you are a *convinced* Free Trader you must be a mere Balaam's ass not to know that by the undeviable teaching of your own undeviating dogma a difference of three hundredths of a farthing in the ton has an absolute economic right to determine the purchase going to the foreigner.

But if you are not a mere Balaam's ass then please tell me this.

If you yourself happened to be the purchaser, what difference in price between the foreign steel and the home steel would induce *you* to take the foreign? Remember! The two steels are, by supposition, identical in quality, and on Free Trade Principles you are under no obligation to consider any mortal interest save the immediate interest of your own pocket.

But suppose I take you up at two and six.
Well, Sir, a saving of 2/6 a ton on 1,134,000 tons would give

THE HANDSOME TOTAL GAIN OF £141,750!

But is there no discount,—no adverse offset to all this?
Consider, now, for a moment.
In the manufacture of 1,134,000 tons of steel,
Here, e.g., are the Wages involved:

Wages of Miners, - -	£540,000,	
„ Quarrymen, -	30,000,	
„ Furnacemen, -	250,000,	
„ Steelworkers, -	680,000,	
		£1,500,000.
Here are the Railway Rates etc. involved: -		445,000.
Here are the Shipping Freights etc.: - -		875,000.
Here are the Royalty Rents on Coal and Limestone: - - - - - -		82,500.

And here, finally, is the sum of all these, namely,

THE TOTAL NATIONAL LOSS, - **£2,902,500.**

I take these figures from a Yorkshire paper. I dont in any way guarantee their accuracy and will allow you whatever discount you will.

Now £2,902,500 is a moderate fair sum,—rather less than three millions sterling.—But in the superabundant wealth of my argument I will emulate the example of Mr. Carnegie with the Scotch Universities. I will throw a million or so to the winds. I will consider only the £1,500,000 of wages that might have been earned by miners, quarrymen, furnacemen, and steelworkers, if the 1,134,000 tons of imported steel had been manufactured in Britain.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, try for a moment to think of that million and a half spent as it would be spent.

Some of it sunk as fructifying capital through the medium of the National Savings Bank.

Some of it spent in rent and taxes, giving capital to landlords, business to factors, plumbers, carpenters, etc.. and the means of employment to County and Burgh.

Some of it spent in food and fuel, giving wages and profits to grocers, greengrocers, butchers, bakers, dairymen, restaurateurs, confectioners, miners, carters, etc..

Some of it spent in clothing, and house plenishing, giving employment to haberdashers, hatters, bootmakers, tailors, dressmakers, milliners, upholsterers, cabinetmakers, ironmongers, weavers and mill-workers of all kinds.

Some of it spent on tobacco, beer, drugs, news, sports, songs, sermons, and sea-side excursions.

Nor would the story of the spending stop here. For, every secondary pound which was earned by the tobacconist, brewer, actor, minister, grocer, editor, tramway guard and railway shareholder, in the course of this vast primary disbursement, would straightway plunge, in its turn, into a similar prodigal dance of redistribution, giving rise to tertiary earnings, which, in turn, would dive into the economic maelstrom and give rise to quaternary, and so out and onward in ever widening circles, until the mind returns wearied from the pursuit of the economic fandango.

But in order to fix our attention and make a partial sum of it,

let me suppose that the million and a half of wages disappeared in a Co-operative Store. At the usual co-operative rebate of 2 in the pound this disbursement would give to the workers' wives

THE HANDSOME DIVIDEND OF £150,000!

Now, Sir, I beg you a favour.—All this, you see, is lost. All this vast multitude of workers, all these multifarious interests are compelled to suffer in order that some one who purchases steel may keep a threepenny bit in his pocket for every ton he buys. (And yet the Cobdenites blandly assure us that Free Trade looks after the interests of the many!)

Well, as I am not very good at arithmetic, I want you to sum it all up. I have given you the two sides of the National Ledger, debit and credit. And I want you to balance the account: and project the result so pellucidly that even he who runs may recognise at a glance,—How much, peradventure, was the Cheapness of the Cheap Foreign Goods.

When you have finished,—and you will find the calculation by no means as easy as the Cobdenites would have us believe, (and yet by no means impossibly difficult,)—(and when, perhaps, you have tried one or two others of a similar kind,) I will be indeed vastly entertained if you do not assimilate quickly to the Protectionist view **that much of this so-called Foreign Cheapness may be the Dearest of Dearness.**

But this brings me now up into the firing line of the Great Debate. For you must not suppose that the Free Traders have no reply to this line of attack.

There is first of all, e.g., Mr. Asquith.

I select Mr. Asquith not because he is in any sense original. In point of fact he is a mere perambulating leaflet of the Cobden Club. But because he poses as a great protagonist in this controversy and is continually going up and down the country plaintively complaining that Mr. Chamberlain does not find it necessary to reply to his arguments.

Well, if Mr. Asquith were here to-night he would (as I have already hinted) suavely assure us that we could not really manufacture the steel that we import.

"A considerable proportion," he tells us, (of the £150,000,000 of fully manufactured or partly manufactured goods which, it seems, we imported into this country in 1902,) "could not have been made in this country at all"—'or, at any rate, not as cheaply and as well, etc.'.

Well, Sir, here is his reply in regard to steel,—lurid and savage from the furnace mouth.

I take it from a Glasgow Newspaper but it is originally culled, I believe, from the correspondence columns of the 'Newcastle Journal.'

Here, e.g., is a List of the Furnaces (in the Tyneside district alone) recently blown out, or fast blowing :—

"Barrow Steel Company, Limited.—Steel works "and 11 furnaces closed down one month now, with no "prospect of starting. Loss in wages, £4,000 per week.

"Derwent Steel Works, Workington.—Been closed "down one month, with no prospect of starting. Loss "in wages, £4,000 per week.

"North-Western Iron and Steel Works, Workington. "—Been closed down two years, now being dismantled. "Five furnaces and large steel works. Loss in wages. "£3,000 per week.

"Derwent Blast Furnaces been closed down—(12th "January)—five furnaces. Loss in wages, £800 per "week.

"Solway Blast Furnaces been closed down—(12th "January)—three furnaces. Loss in wages, £500 per "week.

"Workington Iron Company.—Two furnaces closed "down three months. Loss in wages, £200 per week.

"Cleator Moor Iron Works.—Two furnaces closed "down one month. Loss of wages, £300 per week.

"Askham Iron Works.—Four furnaces closed down "six months. Loss of wages, £400 per week.

"Millom Iron Works.—Five furnaces closed down "six months. Loss of wages, £400 per week.

"Lonsdale Iron Company.—Three furnaces closed "twelve months. Loss in wages, £300 per week. These "works being dismantled.

"Distington Iron Company.—Two furnaces closed "down one month. Loss in wages, £200 per week.

"Carnforth Iron Works.—Three furnaces closed "down. Loss in wages, £400 per week."

Here are some of the consequences of all this out-blowing.

"Railway men are being discharged because there is "no coke, coal, or iron ore wanted at the furnaces. Coal "and ore miners in Durham and Cumberland have less "work, and the wages are being forced down. Dock "labourers at Maryport, Workington, Whitehaven, and "Barrow-in-Furness are suffering because no iron ore is "coming or rails and pig-iron going out. Limestone "quarrymen are being discharged because no limestone "is being used at the furnaces. Blastfurnacemen's and "steelworkers' wages are coming down under the sliding "scale arrangement between masters and men. Foreign "dumping of manufactured bars below cost price is "reducing prices. Railway traffic returns and stocks "are suffering severely, and dividends will be greatly "reduced."

And here finally is the Newcastle correspondent's concluding

Illuminating Observation.

"Every existing Iron and Steel Works in the United "Kingdom would have been in full employment for two "months more than they were in 1903 if all the steel "imported in that year had been manufactured in the "United Kingdom instead of by the foreigner."

Apparently, therefore, there is no lack of the requisite capital

in the country. But although we have the solid works and the mobile money perhaps we mayn't have the men.

But this brings me up against the Pontifical Spectator.

That omniscient flamboyant cocksure organ of *convinced* Free Tradeism assures us that that is just where the crux of the absurdity lies. "People," it says,

> "sometimes talk as if there were an indefinite amount of "skilled labour in England ready to be hired, and as if "all we had to do was to open factory doors, and the "labour required would instantly respond to the call. "The facts are very different."

And burning from the Oracular Lips of Free Trade Infallibility this (truly) vacuous observation goes rolling and reverberating over the land—! mirabile dictu!—trundling and rumbling even the resounding emptiness of its ponderous inanity through the hall-marked pages of the heavy magazines, until, at last, it emerges bright and triumphant and original from the convinced and convincing lips of Mr. Asquith at Paisley:

> **"Because there was no greater fallacy than this"** (None greater! mark you!) "which lay at the root of half "of Mr. Chamberlain's arguments and all Mr. Bonar "Law's—(laughter)—the fallacy of supposing that we "had in this country an inexhaustible supply of avail- "able skilled labour for any purpose we liked to put "it to."

(That is how an ex-Home Secretary of England paints the fiscal lily of the Spectator and adorns the echo of an idiotic tale.)

—Alas! my friends, I am one of those unfortunate citizens of a noble country, who, out of mere pride of race and love for the Land that gave me Birth, expect (ah! with how much of Lord Nelson's Trafalgar fervour) of the statesmen who aspire to guide the destinies of England and of England's Empire that they shall be men of knowledge and brain-power, and convictions, (thrice-forged in the furnace of original thought,) and of a serene and lofty Patriotism steadfast as the Pole-star above the piddling parochialism and the shifty, sordid, coward insincerities of Partisanship and Party.

Pity, therefore, the profoundness of my despair when I behold what Sublimity of Ignorant Assurance can anoint the mechanical lips of a statesman who, as far as I may honestly judge by his speeches, knows as little of the inner bones of this fiscal subject, (fateful with the whole future well-being of our race,) as I or you or he of the Men or the Mountains of the Moon.

HERE IS THE PONTIFEX'S ANSWER.

But I must give you it in the form of a parable,—a tale of Tin Plates, (the patent rights of which are held in America.)

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, listen to my tale of Tin.

Well, of Tin Plates, in the year 1890, the furnaces in the South of Wales turned out

421,797 tons,

of which 329,435 tons

were exported to the United States.

What the Americans manufactured for themselves in the year 1890 I do not know but, the year after, in 1891, **they turned out the gigantic total of**

552 tons.

That was the Economical Problem (How to make Tin!) as it was presented to the Yankees in 1891.

How did they solve it?

Well, in the first place, they didn't worry. Still less did it ever dawn upon any economical genius to waste an ounce of shoe leather, or a (penny) postage stamp, endeavouring to ascertain if there was anywhere floating about America "an indefinite amount of skilled labour" waiting to be hired. You see, the Americans had no Spectator to instruct them in the Principles and Possibilities of Scientific Economy.

What the cute Yankees did was this.

In the year 1891, on imported Tin Plates, they clapt on a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per lb.. And, in addition, they offered free sites and bounties to the Welsh manufacturers.

Here is what happened.

First of all, here is what happened to the British export.

In the year 1891, of Tin Plates, Great Britain exported to the United States

327,882 tons.

Eight years after, in 1899, she exported 58,915 „ .

Here is, however, the awful catastrophe that happened to America.

In 1891 she manufactured, as I have said, 552 tons.

„ 1892 „ „ 18,803 „ .

And, seven years later,

In 1899, she manufactured 397,767 tons.

Puzzle!

Where did America discover "the indefinite amount of skilled labour" required to perform this astounding Economical Miracle?

Oh sardonic irony of Infallible Omniscience!

She got,—I cannot tell you how much of the labour (and capital) from South Wales itself!

I take you to Germany. In 1879 Bismarck committed the German Confederation to Protection. But history does not record that he ever lost the wink of an eye wondering where the skilled labour was to come from that was to work the German Economical Revolution. He merely clapt on his Protective Tariff and, like a fox at the mouth of a rabbit hole, waited. And behind the Protective Tariff wall the manufacturers ran up their factories, and opened their gates, and Presto! behold out of the Invisible, skilled workers swarmed like locusts upon the land.

Between then (1879) and now, there have been added to the Fatherland between thirteen and fourteen million souls, a population equal to the combined populations of Ireland and Scotland, and half as much again.

Where did Germany get these enormous numbers? Oh Perspicuous Spectator! Oh baffling and bewildering Riddle, out-transcending the utmost bounds of Free Trade Thought!

I take you to the History of your own Country. (The Spectator is not aware that there is such a thing.) I take you to the period of the English Industrial Revolution. At that time the itch and rush to manufacture was so great that the manufacturers didn't wait to run up factories.

> "Old barns and cart-houses and outbuildings of all "descriptions were repaired: windows broke through the "old blank walls and all were fitted up for loom-shops."

But the indefinite number of skilled workers! Where in the creation did they arrive from?

Listen!

Before 1751 the largest decennial increase of the population had been 3 per cent.

For each of the next three decennial periods

			the increase was	6	per	cent.
Between 1781 and 1791	„	„	„	9	„	„ .
„ 1791 and 1801	„	„	„	11	„	„ .
„ 1801 and 1811	„	„	„	14	„	„ .
„ 1811 and 1821	„	„	„	21	„	„ .

—Which was the highest rate ever reached in England!*

It would appear, therefore, that **in order to get labour the one thing needful is simply to want it.** And a brick wall can see how. Create the demand for labour and you arrest emigration and stimulate immigration and you give the necessary inducement to that particular portion of Heaven where orange blossom is made to run their factories full time.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I think that the skilled labour argument may sleep.

> "**In the next place,**" remarks Mr. Asquith, "a very "large proportion of those so-called foreign manufac- "tures are only manufactures in the sense that they are "raw material in the intermediate stage. Something "has been done upon them but they were brought here "in order that British industry may exercise further "processes upon them."

* Industrial History of England.—Gibbins.

That is true, e.g., of steel.

And the argument that is founded upon this fact in regard to the subject of my illustration is familiar to you all. It has gone the daily round of every ½d. newspaper, drawn Bumper Bucolic cheers at every Free Trade village meeting, and been run over at every street crossing, in the kingdom, until I dare say now it is a familiar item in the agenda of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Societies far away among the aborigines of the New Hebrides.

What is it these people tell us?

They tell us that steel is the raw material for shipbuilding, etc., and that but for the cheap steel which we import (so on their solemn oath they assure us Great Britain would be losing orders in shipbuilding.

GREEN SEAS AND AZURE HEAVENS!

Oh, dear my friends and countrymen and have we fallen at last so low! Oh Flag of England that has braved a thousand years!—etc.!

WHAT A HISTORY! WHAT A CONCATENATION!

In 1846 (the birth year of Free Trade) we manufactured more iron than all the world put together.

Even so late as 1879 (the birth year of German Protection) we still manufactured, so at least I have read, "as much iron and steel as the rest of the world put together."

And since 1879, notwithstanding the Niagara Driving Power that we derive from the triumphant (one and only) Principle of Free Trade,

POOR (BUT PROTECTED) GERMANY,

with no comparative advantage whatever for the business, has contrived to double the present British output of steel and gives of her surplus on such generous terms that, but for German cheap steel, shipbuilding orders (so on their solemn oath they assure us) would be lost.

LOST TO WHOM?

Impossibly not to any country in Africa,
Asia,
or America.

To some country then in Europe!
But certainly not to Turkey,
Greece,
Austria,
Switzerland,
Spain,
Portugal,
Italy or France.
Certainly not to the Principalities of the Danube.
Certainly not to Norway, Sweden, Denmark,
Holland or Belgium.
And decidedly not to Russia.
To whom then?
There is but one rival left.
Germany!

AND WHAT A CONFESSION!

Land of brown heath and shaggy wood! Oh England Imperial Undisputed Mistress of the Seven Seas since Fateful Trafalgar! With, for a live hundred years, the industrial start of the Modern World! And with

THE DIVINE COMPELLING EQUINOCTIAL GALE OF FREE TRADE

blowing out our sails and bowling us along 'terrific' for more than half a century!—

WHAT IS THE MAGNIFICENT UNPARALLELED OUTCOME?

Why, Sir, a few years ago, Germany actually didn't know how to lay the keel of a ship (she had to learn it all from the Clydeside and Tyneside) and manufactured only a few tons of steel.

And, behold, now, in the course of a decade, or at most a couple, dragging heavily along, all the while, through the grappling rocks and retarding mud the heavy, ridiculous, poverty-pronged, absurdly-fallacious long-ago-exploded reactionary antiquated anchor of Protection, (burdened, moreover, and borne to the ground with the Atlas yoke of conscription,) she outstrips us (as the greyhound the tortoise) in the manufacture of steel and paces us at length so hard in shipbuilding that our shipbuilders

(so on their solemn oath they assure us) can only compete with her on condition that the German steel manufacturers are good enough and kind enough and Christian enough to supply them with cheap steel.

BONES OF OUR IMPERIAL FOREFATHERS!

Oh ye dark mists that roll above

BEN MULLACH COIRE MHIC FHEARCHAIR

descend, I pray you, and blot out our shame! And ye wild swirling waves that laugh and surge around Orkney arise, please and sweep away down among the antediluvian cockle shells

THESE DEGENERATE WHELKS

that inhabit the erstwhile Isles of the Brave.

—But I pray you, Sir, do not misunderstand me. I do not mean to imply that there is anything of surprise (or to surprise) in all this. The stupendous wonder only arises in my mind when I find that human flesh can go on breathing (not immediately suffocated by its own stupidity) that can find in it all and offer it all as an overwhelming argument in favour of Free Trade.

How is it now they do it?

First of all they make a present (as I shall be telling you more fully presently) of the British Open Market to the Foreign Protected Manufacturer, thereby enabling him to turn out his work on a larger and therefore (by so much) cheaper scale, and then they ask us to rise up and bless God with both hands that we keep an open market to receive our own Bounty!

—Oh! how, sometimes, in my sore travail for a poetic and convincing language, my heart cries out within me for the Sun-rise of a new Lord Byron, who should give us again that magnificent Apostrophe to the Ocean, and address it to the dark blue rolling unfathomable depths of British stupidity!

No, Sir. In this steel affair which has figured so largely in

the Fiscal controversy I can see no way for the Cobdenite round the corner of this dilemma:

(1) If Germany *can* actually manufacture steel more cheaply than we can, what becomes of the Free Trade axiom that Protection is the death of cheap production and of industrial prosperity?

(2) If Germany cannot really manufacture steel cheaper than we can, then on what Principle of economy or common-sense (or anything else) can you permit the steel furnaces of Britain to be dumped out by a country that lacks the natural advantages for its manufacture that we ourselves possess?

You say that under these circumstances dumping would be ephemeral, that Foreign Manufacturers could not afford to dump long enough to damp out our furnaces.

("Dumping," says Mr. Asquith, "is a process which,
"as all experience showed, could not possibly last long.",

Why not?

How is it that we can afford, year in and year out, to dump down untold millions on our navy in order to damp out any foreign attack upon our naval supremacy?

You laugh and say that the naval oncost is defrayed by general taxation.

Exactly. But isn't it one of your favourite Free Trade arguments that a Foreign Government in granting Protection to a foreign manufacture does but farm out to the foreign manufacturer the power of indirect general taxation?

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not just finished with Steel. I will have to return to the subject, as you will see, in a minute or two, but, in the meantime, perhaps you will permit me to return to Mr. Asquith.

That Rt. Honourable Free Trade Apologist goes on to say that if these partially manufactured imports which provide the intermediate material for British Capital did not come here,

"So much British Capital and so much British Labour
"as was now employed in working them to a finished

"state would be **unemployed because it would not "have the material on which to work.**"

! ! !

Now, Sir, Mr. Asquith complains, as I have said, that Mr. Chamberlain makes no reply to him. But is there any wonder? Who could muster from the vasty deep the heroic courage required to tackle seriously such infantile twaddling? Even I myself, perhaps the humblest and most patient fiscal worm in the world, feel disposed to turn!—And this, mind you, is the Irrefutable Logician! lauded to the Fiscal skies by Lord Rosebery, and actually acknowledged by the Herald of Glasgow to be easily the first Great Champion Debater of the Free Trade Reaction!

Very likely, of course, I am unduly prejudiced. (I do not think, in the least, that I am.) And it may be a little unkind to say. But if ever a lawyer can live to be ashamed of the part he may take in an argument, I honestly believe that Mr. Asquith will live to be ashamed of the extraordinary hand-me-down Cobdenite shoddy that his Fiscal advisers have fathered (upon the ermined blank of his Economical Ignorance,) and that he, in turn, has tried to palm off upon an unthinking prejudiced public as (God save the mark!) **Irrefutable Argument.**

———o———

I go rather on to the Grand Final Fiscal Free Trade argument.

That argument is this.

These millions of steel that we purchase from abroad are paid for. Must be!

How *exactly* they *are* paid for, it would puzzle even the angels to guess. But Mr. Asquith is more than angelic. (In the simplicity of his innocence!) He knows.

Mark the glib assurance with which this thin echo from the prompter's box trips from the surface of his tongue:

"Lastly how were these goods paid for? A very "considerable proportion of the £150,000,000 must go in "actual freight to British shipowners, but of the balance

"that remained it was discharged either by goods or by "services rendered by the manufacturers and workers of "Great Britain to the countries from whom the goods "came."

Now you can easily see how this Fiscal argument cuts.

If we go away and manufacture for ourselves the steel which we now import, we are merely purloining from Peter to pay Paul. We do but throw out of work crowds of British workmen who are at present engaged in producing advantageous products which are sent abroad in exchange for the imported millions of steel.

Now that man, clearly, would be (a fanatic and fool combined) who did not acknowledge a certain force in such an argument, (if such an argument were true!)

But is it true?

The argument (or, as I ought to call it, rather, the assumption) *that it is true* forms the inner supreme Palladium Citadel of the whole Free Trade Philosophy. And if it is destroyed (and this much is frankly acknowledged even by the most rabid Free Traders) the whole of that Philosophy is blown sky-high.

Now, Sir, my one and only object in coming here to-night is just to blow up that Palladium citadel to the bluest part of the dark blue depths of heaven.

But burning as I am to put a light to the fuse of my logical gunpowder I cannot do so just yet. If I did so, the whole fun of the fair would be over, so far as I am concerned.

I beg you, therefore, to possess your souls in patience, for a moment, until I have disposed of one or two other items. Because in the development of my case I must preserve at least a semblance of sequence.

In passing, however, permit me to point out that even if this particular argument were true, the particular force of it would not be particularly great.

Suppose it were the case, e.g., that the factories of Great Britain were turning out shiploads of Jam and Biscuits and Confectionery, and that these were sent to the continent in payment of the million odd tons of steel which we import thence.

The Protectionist debater would merely smile and say: 'Manufacture this million odd tons of steel at home, and this beneficent saccharine stream of Jam Biscuits and Confectionery which is now dissipated abroad might be deflected into home channels for the nourishment and delight of those who manufactured the steel, and their dependents.'

Of course, it is easy to think that a surplusage of some other kind might be sent abroad in exchange for the imported steel, which the home steelworkers might not in any way want.

But, in that case, the Protectionist would smile *still more blandly* and opine: 'That the manufacturers and workers so engaged might go into liquidation and idleness for a pleasant spell, and thereafter deflect their re-created energies and the remains of their liquefied capital to the manufacture of commodities which the steelworkers did want.'

! ! !

(To which, it would, of course, be easy to allege: (and the reply, being one, itself, of the winged Protectionist arguments would be strictly true:) 'That you cannot, in the twinkling of an eye, convert a colliery into a bakehouse, or, with a turn of your wrist, a collier into a pastry cook or a skilled boiler of jam.')

—But alas! for the little ironies of life, no Free Trader dare use this argument, because the whole of his Free Trade philosophy hinges on the possibility and practicability (and desirability) of this identical convertibility.

But from these digressive (and premature) issues I must now go back to the main current of my argument.

IX.

The second question that the Protectionist has to ask is:

What are the Causes of the Cheapness of the Cheap Foreign Goods?

Well, Sir, you will find, on enquiry, that this cheapness *may* be due to,

(1) Bounties on Foreign Goods given by Foreign Governments,

(2) Bounties on Foreign Goods given by Ourselves.

Let me refer first of all to

Direct Foreign Bounties.

Of these you are all familiar with at least two. The notorious Sugar Bounties and the Shipping Bounties.

As to the latter, it may surprise many of you to learn that the cheapest way of sending goods from here to the East of Africa is to ship the goods two days across the German Ocean, unship them at Hamburg, rail them inland a few miles, break bulk in order to earn the German Bounty, and then re-ship them from Hamburg to their destination.

Now before I sanction the admission into our home market of bounty-fed goods I should like to have a clear understanding as to the *ulterior* object which prompts this suspicious generosity on the part of our foreign friends. I know very well that they dont love us.

WHY THEN ARE THEY SO LOVABLE?

'Tis but yesterday that the German newspapers vied with one another in bespattering with their atrocious lies the fair fame of the brave men who laid down their lives for us in South Africa, and, all the time they were engaged in this congenial task, their merchants were busy sweetening the bitter draught for us with their bountified sugar. *Ladies and Gentlemen*, **That alone** would make any one think. But the Free Trader never pauses to think.

You have all of you read, I dare say, of the world-famous siege of Troy and every schoolboy knows how it ended,—how the Greeks, having failed to beat down the defences of the town, threw up the siege one summer morning and sailed away. With the result that when the happy Trojans woke that morning they found not merely the Greeks gone, but they found a beautiful

Greek gift waiting for them on the shore in the shape of a large wooden horse. And like our modern Free Traders they rejoiced in the bounty of their enemies, and drew it jubilating within their gates. But the wooden horse was full of armed men who slank out of it in the dead of night and destroyed the Trojans.

My friends. The bounty-fed produce of our industrial enemies is a Greek gift. Admitted within our gates it destroys, as with fire and sword, our home industries, ruins our manufacturers, and brings the spectre of starvation and death into the homes of our artisans.

But more. The Bounty System in itself is in

FLAGRANT CONTRADICTION TO THE VERY PRINCIPLE OF FREE TRADE.

Speaking at Stirling, the other day, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, at the end of a long inconsequential oration, opened his mouth in an eloquent peroration and, in his usual wooden way, put his foot into it.

Addressing his audience Sir Henry said:

"I will not trespass longer. I know you my constituents. You love freedom in commerce as in everything else: **you believe in no artificial restraint upon trade, no tampering with the channels that it would naturally follow.**"

Exactly. Now if Sir Henry is of opinion that the natural channel for trade to follow from here to East Africa is for goods to steam across the German Ocean to Hamburg, thence inland by rail and back again to Hamburg, all I will say is that if ever Sir Henry comes to Glasgow, (and does me the honour, I will confide to him the natural channel which he ought to follow in order to reach, say, Rothesay.

He ought to embark on a Clutha at the Broomielaw and steaming up the Molendinar, as far as he can, disembark at his leisure

And take the First Train for Gartnavel.

But my Free Trade friends, while they acknowledge the loss

that is inflicted upon our Home Industries, defend the reception of Foreign Bounty-fed Goods, on the Principle of

THE GREATEST GOOD OF THE GREATEST NUMBER.

Well that is a beautiful mouth-filling phrase, (as sweetly satisfying as the Bounty which it defends,)—and *so* unctuous!

But, Sir, I am not so certain that to condone so flagrant a violation of the first principles of justice, I am not so sure that to sanction so monstrous a breach of the common principle of humanity as to permit any foreign power with a bribe of gold, (in its own way and at its own time and pleasure,) to destroy a legitimate long-established trade, to trample our bankrupt capitalists heartbroken into the grave, and cast our blameless artisans and their innocent dependents to rot upon the dung-heap of poverty, will ever redound to the greatest good of any one, far less the Greatest Good of the Greatest Number.

But I pass that argument. I take my opponents up rather on their own terms, The Greatest Good of the Greatest Number.

Now I want a word with my Trade Union friends. They are great Free Traders. At least their leaders are.

Well I want them to inform me why it is that, when the Corporation of Glasgow gives out a contract for municipal work, they insist upon a clause in that contract to the effect that the contractor must pay the standard Trade Union rate of wages, etc..

My Trade Unionist friends, as a body, are, after all, but a minority of the citizens of Glasgow: the Trade Unionists on the particular job an imperceptible minority.

Why, then, pray, should the Glasgow Corporation not be at liberty to consult The Greatest Good of the Greatest Number of its citizens by giving out the contract to the actually cheapest contractor, absolutely irrespective of any consideration as to rate of wages or Trade Union conditions?

—Echo alone replies.

But the Free Traders comprise another important section, The Tory Free Traders; among whom are many (Lord George Hamilton is an example) who are strongly opposed to the unrestricted growth of Municipal Enterprise.

What is *their* argument? Their argument is, That it is hopelessly impossible for any private syndicate to compete with a great municipal undertaking backed up by the borrowing powers and the general security of a great city.

They are right. But if they disapprove of the municipal form of competition, by what earthly means do they suppose that a private syndicate, or a private firm, or a private trader, is likely to stand up in competition against foreign enterprises backed up by the active assistance of Populous Kingdoms and Great Empires?

As a palpable matter of fact it *is* hopelessly impossible.

Moreover. If it is for The Greatest Good of the Greatest Number to permit one industry to perish in this way at the hands of bounty-fed competition, a fortiori it must also be good to permit two to go under,

And three times better to permit three,

AND THIRTY TIMES BETTER TO ALLOW THIRTY,

And three hundred times better to permit three hundred!

You see, by accepting this foreign bribe you encourage its application

TO THE DESTRUCTION IN TURN OF ALL YOUR INDUSTRIES.

Look wherever I will, I can find no underlying Principle which could justify so monstrous a travesty of the Doctrine of Free Trade unless the Principle of

Buying in the Cheapest Market and Asking No Questions!

But I cannot debate with the unprincipled scoundrel who is prepared to endorse *that* as his economic creed.

Free Trade orators are for ever telling us that to begin with Protection is to start upon an inclined plane which carries you headlong to Perdition.

But the Principle of Buying in the Cheapest Market **and asking no questions** is a commercial slide, greased by the Devil, on which, if once you plant your feet,

YOU TOBOGGAN TO HELL.

It leads to the buying of women's labour in place of that of men, to the buying of the labour of children in place of that of women.

It led England, at one time, to the brink of ruin.

It led to the Apprentice System, that bloodiest blackest chapter in the whole history of Industrial Crime. It led to systematic trafficking in human flesh and blood. It led to the fixing of days by the overseers of the poor, when the pauper children were inspected by the mill owners as to height and strength. It led to the overseers insisting that an idiot child should be taken with every twenty sane. It led to the children being conveyed, like cattle, to their destination in canal boats, to their being stored, till they were wanted, in damp dark cellars, to their being fed with the food that was given to their master's pigs. It led to their working sixteen hours a day, night and day, under a merciless battery of kicks and blows; to their sleeping by relays in beds that were never cool; to the atrocity of young girls working chained to their looms; to the employment of instruments of torture; to immorality, infamy, crime, disease, suicide, death.*

Oh, England! proud of thy glory, thy greatness, thy world empire, thy battle record by land and sea, proud of thy very pride, thy strength, liberty, largesse, industrial renown, and those vast world mines of incomputable wealth that baffle thee counting them in thy dreams in the darkness of night,—Hush! let the vainglory die dead on thy tongue.

Cast thine eye *humblier* down from the rich entablature of all thy grandeur.

Lowlier still.

Nay, now, take thee a spade in thy hand and dig softly. Deeper. Deeper yet!

Behold! the carven pillars of thy pride and the vast pyramids of thy riches rest heavy on the bleached *writhed* bones (writhed

* See Industrial History of England.—Gibbins.

with their brief life's agony!) of little pauper innocents, thine own,—'buried secretly by night in desolate places lest people might be able to count the number of their graves.'

My friends! My Lord Rosebery invites you to go back to the history of England before the Corn Law Repeal days. He thinks its perusal will cure you finally of all thoughts of Protection.

Ah, Christ! he has read that history himself to little purpose if he does not know that the blackest crime at work, in these devil's days, was

The Crime of Too Much Free Trade!

The liberty of buying human life in the cheapest market **and asking no questions!**

"Well can I recollect," said Lord Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, "waiting at the factory gates to see the children come out, and a set of sad dejected cadaverous creatures they were. In Bradford, especially, the proofs of long and cruel toil were most remarkable. The cripples and distorted forms might be numbered by hundreds, perhaps by thousands. A friend of mine collected a vast number together for me; the sight was most piteous, the deformities incredible. They seemed to me, such were their crooked shapes, like a mass of crooked alphabets." *

"The slave trade," wrote Southey to a friend, "is mercy compared to it." *

"It is perhaps not well for me," remarks the historian Gibbins, "to say more about the subject, for one dares not trust oneself to try and set down calmly all that might be told about this awful page in the history of industrial England."

"I tremble," said Arnold Toynbee, "to think what this country would have been but for the Factory Acts." *

I give you these as little extracts from that history, which Lord Rosebery appears to have read with the back of his skull, and I think you will be able to gather from what they suggest that England was

* Industrial History of England.—Gibbins.

Really Rescued out of Hell!
literally saved from eternal ruin, body and soul,
By Protection.

But come my Free Trade friends! if you *will insist*, at all hazards, and at all costs, on buying in the cheapest market, come with me and I will take you to one that is cheaper yet than Paddie's or a Bankrupt Pawnbroker's sale.

—But you must first muffle your face, and tread lightly, (past these slouching figures at the corner there,) down that dark alley, and round the turning where the lamp flickers dimly,—Nay, now, No turning back, Follow close and Mum's the word.—Under that dingy portal, and down this creaking stair. (Gently!) *Now* then have your choice!—Nay, man, hesitate not, doubt not. *It's all 20 carat gold and the diamonds are without a flaw.*

—I will take you to the Resetter's cell and the Thieves' den.

X.

But it sometimes happens that the cheapness of the cheap foreign goods, in our home market, is due, in part, to

Bounties on the Foreign Goods given by Ourselves.

It may be due, e.g., to our Railway Companies giving

Differential Railway Rates in favour of the Foreigner.

Now I want to ask my Liberal Free Trade friends how they propose to put an end to this unpatriotic abomination.

Well, Mr. Haldane has suggested a plan. Speaking in Edinburgh, the other day, at a great Free Trade Demonstration, he ventured, (not being a Liberal Leader as he humorously explained,) to fill up Lord Rosebery's (too-clean) slate with an up-to-data Liberal Programme.

He proposed to give a million from the exchequer for University and Technical Education. A capital idea. He pro-

posed to widen the general culture of the nation. Splendid! But he had something still more original to suggest on the Railway Differential Rates. But perhaps I had better, in a matter so important, give you his identical words.

He said: 'He would have the great ocean lines attended to, and such steps taken, as could be taken **without infringing Principle,** (how magnificently these Liberals eloquise on what they haven't got!) towards encouraging new routes. And, moreover,

HE WOULD HAVE THE RAILWAY RATES

Closely Scrutinised.'

This, then, is the Ultra Liberal Policy of the one and only Liberal Thinker of the Great Liberal Party! So that when a Liberal Cabinet meets in Downing Street, and the Railway Rates are on the Table, already I can hear the Cobdenite clinkle of ministerial monocles and golden pince-nez, and the frou-frou of silken handkerchiefs as they burnish them hot, and the mellow voice of Mr. Haldane murmuring detectively: 'Ha! what is this? I think I smell a rat here in the foreign differential calculus for cauliflowers from Leith to Glasgow. Will you lend me your lens, my lord?' And perhaps my lord himself will suggest a microscope with a high power objective or an adjournment to Greenwich Observatory in order that they may all have an invert look at the rates through Cobden's great Reflector.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Haldane may scan the Railway Rates till doomsday and scrutinise them till his eyes grow blind. He may take them to bed with him, if he likes, and try to incubate them like Wee Macgreegor wi' the hen's eggs. It will avail him in the world nothing, and advantage the country less!

———o———

Now, by way of contrast to all this Tommy Tiddle, I will give you the suggestion of an equally distinguished politician on the other side.

Speaking at Dover, at the end of October, Mr. George Wyndham said:

"As to our colonies I do not say that we are to jump at Mr. Chamberlain's method, but I say that we must have that method

or another, because the thing has got to be done. It might be that if we did not accept Mr. Chamberlain's proposals we should have to proceed on the lines of

NATIONALISING RAILWAYS AND SHIPPING LINES."

There spake the statesman!

In point of fact, Conservative thinkers are moving so fast just now that I expect to find myself, one of these days, at the street corners, not merely trouncing, as of old, the stick-in-the-muds of the Liberal Party, but denouncing my old friends of the Labour Party as a set of Reactionary Reform-spokers and Antediluvian Fossils!—(which, as regards the attitude they have adopted towards the present controversy, they undoubtedly are.)

———o———

Well but the Railways, even if the country were willing, cannot be Nationalised in a matter of twenty-four hours. And how meanwhile about these unpatriotic rates?

The Protectionist has no worry:

'Clap on a sliding Tariff,' he says, 'and in twenty-four tenths of a second . . . . !—

XI.

Your hands will be free to tackle the next of the Free Trade Scandals,' namely,

The Bounty of Cheap Coal

which we give to the foreigner, and to which, also, in part, the cheapness of the cheap foreign goods may be due.

How do my Liberal and Labour friends propose to stop that?

Ladies and Gentlemen, they dont propose to stop it. They propose to increase it. How do I know? Well I have already told you of Lord Rosebery's famous son who never made a speech in his life. But I have worse to tell you. (I am not for a long time much surprised at anything the Liberals may do.) But in broad gaslight, at a public meeting, not a hundred miles

from this very hall, and less than a hundred years ago, I publicly asked a Labour Parliamentary Candidate if he was in favour of the Repeal of the Coal Tax, and he publicly declared that he was!

ALLMÄCHTIGER!

Now, if you please, I want a word with my Labour friends.

You believe, with enthusiasm, in the Nationalisation of the Mines? Very well then. When are you going to begin?

'Whenever we get a chance.'

Yes, but the chance is yours now. You dont require to lose a single moment. Here, at your very doors, you can begin to Nationalise the Mines.

'What mines?'

Why, dont you remember the fine old pits that used to be working, about our doors, when we were boys together: The Auld Waaster, The Schule Pit, The Red Lion, The Burn Pit, The Mutton Pit, The Caroleen on the Quarry Braes—!

'But these pits are empty.'—I know, but that's just what makes their Nationalisation so easy. And look how many more you are emptying now. From the harbour of Glasgow alone, as I have already told you, you are sending away 60,000 tons of coal a-week,

AND OUT OF THE COUNTRY 50,000,000 TONS IN THE YEAR.

So that once you have made a fair start with the Nationalisation of the Auld Waaster, The Mutton Pit, and The Caroleen, I can keep you supplied with any number of New Waasters.

But, come now, and I will tell you a story. Your grand old forebears hadn't the School Board Education that you are so proud of now. But they had something better. They had brains and they used them. *They* knew, if you like, how many beans made five.

"The nineteenth century opened with a duty of

1 6 per ton on coal shipped to the Colonies,
7 on coal shipped to Foreign Countries in British-built vessels, and
11 if exported in Foreign-built vessels.

with an additional ten per cent. and a further 10 per cent. on the amount of the duty."

That was how our great grandfathers preserved the coal for us, their great grand asses, to squander abroad to the tune of 50,000,000 tons in the year.

"In 1831 the duties on large coal exported were

1/ per ton to the Colonies,
3 4 to Foreign Countries, if in a British ship, and
6/8 if in a Foreign ship."

"In 1845," Cobden was on Mount Sinai that year, seeking and *finding* the long-lost eleventh commandment, "the duties on coal were repealed, with the exception of

4 per ton, if shipped to a Foreign Country in a Foreign ship."

"In 1850,"—that miraculous year in which England topped the loftiest transcendental peaks of Economic Wisdom and National Foresight,—"this last impost was removed."

BUT A NEW IMPOSTURE WAS ADDED,

which continues up to the present hour, the imposture, namely, of giving a Free Trade bounty on the coal which leaves the country in foreign ships, by exempting these from the Board of Trade Regulations as to manning, loading, etc., which apply to British ships.

The next historical date is 1901; when, after the country had been fooled for 50 years, a Conservative Government, and future generations will bless God that there was a Government in the country with the common sense and the courage to do it, applied the first turn of the screw to the brake that will one day put a stop to this prodigal export, by re-imposing a tax of 1 a ton on exported coal; from which tax, the country now derives the handsome revenue of, in round numbers, £2,000,000 a year. (If the tax were 2/6 a ton instead of 1 , and the export remained the same, the revenue derived would be equal to all the coal-mining royalties in the country put together.)

And, now, behold you come along, you Labour men, you who grow red in the whiskers in your eloquent advocacy of the Nationalisation of the Mines, and you propose to repeal this tax, and so assist in emptying the country of a priceless irreplaceable asset.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would smother my own father politically if he proposed such a lunacy.

No, Sir. I am with the Labour Party in the Nationalisation of the Mines but, until the country has grown its wisdom teeth and is ripe for that Policy of Common Sense,

I AM WITH THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY IN CONSERVING THEM.

—But the unhappy miners? What of them?

Ah! dear Sir, my sympathy for *them* is so great that I want to see fewer down there,—more of them working under the light of God's sun.

XII.

But this brings me now up within range of

THE LABOUR PARTY'S LONG TOM PROTECTION POUNDER

of the Fiscal Debate, I mean

The Great Royalty and Ground Rent Argument.

How is it now they train it? Something like this. 'You complain,' they say to us Fiscal Reformers, 'that our manufacturers are beaten in the home market by their foreign rivals. But what *could* you expect? Look how they are handicapped. Look at the Royalties and Ground Rents under which industry groans. Remove these, and our manufacturers can hold their own with Creation.'

Ladies and Gentlemen, what mysterious microbe of dementia, what subtle far-spreading leaven of lunacy can be infecting the atmosphere of the British Islands in these days, that so many thousands of estimable (apparently sane) people of every political party, the moment they open their mouths on the Fiscal Question, should seem to be canvassing for admission to a first-class lunatic asylum!

Heart and soul, I am with any man who proposes to tax Ground Rents and to annex Mining Royalties.

But I have never intended, and never in the course of my life, in the wildest flagariest flights of my imagination, has it ever occurred to me that any other body ever intended, that this national salvage, once reclaimed, should find its way into any other pocket than the National Pocket, for the good of every man, woman, and baby, and every Tom, Dick, and Harriet, in the kingdom.

But, if you annex the Royalties for the good of the State, can't you see, my dear friends, that **these Rents and Royalties remain,** (and rightly remain,) as a burden on all who use the land and the coal, and the condition of British Industry, *in this regard*, remains precisely as before?

But now it appears that I have been mistaken.

The up-to-data Radical idea is to abolish the Mining Royalties, in order that the Mine-owner, as distinguished from the Mineral-owner, may put the same into his private pocket, or in order that, (the price of coal being correspondingly reduced,) the German, when next my wife buys a German jacket, may receive ten tons of coal in payment of the same, instead of nine.

JERUSALEM!

What a Programme! What a Policy!

WHAT A CONFESSION OF FAITH FOR A LABOUR PARTY!

at the golden dawn of the twentieth century.

Listen!

(1) I believe in the abolition of the present export duty of 1/ on the ton of coal, in order to relieve the National Exchequer of the annual income of £2,000,000, (which it doesn't in any way require,) and with a view to expedite the replacement of our irreplaceable coal by subterranean galleries of foul air and filthy water, which I hope, in the sweet by and bye, to Nationalise!

(2) I believe in the abolition of all such burdens upon industry as Mining Royalties and Ground Rents, in order that Mine-owners, Manufacturers, etc., may re-appropriate them in increased profits, or, (if they prefer it,) cut prices, in order the better to cut the throats of one another, or the foreigner, in a strenuous war of

wasteful competition, to which, as a socialist, I am utterly and eternally opposed!

XIII

But the cheapness of the Cheap Foreign Goods may be due, also, in part, to

The Bounty of the Open Market

which we give to the Foreigner.

A printer friend confided to me the other day that a coal hawker recently called and enquired the price of an advertisement placard for his coal lorry. A single copy, only, was desired, and the price of one shilling for the one copy was quoted and accepted. However, when the bill had been set up in type, my friend, with the usual printer's generosity, threw off a dozen copies, and sent the lot to the coal hawker.

To his astonishment, by return of post the eleven unsolicited bills came back, and a penny postage stamp in payment of the single copy kept.

God Almighty, you see, had endowed this man's skull with a certain amount of rough and ready logic, and a-penny-a-week had taught him simple division; but out of pure ignorance, the more transcendental the logic, the more transcendental the absurdity. *The coal hawker was a Free Trader.* He did not know that it was just as easy to print a hundred copies as one copy.

If you are a moulder by trade, and have taken a month to elaborate your mould, you can run off one casting, or you can run off a hundred castings. But if you run off a hundred castings you can afford to sell each of the hundred at a much lower price than that at which it would have paid you to sell the one.—(It seems all moderately simple, when you have the time to think it out, and the brains. But apparently the Free Trader has neither.)

Ask a simple fisherman what it is that kills his price. And he will tell you at once: Quantity. Ask the simple Free Trader, (that Simple Simon of modern economics,) and he hasn't the ghost of an idea.

Ask the manufacturer, under what conditions he manufactures cheapest,—when his factory is running full-time or half, and he will take you at first for a lunatic. But if you explain that you are merely a Socratic Enquirer in search of the Fiscal Truth he will inform you, 'I manufacture most economically when my factory is running full-time.' And if you ask why? He will tell you that when his factory is running full-time it turns out double the product, and, the Permanent Charges being distributed over this larger product, the items cost less in proportion, and can be sold for less.

In order to produce cheaply, therefore, you must produce largely. And in order to produce largely you must be in a position to sell largely. And in order to sell largely you must have a large market in which to dispose of your wares.

Now it is just here, if anywhere, that Free Trade shines. For it is nothing less than this sine qua non of cheap production, (the large market,) that the Free Trader hands over as a free gift to our industrial competitors.

Thus to the German manufacturer, already in the enjoyment of a home market of 56,000,000. the Free Trader hands over, by way of a British bonus, the British market of 42,000,000, making a total German market of 98,000,000;

56,000,000 OF WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY SECURE.

In like manner, to the American manufacturer, already in the enjoyment of a home market of 76,000,000, he hands over, (on the principle that unto him that hath should be given,) the British market of 42,000,000, making a total American market of 118,000,000;

76,000,000 OF WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY SECURE.

Having dispensed his bounties in this way, (on the principle that charity begins abroad,) the Free Trader bethinks him of the Home manufacturer, and,

WITH A GENEROSITY THAT WOULD HAVE APPALLED EVEN MR. COBDEN,

lavishes upon him, (already shut out of the German and American markets,)

THE LEAVINGS OF HIS OWN HOME MARKET OF 42,000,000,

after it has been exploited by the Germans and Americans and all the rest of the world.

But his generosity doesn't stop here. After imposing this enormous handicap upon the Home manufacturer he has the impudence to turn upon that struggling unfortunate, and bid him 'buck up,' 'get more life into his bones,' and 'buy new machinery,' quaintly innocent of the fact that the new machinery the Home manufacturer needs most is just exactly the machinery the Free Trader wont give him, namely,

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY WITH HIS FOREIGN COMPETITOR.

But here are figures for you that are worth tons of sermonising:

COMPARATIVE OUTPUT OF STEEL.

	GREAT BRITAIN. 1000 Tons.	GERMANY. 1000 Tons.	UNITED STATES. 1000 Tons.
1880, - -	1,375	728	1,247
1890, - -	3,679	2,127	4,277
1899, - -	5,000	6,189	10,639
1902, - -	4,800	7,800	15,000

Shakespeare in his day found sermons in stones and books in the running brooks, but if any man, British-born, can extract comfort or courage out of these figures, or having once seen them can sleep economically sound o' nights, the most patriotic prayer I can offer for my country is that the next time he falls asleep he may never waken.

Now, with these figures burning in your brains, listen to this:

> "Germany this year is exporting iron to the British "Empire at the rate of more than a million tons. That "alone accounts for her lead in total output. **Restrict "her export, as she restricts yours, and you make "her production more expensive; if you transfer "that million tons to yourself, as you could and "ought, you make your own production cheaper."**

And please take this home also and frame it: from the 'Iron and Coal Trades Review:'

> "Probably Mr. Isaac Butler, of the Panteg and Elba "Steel Works, voiced the general sentiment of the trade "when he declared, at a meeting of the Newport Harbour "Commission on Wednesday of this week, that **English "firms would not go on spending huge sums of "money in bringing their works up to date when "they knew the chances were they would have to "succumb to the foreigner.** We believe that Mr. "Butler is one of a number of British steel-making firms "which, although possessing all the equipment needed "to produce steel, have yet found it cheaper to use "imported blooms and billets than to use their own, not "necessarily because they cannot produce so cheaply as "the Germans, but because the Germans are able, by "means of their tariffs, to sell under cost in British "markets."

It has been said that "a pound of home trade is more significant to manufacturing industry than thirty shillings or two pounds of foreign," but, whether or no,

Only the Most Utter Blockhead of a Nation

could dispose of its home market as the British do.

If you are an author and desire to copyright your work in America you may do so, but the Copyright Law of America ordains that

> "books of British origin must be printed from type "set up by the American workmen before they are "admitted to sale in the American market."

What follows?

> "There follows from this the practice of sending "over to Britain the printed sheets of the book or the "plates from which to print it for sale in the British "market."

As a result of which the British compositor receives a Roman

holiday, and gets his horny hands free to throw his cap in the air and applaud, (with tempestuous vociferation!) Trade Union resolutions in favour of Free Trade.

If you are a fisherman, fishing on a foreign coast, the freedom of the foreign market will be a *sine qua non* for the disposal of your perishable wares, and you will be willing to pay for the privilege of placing your catch upon it. Why shouldn't you? Why should the foreigner be expected to keep up harbours and lighthouses and lifeboats for you?

What is the result? The result is that other nations, recognising the simple justice of this, (as our Grandfathers also did, go one better, in some cases, and *refuse* a landing to British-trawled fish.* In return for which, (on the principle that one good turn deserves another,) we permit the foreigner to dump his catches at our ports free of charge.

If you are an inventor and desire the Right to exploit the German market, the German Government will grant you that right, but you must work your patent in Germany, or sell it to some one who will. You do not grumble. It would never occur to you that you were entitled to such a superb privilege for nothing. But that merely indicates that you are an ass. The foreigners have really no sense in these high economical matters. The British alone have the Simon Pure of inspiration, and insist on the foreign patentee's title to exploit the British market from his native wilds.

If you are a shipowner you will listen with a special and peculiar delight to this:

> "The existing condition of affairs is vividly illus-
> "trated by the fact that while two vessels may be of
> "precisely the same actual tonnage and possess an equal
> "cargo-carrying capacity the one which is owned by the
> "foreigner is allowed to escape tonnage dues which are
> "exacted from the Britisher, because, forsooth, the
> "Government of the country from which she hails

* This is the case, I believe, in France, Iceland and the Faroe Islands.

"sanctions an antiquated and unfair mode of measure-
"ment and the Government of the country to which she
"comes" is an ass. "Dock-owners and the British
"shipping community have long grumbled against the
"perpetuation of such a preposterous penalty on the
"Britisher who is not only obliged to conform to
"scientific regulations at home but to carry his tonnage
"handicap with him to foreign ports as well."

('*Long grumbled*,' is good: but '*scientific regulations*,' seems to me to romp easily into that pure divine of humour which entitles it to live for ever.)

But Britain's scientific regulations are not confined to her ports. Everywhere in Britain itself the Britisher, as one would naturally expect, can do nothing for nothing. He cannot paint a coat of arms on his carriage panel, or keep a dog to bark for him, or appropriate a stance at a show or a fair or a cattle-market, or open a shop to sell tea or tobacco, or wheel a barrow of boiled whelks through the streets, or hawk bootlaces from door to door, but he must pay for the privilege of so doing.

Even the Free Trade directors and shareholders of a common-or-garden Railway Company know their way to better advantage. Very well they know, e.g., to exact a rent for the cab stances in their stations. And why not? It pays them handsomely to auction their cab-market, it pays the lessee, and it pays the public.

And yet this stupendous market of ours, the envy, admiration, and wonder of the world, for admission to which the foreigner would not only pay through the nose but walk on the point of it, for admission to little tiny fractions of which Britishers themselves pay away gladly every year, in advertisement, hundreds of thousands ay thousands of thousands of pounds,) the British people, *after the most mature and deliberate consideration*, value, not at the price of an old song, which would always be something, **but at actually less than nothing.**

This it really is that makes the pill so bitter. If one could soothe one's national pride with the delusion that one's country was merely careless, or, if you like, generous in a large leonine

way. But that is not so. Britain is as keen as a razor, (wishes, intends, means to be,) and actually believes that she is *receiving a favour* from the foreigner in place of conferring one.

—And one has to swallow this bitter knowledge, (pocket the biting affront and carry it patiently to the grave,) **that a people so utterly pigheaded have the right to claim you as a countryman.**

XIV.

But the cheapness of the Cheap Foreign Goods may be due to something else. It may be due to the indirect Home bounty which they derive from the fact that they have been produced abroad under

British-Illegal, Sweating, or Non Trade Union Conditions.

I have already referred to this extraordinary subject, but it may be as well to have a word of confirmation from Lord Rosebery.

Thus at Sheffield he asked:

> "How are we (in England) for hours of labour? "Germany our great competitor has the longest hours of "labour of the four countries I am going to mention. "For example, the Board of Trade says in its report that "the blastfurnacemen in England only work eight hours "against twelve in Germany."
>
> "How is it as regards wages? As regards wages "the Blue Book lays down that the wages in Germany "are only two thirds of those paid in England and in "France only three fourths."

We need go no further.

—I might refer you to the child labour in the mills of the Southern United States, to the cheap labour and long labour (and Sunday labour) in the Calcutta mills that compete with Dundee, to the fact that even in Belgium unskilled labour may be had for 2½d. an hour. But there is no earthly need.

The facts are not in dispute. Nay, so far from denying them, the Free Trader delights and revels in their delineation, gloats over the flagrant details, and glories in their magnification.

Why is this?—Ah! dont you know?

—THEY ARE HIS FEARSOME **BOGIE MAN!**

With whose awful apparition he hopes to frighten the infantile part of the electorate into leaving ill alone.

"For behold!" he cries, "This will be your inevitable lot, this, your wretched richly deserved fate, if you are fools enough to dally with the prosperity-devouring Ogre Protection."

Forgetting, ignoring the fact that "Free Trade is the weapon of the strongest nation," (as Prince Bismarck so neatly put it,) and that countries only adopt Protection, (like men in winter adopt their overcoats,) because, being cold and poor and commercially pregnable, *they have to*, these prophetic Free Traders are like unto physicians who, seeing a poor man pass with a crutch, cry aloud to the halt:

"Look what a devil's implement is a crutch!
It cuts off your leg by the knee."

When even the passing ass has observed:

"What a blessing is that crutch to that poor man! But for it, he would have to crawl prone like myself in the dust."

All the same, the infantile portion of the electorate *have been taken in.* The Trade Union leaders have endorsed the cry.

But *their* answer is easy.

The whole Trade Union movement pivots on the Principle that the acceptance of lower wages or inferior conditions by a section of a trade must inevitably reduce the wages and conditions of the whole trade to the identical level.

> "At home, amongst ourselves, we see the fact recog-
> "nised every day. In every trade union in the country
> "the skilled workers object to their work being done
> "by the unskilled. The bricklayer will not allow his
> "labourer to lay a brick, and in other trades similar
> "restrictions prevail. This action, of which I entirely

"approve, is not adopted in any spirit of hostility to the "unskilled workman, but simply to prevent the fall in "wages which would inevitably ensue, and which, after a "time, would reach the labourer as well as the skilled "workman. But to permit the labourer to do skilled "work would be free trade, and to deny him that per- "mission is rank protection; yet the permission is "refused in every trade union in the three kingdoms." *

It is for this reason, and no other, that 'ratting' and 'blacklegging' are Trade Unionist crimes. But inasmuch as the proceed of all labour is a product, it is surely clear that to permit goods made with your own hands to be undersold in your own markets by foreign goods made by foreign (blacklegs) is exactly tantamount to going out on strike for higher wages, and with your own hands installing a British blackleg in your own job and in the job of every man on strike.

"Some years ago, I witnessed a curious incident "bearing on this point. A large building in a leading "London thoroughfare was being erected. All the outer "walls were up but the woodwork was barely started. "At this stage the Society of Carpenters and Joiners, for "some reason or other, ordered a strike, and called their "members off this particular job, amongst others. I "observed the society's 'pickets' for some time, and saw "them turn back several 'blacklegs' who wished to go in "to work. So far, well. But, presently, down the street "came, slowly and leisurely, an open lorry laden with "ready-made doors and windows, an importation from "Sweden. The gates of the works swung slowly on "their hinges and the lorry, with its load, passed slowly "in. The 'pickets,' who would have broken the head of "any Englishman who had gone in that gate to *make* "those doors and windows, lifted no finger, uttered no "word to prevent the passing of the finished, foreign- "made article. To have done so would have been a "'violation of the sacred principle of free trade.'" *

* M. Maltman Barrie, The Nineteenth Century, August, 1903.

In short, the Trade Union leaders, in this affair, have dug for themselves a nasty pit, and it is with a feeling of refined delight that one helps to pat down the clods on their economic graves,—because of the unpatriotic haste and ignoramus hurry with which they abetted the Cobden Club in raking up the slumbering mud-banks of prehistoric prejudice and prematurely compromising the uninformed opinion of their unsuspecting followers.

The Trade Unionist Cobdenites have to face this ugly dilemma.

They must either admit that the unrestricted attack of foreign low-grade competition will drag down British competition to its own level, or they must acknowledge that the premises on which Trade Unionism is based are false, and that they themselves, therefore, are fools. (This, they are, naturally, slow to admit.)

Bar protection, therefore, the only thing that can possibly save the status of British labour, *on their own principles*, would be the exaltation of foreign labour conditions to the British level.

But the countries complained of are Protectionist. And if ever labour conditions in Protectionist countries rise to the British Free Trade level what becomes of

THE FAVOURITE FOOL ARGUMENT,

that the adoption of Protection by Britain would ruin labour conditions?

—For reasoning that is dark and conclusions that are vain, the T.U. Cobdenite Logic is, beyond any mere mortal man's comprehension, peculiar, but hush!—

Here comes one will explain:

Here comes Hamlet!

sicklied over with the pale cast of Trade Union Reflection.

> 'To protect British Industry, or not to protect, that 'is the question!
>
> 'Whether 'tis nobler in a nation, by an infatuated 'inflexible adhesion to a system of Free Importation, to 'suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous tariffs, (and 'the competition of labour at 2½d. an hour,) or by 'opposing end them!

'I am aware that this subject is hedged about with 'many difficulties, but, amid the swirling chaos of ob- 'scurities, contradictions, and uncertainties, I at least can 'base my ratiocination securely and complacently upon 'the bed-rock of one world-certainty:

'*I am indubitably not a fool!*

'I believe, e.g., with all my soul, that when low con- 'ditions of labour are allowed to compete freely with 'higher conditions the lower conditions inevitably drag 'the higher to their own level.

'Therefore the Higher conditions, if they are to 'remain Higher, and go Higher, *must be protected.*

'Therefore I believe in protecting them. Nay, 'more, I insist upon it.

'Therefore I am a Trade Unionist.

'(Aside.) But, (as before said, I am certainly not 'a fool.

'Now Continental Labour Conditions are distinctly 'lower than British. (Vide Lord Rosebery.)

'Furthermore, Foreign Labour Conditions can never 'by any possibility reach the Free Trade level of British 'Conditions:

'—For the very obvious reason that these Foreign 'countries are Protectionist, and it is their very Pro- 'tection, *and nothing else*, that produces the low labour 'conditions. (Vide my own Free Trade harangues.)

'It is, of course, possible to conceive that these Pro- 'tectionist countries might become Free Trade, but as it 'has taken them sixty years, with Britain's brilliant 'example to enlighten them, to become steadily more 'and more convincedly Protectionist, it will probably 'take six hundred years for any one of them to begin 'even to think about changing its mind.

'The reason is obvious. Once Protectionist always 'Protectionist. Vide my own Free Trade harangues, 'and *especially* Lord Rosebery's at Sheffield:—"But there '"is another point which I have seen raised to which I '"Lord Rosebery should like to ask your attention.

'"'Why not try Protection? You can always give it up
'"if it does not succeed.' That is exactly what you
'"cannot do. (Cheers.)"

'As, therefore, Foreign Labour Conditions can never
'rise to the British level, British Labour Conditions
'must do (as Mohammed had to do with the mountain,)
'they must go to the Foreign level. (Vide my own
'T.U. principles.)

'It is, therefore, perfectly clear that British Industry
'*ought not to be protected.*

'The reason is obvious. Protection is an absurd
'and impudent invention of Mr. Chamberlain. (Vide my
'own Free Trade harangues.)

'It is abundantly clear, therefore, that I believe in
'Protecting British Labour, and that I dont believe in
'Protecting it; that I insist on Protecting British Labour.
'and, at the same time, emphatically insist on not Pro-
'tecting it.

'Wherefore, I think it must be obvious even to the
'colour-blind that any man who has the unique ability
'to think as I think and to believe as I believe, and the
'capacity of insisting as I insist,

'*Is certainly not a Fool.*' Q. E. D.

Exit Hamlet. (Guarded by T.U. warders, in the direction of Gartnavel.)

XV.

But the theory that Protection is necessarily associated with low wages and low conditions of labour is not true. The experience of our own colonies and of America contradicts it.

And the theory that the adoption by this country of Protection would necessarily lower the conditions of labour is absolutely unwarranted by facts.

The working men of our colonies know better. They support Protection with the express object of keeping up the standard of wages.

But the theory has been put to the test of experiment, and has failed.

America has had Protection since 1867, but the wages of her workmen have not yet fallen to the level of those of Germany. They dont show the slightest intention even of falling to the level of those in Free Trade Britain.

France practically adopted Protection, (in the stringent sense, in 1881, but the wages of her workmen, (after trying hard for a quarter of a century,) have not yet reached the level of those of Germany.

Germany adopted Protection two years before France, and, by right, the wages of her workmen should at once have fallen to the level of those of Russia. But, strange to say, they didn't fall at all. They rose.

Listen.

> "The prosperity of German industries is particularly "noticeable in Saxony, the Lancashire of Germany, the "income of that country having risen from 959,222,000 "marks in 1879 to 1,666,521,000 marks in 1894, and if "later figures were available it would appear that the "income of the country has considerably more than "doubled since Protection was re-introduced into Ger- "many. It is also significant that Saxony with 4,500,000 "inhabitants has more than £50,000,000 deposited in its "savings bank—as much as have 10,000,000 Englishmen. "The beneficial effect of the Protective tariff on German "industries was immediate. On the 16th of March, 1881, "Mr. von Kardorff stated in the German Diet that 85,901 "men were occupied in the German iron and steel indus- "tries in January 1879, and 98,224 men in January 1881. "They received in wages 5,288,539 marks in 1879, against "6,459,694 marks in January 1881, which is equal to an "increase of 50·28 marks per annum for every worker. "Mr. Loewe, another member of the Diet, reported on "the same date that in the important districts of Bochum "and Dortmund wages had risen from five to fifteen per "cent., but not only had wages risen but the men who "some years ago had been only partly occupied were

"now fully occupied. Some had formerly been working "only three or four days a week. Other deputies gave "similar reports. The rising tendency of wages has "almost uninterruptedly continued from 1879, when Bis- "marck's Protective tariff was inaugurated, down to the "present time. The average daily wages at Krupp's, for "instance, have risen from 3 in 1879 to 4/9½ in 1900."

But perhaps you would rather hear the evidence of the German Government itself:

"Strengthened by protection our industries have "been able to increase considerably their production, "and have thereby afforded fuller employment and "rising wages to the working classes. The participation "of German capital in foreign enterprises has increased. "Emigration has very substantially diminished. The "effect of the growing wealth of the nation may be seen "by the visible progress in the conditions and in the life "of the broad masses of the people, especially of the "working men. The improvement in the standard of "life may be seen in the larger proportion of taxpayers "who pay taxes on intermediate incomes; from the "improved yield of income tax; from the growth of "savings-banks deposits; from the expansion of life "insurances, and from the rising consumption of the "more expensive articles of food. This improvement is "especially striking, as a considerably increased popu- "lation has had to be provided for, the inhabitants "having increased from 45,000,000 in 1880 to 56,000,000 "in 1900."

But I hear someone observe that all this German prosperity is nothing to what it would have been under Free Trade, and in any case that it proves nothing.

Wait. Hear Bismarck.

(In 1879.) "We shall, therefore, return to those principles "which have been proved by experience, which have "guided the Zollverein during almost half a century of "prosperity, and which we have, to a large extent,

"deserted since 1865. I fail to see that that departure "from protection has brought to us any real advantages.

"As the unsatisfactory state of the German indus- "tries is not of recent growth, material to support the "justified claims of our industries is not lacking. Two "enquiries into the decay of two industries, which have "particularly acutely suffered, were made last summer "and the conclusions arrived at are at the disposal of the "various governments."

(And again in 1880. "The shrinkage in the income tax on "small incomes is a proof of the shrinkage in the pros- "perity of the population. That shrinkage has made "itself felt for several years past, and, according to my "conviction, it would have taken place several years "earlier had it not been for the war contribution of "5,000,000,000 francs which we received from France "between 1871 and 1874. Only that circumstance has, "for a time, arrested the deterioration in our economic "position which has been caused by the Free Trade "legislation that was initiated after the Zollverein period. "If these statements should require further proof the "fact that the masses of our population are impoverishing "should be sufficient. **That decline in our prosperity "began when our fiscal policy was altered in the "direction of Free Trade.** During the short space of "but half a year since we have deliberately turned away "from that mistaken system of Free Trade we have "already witnessed a slight improvement in our economic "position, and we may count on an increasing improve- "ment if we continue to proceed on the road upon which "we have entered."

You see my argument is completer than you thought. Germany's great prosperity arose when she discarded Free Trade in favour of Protection, and the marvellous success of her experiment gives no ground for the belief that we should at once sink back into barbarism if we followed her example.

But there is more.

It would appear that the vaunted improvement in the condition of the working classes in this country is in reality a delusion.

Listen.

> "Several writers have commented upon the con-
> "dition of the mass of the people in the first half of the
> "19th century, which was one of the deepest depression,
> "and have taken occasion to remark upon the great
> "progress in the prosperity of the working classes since
> "that time.
>
> **"It is true they have progressed since then, but "it has hardly been progress so much as a return to "the state of things about 1760 or 1770.**
>
> "The fact has been that after the introduction of
> "the new Industrial system," (I am quoting the words of a Free Trade Industrial Historian,) "the condition of the
> "working classes rapidly declined; wages were lower
> "and prices were higher; till at length the lowest depth
> "of poverty was reached about the beginning of the
> "reign of Queen Victoria. Since then their condition
> "has been gradually improving, partly owing to the
> "philanthropic labours of men like Lord Shaftesbury,
> "still more owing to the combined action of working
> "men themselves."

All of which, being interpreted, means that working men were fairly well-to-do in the hey-day of English Protection; that their condition fell to pieces in the Devil's reign of Free Trade which ensued when the Industrial Revolution rendered it possible for a woman or a child, (i.e. to say, a pair of human hands, however weak or little,) to do the work of a man, (and law and circumstances permitted that little to be bought in the cheapest market;) and that their former position has been slowly and painfully redeemed by the direct negation of Free Trade by Legislative Protection and the Voluntary Protectionism of Trade Unionism.

But out of this there emerges a final point.

For if workmen's wages in this country could never have been what they now are but for the Factory Acts and Trade

Unionism, (and no Trade Unionist will deny that, and if these industrial factors are not nearly so potent on the continent as they are in this country (are not strikes, e.g., illegal in Russia?)* what is the common sense of Trade Unionists comparing the wages in Free Trade Britain with those in Continental Protectionist countries and ascribing the difference to Free Trade?

XVI.

But let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the Cheapness of the Cheap Foreign Goods is due to none of the causes I have mentioned but is a bona-fide legitimate cheapness. Let me suppose, e.g., in order to make the argument perfectly clear, that we possess no works in the country that could manufacture the goods in question, and that under no circumstances, in any case, could we hope to manufacture the goods as cheaply.

Ought we, thereupon, to import, and for ever continue importing, these cheap goods?

The Free Trader has no reply. He cannot even understand the economical lunacy that could prompt *the asking* of such a question. And yet the Protectionist has as little difficulty in answering the question as in putting it.

Thus before I sanction the importation of any such goods you must be very precise. You must give me to know, e.g., first and foremost,

The Specific Nature of the Goods in Question.

Take the case of ammunition. Because Germany, suppose, can manufacture ammunition better and cheaper than any other country in the world, are all the other nations, forsooth, to cease its manufacture forthwith, and become dependent, for all time, on Germany for their supplies? The Free Trader says, Yes! and would see nothing comic in the idea of one of our admirals after an indecisive Free Trade interchange of lyddite shells in the German Ocean calling a truce with the German admiral in order to replenish his ammunition from the arsenals of the enemy.

*My information is that they are illegal 'in so far as they involve a 'cessation of work before the termination of the labour contract.'

Take guns. If Germany can turn out guns cheaper than Russia, would you have the Russians buy their guns in the Fatherland, and arm their troops, may-be, with the discarded leavings of the Imperial army?

Take ships of war. It is an undoubted fact that we can build vessels of war cheaper than they can in France. Would you, therefore, as a Frenchman, insist upon the French Government purchasing the French fleet in the cheapest market? There is not the slightest doubt that, by doing so, France could save thousands and thousands of pounds every year. And when a Fashoda crisis arose again, suddenly, the French admiralty could *just as quickly* telegraph to any British firm to put on workmen night and day and have the ships in stock completed by a specified hour, as it could telegraph to any French yard.

'But these are special and particular cases,' I hear some one say. 'And in matters vital to the defence of the nation exceptions may replace the rule.'

Nay, but, my Free Trade friends, you must beware! The Free Trader who makes exceptions is like the woman who hesitates. If you admit the Principle that we are to make exceptions in Free Trade whenever and wherever the vital interests of the nation are at stake, you become a mere Protectionist. *That is all that he asks for.**

But I take you up at your own terms.

Well, Consider now the Steel Industry.

If you believe that a great nation should manufacture its own ammunition, you will admit that a nation cannot manufacture shell without steel.

If you believe that a great nation ought to manufacture its own guns, you will admit that a nation cannot manufacture guns without steel.

If you believe that a great nation, at all costs, must manufacture its own warships, you will admit that a nation cannot

* But the Protectionist (remember) is broad of view. *Population is a vital interest.* And therefore everything, were it the gilding of hairpins, that tends to the support of a larger population has a vital aspect.

manufacture armour-clads without armour and that it cannot manufacture armour without steel, moreover, that an armour-clad cannot sail without boilers and machinery, and that you cannot manufacture boilers and machinery without steel.

In a word. If you admit that Defence is essential for a nation, you must admit that steel is essential for Defence. Steel is more. Steel is essential for everything; for the plough, pen, pickaxe, chisel, for the trowel of the bricklayer, the saw of the joiner, the spade of the gardener, the needle of the seamstress; for every implement and engine of industry in the country.

Steel is vital, fundamental. *The last industry in the world to trifle with.*

And yet, notwithstanding, the Free Trader, as I have already stated, draws no distinction whatever between the manufacture of steel and the manufacture of toys. He sees none. It is this that embitters one with the Free Trader. He sees no distinctions anywhere. Where the idol of Free Trade is in question he asks no questions. He merely shuts his eyes and opens his mouth, calling ever at the pitch of his voice, "Great is Allah! There is but one Conception in the Heaven of Economy and Cobden is His Prophet!" He can see, as we can all see, that cheap steel benefits the shipbuilder and the engine shop, but he can see no further and think no deeper.

He cannot see, e.g., that steel is, in point of fact, a physico-chemical *experimental* science growing hourly in knowledge, and becoming more and more an *expert* industry every day. He cannot see that the country that manufactures most steel will, ipso facto, most likely manufacture most, because of the larger means and opportunity at its disposal of cheapening the process of manufacture and of ascertaining those physical and chemical conditions which so profoundly modify the quality of steel.—That such a country will therefore be likeliest to acquire the secret of the most impenetrable armour, the most penetrating shell, and therefore the secret of sea power, land power, **world power.**

Basing his whole position on an infrangible doctrine of abstract economy he cannot see that he rests the industrial future of his country not merely on sand but on the baseless verge of a shifting quicksand which at any moment may go toppling into the sea.

Take agriculture to witness. The virgin prairies of America have sown the wheat-fields of England with grass.

Why?

Because it is more economical to grow wheat in America than in England.

But the American farmers dont send their wheat to us in sheaves in order to find work for our thrashing machines.

Why?

Because it is more economical to thrash the sheaves in America and send merely the grain.

But as time goes on America sends flour.

Why?

Because it is more economical to separate the grain into flour and 'offal,' and ship merely the flour.

Why not also the 'offal'?

Because it is more economical to convert the 'offal' into pigs.

But the Americans dont ship pigs.

Why?

Because it is more economical to eviscerate the pigs and ship merely bacon.

But, agriculture flourishing, agricultural implements are in large demand, and American implement makers, having that large secure demand to stimulate output and invention, soon surpass the British agricultural implement makers, so that the British farmer after being compelled by the stress of American competition to sow his wheat-fields with hay has the additional pleasure of harvesting the same with an American reaper.

But think of steel now. There is obviously nothing to be gained in economy by permitting a steel ingot to cool from white heat to atmospheric temperature, transporting it a thousand miles away, and then recharging it at heavy expense of fuel to a white heat in order to roll it out into armour or ship plate or convert it into steel rails, rods, wheels, axles, machinery of all descriptions.

The most economical place for a saw-mill is beside a forest, for a joiner's shop beside a saw-mill, just as the most economical place for a mouse is in a bean bin and for a rabbit beside a field of clover.

So, in like manner, the most economical place for the forge and the rolling mill is beside the steel furnace, and the most economical place for the steel furnace is beside the blast furnace. If you insist on making a National Deity of abstract economy you must try to worship your god with purity and singleness of heart. But if it be more economical to roll the white-hot ingot into ship plates it will clearly be more economical to rivet these together into a ship at the nearest seaboard instead of transporting them for that purpose a thousand miles away in the hold of another.

But where it is cheaper to build the ship it will be cheaper to own the ship.

So that if pig iron goes under, steel goes under, ship plates go under, shipbuilding goes under, shipping goes under, **and the maritime supremacy of the world slips like water through your hands.**

Now if you think it worth while to tax the country to the tune of over thirty millions a year in order to retain the command of the seas why should you think it *utterly* wrong to tax the country, if need be, in order to retain the command of that which is essential for the command of the seas, (and of everything else?)

If you think it thoroughly worth to spend sterling millions of public money in providing harbours to protect your ships why should you *utterly* refuse to spend the half of a halfpenny in order to protect as a national industry the steel that is to make your ships?

If Germany were racing you hard for the actual command of the seas you would unlock the national purse and pour out millions like water to keep ahead of her. But if she is racing you hard for supremacy in steel, *and has at last outstripped you*, how is it that that vital and astonishing fact is a matter of such supreme indifference? How is any *national* effort a crime to keep abreast of her in that? What is the underlying Principle at the back of your head that permits you to endorse the one State action and repudiate the other?

The Lancashire mills are utterly dependent on an over-sea supply of raw material. An American corner in cotton, or a failure in the crop, closes hundreds of mills and turns thousands of workmen idle into the streets. The Lancashire millowners would gladly insure, if they could, against this foreign dependence, as they insure at present against fire, and, despite the utmost difficulty and discouragement, are even now banding together in order to develop *fresh sources* of supply.

Everybody can sympathise with the Lancashire millowners. We cannot grow cotton in England.

But because the Germans, forsooth, can manufacture steel a shilling a ton less than we can we are forthwith to damp down every steel furnace in the kingdom and place the whole of our engineering shipbuilding and manufacturing industries, for all time, at the mercy of a foreign government or a foreign strike! That is the position, without the slightest exaggeration, of the Free Trader. And I must say honourably it is a position which fills me with a contempt for which I can find no words.

The Free Trader, (for the life of him,) as I have already pointed out, cannot distinguish between the national interest involved in the steel industry and the individual interests of those who are engaged in that industry. His everlasting whine is that to assist steel would be to assist the steel manufacturer. No one denies that it would. But if you elect to be governed by Royalty you are in honour bound to find the expenses of Royalty. And if you elect to conduct the vital industries of this country on the system of 'working for a profit' you must see to it that the capitalist gets that amount of profit that will induce him to keep the industries 'in being.'

Personally, I do not believe that the system of 'working for a profit' is the ideal system, or that it is likely to be permanent. But a nation must 'hasten slowly' to its ideal unless it wishes to hasten backwards. And I should certainly be the last man in the world to stand idly by and see a vital national industry sink before my eyes because, in the transition stage of industrial development, the masters who have the power to make or mar an industry refuse to keep it going unless they can 'work at a profit.' The man that cannot separate the question of 'masters'

profits' from the broad national interests which I am now discussing may engage with profit in prayer when he likes, but he is certainly quite unfitted to engage in an economical discussion. The whole question of 'profit making,' whether in a Free Trade country or in a Protectionist country, is a question that stands apart and by itself and is as burning for solution in Free Trade England as in any country under the sun.

I dont know, e.g., what the salaries are of the admirals of England in a year. It may be that they receive too much. It may be that they receive too little. But the question of what they receive, what they ought to receive or ought not to receive, is a question that stands apart and by itself, and has nothing whatever to do with the vital question: **Shall we or shall we not maintain a navy that shall keep Britannia mistress of the seas?**

Imagine anyone saying: **No, we shall not maintain such a navy, because, if we do, a class of men called admirals will draw handsome salaries out of the public exchequer!!!**

Now I trust that no obscurity has arisen as to the point we are debating. Remember the supposition. The supposition is that this country has fallen behind some other country in some vital industry and that working under like conditions, *by no possibility*, can we manufacture the particular product as cheaply. The clear-cut, decisive issue, as between Free Trader and Protectionist, emerges: **Shall or shall not such an industry be permitted to go under?**

Under the system of Free Trade there is no question in the matter.

THE INDUSTRY GOES AUTOMATICALLY UNDER.

Millions of capital are lost, hundreds upon hundreds are ruined, and thousands upon thousands suffer the pangs of insecurity and starvation. But nobody cares. Nobody asks any questions. It's nobody's business.

But if all these separate works that are ruined were owned by the State, the question arises, would the State immediately shut down all these works and debit the country

with the total loss, and would the Free Traders vote that the country should so do?

If the state were so to act, every citizen would bear his share of the loss, and the result would be infinitely more just than to saddle the whole of such a loss upon the shoulders of a mere section of the community.

But the reply is not for a moment in doubt. The state would do nothing of the kind. The state would keep the works 'in being,' in the first place, and debit the country with any annual loss sustained. And the question of closing down the works permanently, or not, would be the subject of after consideration and of *scientific calculation.*

—I am mentally incapable of conceiving the problem as *presented* in any other way.

And it is just along this National avenue that Protection approaches the Industrial Problem. The modern English Protectionist may be as unconscious as the magnetic needle of the Time Spirit that is impelling him but it remains to his historical credit that in an atomistic age like this and amid institutions like ours he is an active political medium of those profounder synthetic social instincts that are born of the underlying solidarity of the little (unconscious) self-seeking unities that compose the state, and that his activities are a concrete stepping stone to the ideal.

———o———

But suppose I narrow the issue now to a straight supposition.

Suppose, (as before,) that the stricken industry is steel and that an annual subsidy of half a million would level up the national disability and keep that great industry afloat,

SUPPOSE THAT AN ANNUAL MILLION WOULD DO IT,

(the price of a British Ironclad,) so that the secondary industries building on the primary would be at no disadvantage as compared with their foreign competitors,

Would such a Million be wisely or wickedly spent?

———o———

That appears to me to be a thoroughly intelligible, a perfectly

Fair, and Straight, and Statesmanlike question, and if you agree with me in thinking that it is fair, and straight, and statesmanlike, (if even you agree that it is not silly, or stupid, or unstatesmanlike,) then you cannot by any possibility be a *convinced* Free Trader, for under the automatic action of Free Trade such a State Question could never arise.

But here I must guard against a misapprehension.

It cannot be too strenuously urged that Scientific Protection is not a cast-iron doctrine of any kind, whether of subsidising an industry here or manipulating a tariff there.

SCIENTIFIC PROTECTION AT ITS BEST IS AN ATTITUDE,

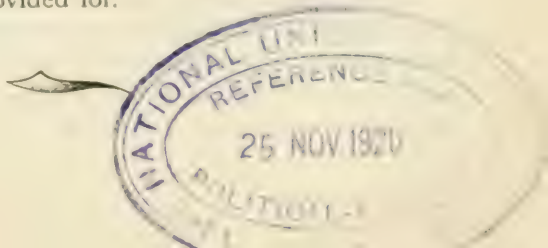
and doesn't commit itself beforehand to any specific method of realising its end.

It insists merely on a nation making up its mind as to what its ends and objects are, and of taking conscious effectual means to achieve those objects. And it is just this inner spirit, as I have before indicated, that renders it unassailable as an economic doctrine and that raises it Heaven-high above the Lackadaisy, Let-alone, Heaven-help-you, Am I my brother's keeper? Happy-go-lucky, system of strenuous trustful ignorance that masquerades under the name of Free Trade.

Remember!

The Protectionist doesn't insist even that a vital industry must not go under. What he does insist upon is, that the question of its going under shall not be left to the decision of Chance or Fate or the blind operation of *any* Economic Law.

If a vital industry has to go under, (so be it!) but it must be *by the conscious permission of the State*, ways and means, consequences and compensation, having been duly registered considered anticipated and provided for.


NATIONAL LIBRARY
REFERENCE
25 NOV 1970

XVII.

But let us suppose, (again, for argument's sake,) that the Cheap Foreign Goods are such that they can be freely admitted without detriment to any vital National interest, and let us suppose, as before, that the conditions under which they have been produced are in every way such as would satisfy the most fastidious patriot.

Ought we then to sanction, forthwith, the admission of such goods?

THE ANSWER DEPENDS!

—You must settle, first and foremost, how you propose to pay for the Cheap Foreign Goods.

☞ It would be as easy, I suppose, to force Loch Lomond through a Bramah press, (or an elephant through the eye of a needle,) as to force the recognition of the importance and validity of such a proviso through the understanding of a *convinced* Free Trader. And yet of all the issues raised it is essentially the most vital, (and also, happily, the most fatal.) For it is on this rock, as I have already indicated, that the whole system of Free Importation, as we know it at this moment in Britain, goes smash into argumentative wreck and ruin.

For What is Free Trade?

The common-or-garden idea of Free Trade is that it is merely Free Exchange.

But that is its *surface* aspect only.

The exchange of Aberdeen fish for Belgian locomotives which resulted in the disemployment and starvation of British engineers (who could have made the locomotives and eaten the fish) would undoubtedly be Free Exchange, but only the *convinced* Free Trader would call it Free Trade.

There must be no mistake about this cardinal point. Free Trade is primarily and essentially **a Gospel of National Economy.** This National Economy which it promises and pledges to the Nation which adopts it, it derives scientifically from the 'International Division of Labour,'—of which itself

(Free Trade) is the mere exchange-complement, or completion, or crown.

But the economic Principle, the 'Division of Labour,' so-called, is not a Principle (like, say, that of Beauty) that possesses in its own right some indefeasible claim to sovran obedience and obeisance. The 'Division of Labour,' as a Principle, claims recognition and adoption, solely and simply as a specific agency for a specific purpose, namely, **the Economy of Labour.** If the 'Division of Labour' fails to produce this 'Economy of Labour,' it possesses no raison d'etre of any mortal kind. If it results, as in a thousand conceivable instances it might result, as in innumerable instances it does result, in sheer Waste of Labour, then it stands condemned, (itself officiating as its own judge and jury,) without mercy and without reprieve.

Clearly, therefore, that which justifies and conditions the mother-principle — the 'Division of Labour' must necessarily justify and condition the daughter doctrine of Free Trade,— every act and fact of which must stand or fall *by its own criterion*, —**its nett result in respect of National Economy,** (and by that alone.)

Free Trade, therefore, *as a scientific Principle*, is not merely Free Exchange, but an Exchange which is Reciprocally Beneficent,—and that not simply to the individuals who exchange,

BUT TO THE NATIONS WHICH EXCHANGE.

It is an Exchange, (like Shakespeare's Mercy,) which is twice blessed, blessing him that gives and him that receives.

It implies Reciprocity,

as unconditionally as marriage implies Sex, and the man who endorses the present British system of Free Imports, (which is wholly divorced from conditional Reciprocity,) on the principle that half a loaf is better than no loaf is just as clever as the parson who insists on marrying the bridegroom (in the absence of the bride) on the ground that half a marriage is better than no marriage.

—**For, obviously, the question of National Economy cannot be estimated or decided, until both sides of the exchange equation are known.**

That is to say:

If there exist two countries, each possessing some natural advantage over the other, it is easy to see how, under clearly defined circumstances, it might conduce to the profit of both to exploit those natural advantages for all they were worth, and to exchange, directly or indirectly, in part or in whole, the one over-against the other, their respective exploitations. **But the circumstances must be clearly defined.**

The exchange of Loch Fyne Herring for Norwegian Sardines, or of Scotch Whisky for French Burgundy, would be fairly ideal.

But take kid gloves.

If a thousand French hands, say, working under similar conditions, can turn out as many kid gloves as a thousand and twenty hands in England can, *it does not immediately follow*, (as, e.g., noonday succeeds night,) that it would be to the economic interest of England to import French kid gloves.

It *might be* to England's interest,

BUT ONLY ON ONE CLEAR AND INVIOLABLE CONDITION.

Provided that **all** the displaced English hands found some equally safe, healthy, agreeable employment in the manufacture of some **perennial product,** (or products,) **an aliquot portion** of which the French, either directly, or indirectly through the medium of international exchange, would be willing to accept in return for the kid gloves.

I say **all the English hands,** because if some failed to find employment, then instead of a national gain there might be a national loss, by reason of the misery and moral deterioration of the unemployed.

I say **perennial product,** because if the new exchange-product were an exhaustible product like china clay, or a dirty dangerous disease-giving (disappearing) product like coal, then I, for one, utterly and resolutely deaf to any pick-me-up, ex parte,

ex post facto extenuations of the Micawber School of Economists, (and I am happy to think that I am but one of thinking thousands,) would view the exchange as a clear national loss.

I say **an aliquot portion,** because if the total new product of the thousand and twenty hands were given in exchange for the imported kid gloves there would be no national gain of any kind.

It is easy, of course, (pig-easy, indeed,) for the *convinced* Free Trader to affirm that the mere Principle of Buying in the Cheapest Market will settle automatically all these provisos in a satisfactory way. But with equal ease I can affirm that the Principle of Taking the Shortest Apparent Cut will always bring you quickest to your destination.—Affirmation, you know, is not quite the identical-same as argument.

—But even if this *convincing* contention were granted,—what then?—What earthly hope could you build on such a Principle, in an economic world where a thousand tariff walls and customs prevent, muddle, and mutilate its operation?

No, Sir, in any assessment of the value of Free Trade there is no disentangling it from the vital question of

CONDITIONAL SCIENTIFIC RECIPROCITY,

and any man, I repeat, who attempts to do so, be he a cabinet minister, (or a cow-herd,) or a professor of economics, merely writes himself down in emblazoned letters

AN ECONOMIC ASS.

The far-spread illusion that Free Importation is **a good-in-itself,** because it enables you at least to **buy** in the cheapest market, is founded upon an ignorance of the function and use of money which is easily comprehensible and pardonable in the case of the uneducated, (and the half-educated,) but which is utterly unpardonable and contemptible in the case of politicians who profess to guide the destinies of England.

Let me explain.

Here, e.g., is my Rt. Hon. friend, my Lord Tom Noddy. The lucky heir to his uncle's estates he is the happy possessor of an income of ten thousand a year.

But now note this first!

The ten thousand pounds which my Lord receives in the year has no absolute existence in gold and silver coins of the realm, even when and though it may have been paid to his factor in the form of such.

But in the second place, and more important still!

Much more decisively less is this ten thousand a year a sum of abstract wealth which my Lord is free to dispose of as his fancy may decree,—as, e.g., to disburse in the moon.

The ten thousand pounds a year which my Lord receives is, in its essence, a mere concrete note or bond or claim: and is symbolic **merely of the fact** that he possesses the legal right of disposal of all the farm produce derived from his lands minus that amount which falls to the share of those who farm.

But my Lord has a factor, and a private secretary, and a physician, and a solicitor, and a butler, and I cannot tell you how many factotums and tectotums and tradesmen at the call of his whistle.

And when my Lord, in payment of the services he derives from these, makes over cheques or hard cash to the value of hundreds of pounds,

WHAT, IMAGINE YOU, HAVE THEY RECEIVED FROM MY LORD?

Money?—which they are free to disburse as *their* fancy may decree?—as, e.g., in the purchase of Green Cheese from the Mountains of the Moon!

Not one little bit more than was my Lord of the Manor free.

What has really occurred economically is, that my Lord has transferred to the factor, physician, solicitor, butler, etc., a portion

of his legal claim upon the original farm produce of his late uncle's manor lands.

But the physician and solicitor and tradesmen in general who derive from my Lord's income, they also have their little rents to pay and taxes: children to educate, beards to shave, and pots to mend.

And when these, therefore, undo their purse-strings, pay their rents, their assessments, the village dominie and dancing master, the barber, the blacksmith, drop their pennies into the Sunday plate and give alms to the poor,

WHAT, THINK YOU, NOW, THESE DO?

These do but re-transfer to their respective landlords, the landward authorities, the barber, the blacksmith, the parson, the poor, a portion of their portion of my Lord's portion of the original farm produce of my Lord's manor lands.

And when, of all these sorts and conditions, the women folk go in good time to the village dairy, the village poulterer, the village butcher, the village store, to translate their so-called pounds shillings and pence into milk butter cheese meal and mutton,

WHAT DO YOU FANCY THEY RECEIVE?

—Just a little less than their theoretical share of my Lord's portion, by the amounts which the grocer the butcher the dairyman retain for themselves, and which they term, in their happy unthinking way,) their profit.

And straight from the tills of the village shopkeepers (for the most part on a Monday morning) the spent symbolic cash, having subserved its transient purpose, returns once more to the village Bank (whence it originally issued) and whence it is ready again, at a moment's notice (and the call of my Lord's cheque,) to emerge on a similar catalytic cycle,— a comparatively little quantity sufficing to effect the beneficent exchanges on which the life of the manorial system depends.

That is money,— a mere concrete) algebraic symbol whose function it is to measure endorse and equate the multifarious exchanges of modern life which in their multiformity derive

from the endless subdivision of labour on which modern civilisation rests. For the fact that a sovereign a shilling a penny possess an intrinsic value of their own need not distract your attention for a moment. For these, at the best, do but function on the extreme fringe of the economic system, all the major operations of money being effected by little valueless fragments of stamped and unstamped paper; so that the actual value of the coins in question is a mere economic waste, a rudimentary attribute hinting back to the origin of money, and, for the present, a rough measure of the moral retardation of human society.

But once there is rooted in your economical head (if you have one) clearly the complete serfdom of money, its fixation to the soil of its birth and the exchange-system to which it belongs, the rest becomes easy.

Suppose, e.g., that the village blacksmith's wife has a sovereign to spend on her week's provisions, and that just as she is about to set out for the village store a migratory huckster passes through the village and offers her her full week's provisions for 10/. An offer, you may be sure, so tempting would be irresistible, and the bargain would be struck to the great delight and to the great gain of the blacksmith's wife,—who would have half a sovereign (unexpected) to add to the treasures in her stocking.

But view now this transaction from the village steeple.

The blacksmith's wife's portion would still remain at the village store. And finding no purchaser would go to the dogs. The storekeeper would have 20/ less to bank on Monday morning, and the total currency of the village system would be depleted by half a sovereign. That is to say, manorially, there would be a distinct loss. Nor might the loss be fiscal merely. For, by supposition, the goods having perished which the blacksmith's wife might have bought, the half sovereign in her stocking stands for nothing, and when, later, she brings it to market, the rest of the village may be robbed to ransom the good wife's saving.

Come nearer now.

Conceive that the migratory huckster sets up a rival store in the village, from which he sells the surplus product from some neighbouring manorial system more cheaply than does the village store.

What more absolutely (and pardonably) natural than that the simple villagers with the concrete sweat-won cash of their weekly wages in their pockets should rush to follow the example of the lucky blacksmith's wife and expend that cash in the cheapest market!

They would do so.

But note what would follow.

The original village shopkeepers unable to dispose of their goods would be unable to settle the farmers' accounts. And the farmers, minus their accounts, would be unable to pay their labourers' wages, or adjust the blacksmith's bill, or compound with my Lord's factor. And my Lord, himself, deprived of his rents would be unable to give his daughters their pin money, or pay my Lady's millinery bill, or discharge with his factor, or his physician, or his solicitor and his thousand and one attendants and dependents. And these, in their turn, would be unable to meet their little liabilities, or put any more contributions in the Sunday plate. And, smitten by the avenging Nemesis of a violated Economy, the simple villagers would come swiftly to learn: That what the blacksmith's wife could do with great delight and great gain to herself **they could not all hope to do**: That money was made round, not merely to go round,

But to Go Round in such a way as to Come Back:

and That it is possible for a so-called Cheapest Market (as I have previously hinted) to spell out, letter for letter, the very Dearest in the World.

But these illustrations, you say, are trumpery and incomplete and cut to suit.

No, dear friend, not in the very least degree.*

They are diagrammatic, designedly in the highest degree diagrammatic. But I tell you, fearless of contradiction, this:

*Always bar, of course, a rivet. But the clever economist must wait for the launch.

That a great national system differs from the diminutive diagrammatic system which I am after suggesting (on canvas with a cloth-brush) merely in the far-reaching infinitude of its extent, the bewildering complexity of its inter-relations, and the (organic) insured validity of its fiscal latitude.

The bottom Principles are identical.

A National economy can no more leap from the national soil and the national sources than can a man from his shadow, and any foreign exchange-breach in the National system, if it is not to imperil that National economy, must be conducted strictly within the Ring-fence of Scientific Reciprocity. By which I mean that the bricks of the breach must be replaced by not less than a *nationally* adequate quid-pro-quo.

By itself, merely, and standing on its own legs, the Principle of Buying in the Cheapest Market (without distinction as between home and foreign) is

UTTER NATIONAL LUNACY.

But perhaps a specific illustration (of this midsummer madness) will make my contention (much-repeated) clearer.

Well, if, in an overstocked British produce market, a quantity of Danish eggs and butter is offered at £10,000, overagainst an equal quantity of Irish eggs and butter of identical quality at £10,100, no one, I think, will deny that the Danish produce is the cheaper.

No one, also, I think, will dispute that by the purchase of the Danish produce the British Wholesale Egg-merchant will be the richer by a hundred pounds.

But the country? Great Britain!—Will she also be richer by a hundred pounds?

Answer. No.

Great Britain will be poorer,—poorer by exactly £10,000. And this whether the Dane takes payment in gold or in goods.

If the Dane takes payment in gold the National balance sheet will read thus:

Before the Danish purchase, Great Britain had
Butter and Eggs (quantum sufficiebat) plus Gold
After the Danish purchase, Great Britain had
Butter and Eggs (quantum sufficiebat) minus Gold.

If the Dane takes payment in goods, (say, Scotch Whisky or Coal,) the National balance sheet will read thus:

Before the Danish purchase, Great Britain had
Butter and Eggs (quantum sufficiebat) plus Scotch Whisky (or Coal.)
After the Danish purchase, Great Britain had
Butter and Eggs (quantum sufficiebat) minus Scotch Whisky (or Coal.)

The only undenominated asset which the transaction would leave in Great Britain, in lieu of the gold or the whisky or the coal, would be

IRISH ROTTING EGGS AND RANCID BUTTER!

!—That is how the Protectionist laughs at the silly taunt of the Free Trader that Protectionism is a sectional cry. The Protectionist, in reality, cannot even think the exchange problem (far less discuss it) apart from the National Point of View!

☞ But you object that my illustration is special and particular.

It is unfortunately nothing of the kind.

Unsold eggs and butter will keep fresh for days. But

Unsold Labour

is

The Most Perishable Commodity in all the World.

It perishes, as Henry George has memorably put it, irrecoverably for ever on this side Time, hour by hour and fast-falling minute by minute.

Thus if you will take up my illustration now and interpolate German Manufactured Goods for Danish Produce, and for Irish Eggs and Butter, **British Unemployed Labour,** you will find that everything shines out exactly as before,

Only Worse,

on account of the extra-perishability of one of the items—(British Unemployed Labour as compared with Irish eggs.)

XVIII.

But it is time to resume now the main avenue of our discussion.

My contention so far, then, merely has been—and to expedite the debate I am willing to see it go through as an ipse dixit—my contention so far merely is:

That it is decidedly premature, to say the least of it, to strut around the street corners cackling and crowing and congratulating ourselves as a Nation on the National Economy (supposed to be) involved in the Free Importation of Cheap Goods, until we know with the best degree of precision,—**How these Cheap Goods are to be paid for.**

Now the Free Trade argument on this Cardinal Issue is as pellucid and refreshing as May Morning Dew.

It is, in any case, in all conscience, simple. Simple as A B C to a grown-up man. Simpler even. As simple as the simplicity of the grown-up simpletons who endorse it.

The Free Trade contention is:

> That inasmuch as International Trade is a mere gigantic barter,—Therefore the Cheap Goods which are free imported into this Free Trade country **must be paid for by Goods exported from the same.**

—Whence emerges, like darkness emerging out of a farthing dip, (or the bray of an ass out of an old tin teapot) the ever famous, **(and ever-to-be famous,)** Free Trade Idiocy:

"Look after the Imports and the Exports will look after themselves,"—that imperturbable Rock of Adamantine Absurdity, (from which, at this moment, all the accumulated fiscal wisdom we can muster in England stots like a marble from the Rocks of Gibraltar,)—on which England's Policy and Empire and Greatness and Glory are (and have been) and *are to be eternally* based.

I say, Gentlemen, in front of this solemn and appalling fact, God help England!

But, here and now, as we are approaching the crisis of the great Fiscal issue I must enter a caveat and indulge (even so soon again) in a brief digression.

Nothing, as you know, is so common in debate as for the ex parte debater to set up an Aunt Sally of his own imagination as the Real Aunt Polly of the Opposition, which, after a studiously candid exposition of her salient and aggressive angles, he can forthwith crumple into Cosmic dust with an argumentative tap of the tip of his little finger.

Now, Sir, in a National issue of such stupendous importance I must guard myself, and especially I must guard you and my audience, against any such trick of the Fancy.

I will, with your permission, therefore, step aside from the boards for a moment and permit the Fiscal Opposition to tell you all that they possibly know about

THE PAYMENT OF BRITISH IMPORTS.

I begin, as I began before, with **Mr. Asquith.** You have already imbibed of his fiscal wisdom at Upper Largo.

Hear him again **at Newcastle:**

> "Our imports were not sent to us out of philan-
> "thropy. They were sent in payment of goods supplied,
> "services rendered, and interest due. (Cheers.) **Every**
> **"halfpenny of their value was payment for some-**
> **"thing which British workmen had expended their**
> **"industry upon."**

I give you **Mr. Haldane at St. Andrews:**

> "He felt that the nation **should be educated,** that

"its mind should be brought back to the principles of "Free Trade under which the country had prospered for "so many years past. Mr. Haldane then went on to say "that goods were paid for in goods, that imports were "paid for by exports, and not in sovereigns. He was "quite prepared to concede that individual industries "might suffer, but **every import was paid for by "export in some shape or form.**"

But, of course, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Haldane are mere lawyers!

Well, I give you, then, **Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at Stirling:**

"But now I come to the question of foreign imports. "Exports and imports involve each other. Imports "demand exports; exports could only be paid by im- "ports. (Cheers.) If you manufacture and export "commodities, they must be paid for by other com- "modities. Where is the invasion, the damage, and the "ruin in all this? **One, as I say, has to go back to "the A B C.**"

But of Sir Henry it might, perhaps, be said that he is not even a lawyer.

Well, in that case, I give you an Ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer. I give you **Sir William Harcourt at Rawtenstall:**

"**Then as to imports. Why were we alarmed "about these? The imports were things we wanted. "We need not take them if we did not want them,** "and we could not have them unless we had the money "to pay for them. Of course, they were not paid for "with gold. Foreign nations had to pay us £70,000,000 "on our investments abroad, and about £90,000,000 for "our shipping service. **This was what made up the "difference between imports and exports.**"

But of all these distinguished authorities it may, of course, be said that they are mere Liberals.

In that case, I give you Tories for a change. I give you another Ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer. **Sir Michael Hicks-Beach at Manchester:**

"The wonderful idea that we pay for our imports "by a drain of gold, or that we do not pay for them at "all, I think, has been exploded long ago. Of course, "we pay for those imports. And does the extent of "those imports reduce the employment of our working "classes? Cries of 'No.' **Well, now, you cannot get "imports without exports.** (Hear, hear.) **Our work-"men must be employed in making them in some "way or other, by visible exports or invisible exports, "as they are termed, and although they may not be "employed in making precisely the same thing which "we import, yet they will be making something else "in profitable exchange for them.** (Hear, hear.)"

(Ladies and Gentlemen that '*Hear, hear!*' that you hear is immortal. Down the long aisles and unending corridors of Time it will roll and reverberate as long as England and English History shall last, and as each succeeding generation hears it, each will say:

GOD FEND THE SHEEP OF ENGLAND WHEN ITS SHEPHERDS ARE SHEEPHEADS!)

I give you another Ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer. **Mr. Ritchie at Croydon:**

"We could not export without getting imports, and "there were only three ways in which our exports could "be paid for—first by gold; second, by the sale of "securities abroad; third, by goods. Payment was not "made by gold, and it was certainly not made by the "sale of securities abroad. **However alarming the "increase of our imports might appear we could not "increase the imports without also increasing the "exports.**"

I give you Liberal Unionism for a change,—another Ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the best of the lot. **Viscount Goschen at Liverpool:**

"One word more about this matter. Mr. Chamber-"lain assumes, I think as a great many Protectionists do

"that these imports are not paid for by exports on our "side. **They do not see that we have got to pay for "the imports, and that we are paying for them, and "therefore if there were no imports you would take "away the whole of the employment upon those "goods which are being manufactured to pay for "them. I am glad I am relieved from the necessity "of going further into that by the admirable exposi- "tion of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach upon that point "last night.**"

And again in the same speech:

"**Your imports are merely the payment, not by "the same man, but indirectly through others, pay- "ment for that which has been exported**—with, let us "hope, a decent profit added to the original value, with "some payment for the cost of freight and expense, and "also it may include and does include the return with "interest for capital invested in foreign countries. **Well, "that, as I say, is the recognised and hitherto undis- "puted theory in the matter.**"

It might, however, be affirmed of all these high exponents of High finance that they lack pedigree or a Scots Grey position in the peerage.

In that case, I give you a Duke. **The Duke of Devonshire at London:**

"Well, gentlemen, is this disparity between our "imports and our exports a cause for real anxiety? "(Cries of 'No' and 'Yes.') It is not, I think, within "the experience of commercial men that anybody is in "the habit of giving anything for nothing—(laughter "and hear, hear,)—and this excess of imports must be "paid for somehow. They are paid for. Our Protec- "tionists desire that they should be entirely or mainly "paid for by the export of our own goods, of our own "manufactures, which they think would give employ- "ment to labour. (Hear, hear.) **Well, they are paid "for in other ways which do give employment to**

"labour. (Hear, hear.) They are paid for, first, by the "returns on our investments abroad, which are them- "selves the result of labour. (Hear, hear.) In the next "place, this excess is paid for by the services which we "render to other countries through our shipping interests "—(cheers)—and the profits of our merchants abroad, "and by the earnings of our countrymen engaged in "commercial or industrial operations in every part of "the world.

"If you want to redress this trade balance you can "only do it either by foregoing the interest on your "investments abroad, which is impossible, or by curbing "the industrial and commercial energy of your country- "men in every part of the world, which no one desires. "(Laughter and cheers.)

"But if, after accounting in this way for this "excess of imports over exports you still desire to "restrict the imports by the imposition of protective "tariffs you can only do it by limiting in a corre- "sponding degree the exports which you desire to "increase, and you will be defeating your own "objects—instead of increasing you will be limiting the "profitable and fruitful employment of your people. "(Cheers.)

"Now, gentlemen, if, as I believe, it is absolutely "capable of demonstration that the restriction of "imports means also the restriction of exports and "the consequent diminution of the employment of "your people, it is a somewhat melancholy sight to see "the eminent and distinguished men,—etc.."

But of all these Fiscal Lights and Legal Luminaries, these great Shepherds of the people, Dukes' sons and Cooks' sons and mighty Ex-Chancellors of the British Exchequer, it might be affirmed, (and with some degree of plausibility,) that they are mere Politicians.

In that case, I give you the Public Press and the Professors of Political Economy.

I take up any Free Trade rag of a newspaper.

I take up the Glasgow Herald, and in one of its Leading Articles read :

> "One need merely point out that our imports of "manufactured goods include millions upon millions "worth of materials, used for British manufactures, "which could not be produced in this country ; **that the "whole of these imports are paid for either in goods "made or in services rendered in this country or on "the high seas, or represent the interest on foreign "investments."**

I take up the Spectator, that great weekly Free Trade Conflagration, in the full eye of whose Sirian Splendour no mere Protectionist may look and live, and in a Leading Article, on July 18th, 1903, commenting on a correspondence at that time running through its columns I read :

(But before I read you the commentary perhaps I had better give you in sample the correspondence.)

Well, in a Fiscal letter addressed to the Editor of the Spectator, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle had made this incisive observation :

> "**I fear that all the wit of the Free Traders will "not convince me that when I pay £1000 to a Paris "maker for a motor car and that £1000 duly figures "among our imports I am doing my country as good "a turn as if I made out my cheque to a Birmingham "manufacturer in which case our total trade returns "would seem to be £1000 less.** It is that transaction "infinitely repeated which accounts for most of that "£100,000,000 and I cannot bring myself to believe that "it is anything but a drain on our resources."

But no sooner had Sir Arthur given brazen birth to this outrageous confession than like carrion crows to an easy victim Free Traders flocked from every point of the compass, from the House of Commons, the Universities, and the ends of the earth

to peck out the eyes of Sir Arthur's ignorance and let fiscal daylight through the thickness of his skull. Until, as I say, at last, like a mighty vulture the Spectator swooped from its eyrie, and behold with a whisk of its mighty pinion Sir Arthur's remains were buried at sea.

Well, I give you one of these Electric Fiscal Illuminations penned by no less than one of the fourteen Celebrities who signed the famous Free Trade Professorial Manifesto.

(As I could not think to mutilate such a gem I give you it in extenso:

"PAYMENT OF IMPORTS.

"To the Editor of the Spectator.

"Sir,—Might I point out what seems to me the "central doctrine in the theory of international trade. "**It is that imports are paid for, and that, as they "are not and cannot to any extent be paid for in "metallic money, they are paid for in goods.** In the "Spectator of July 4th Sir Conan Doyle weighs the "ordering of motor-cars from France against the order- "ing of motor-cars from Birmingham, and says that all "the wit of the Free Traders will not convince him that "he is doing his country as good a turn in the one case "as in the other. I should not do Sir Conan Doyle the "discourtesy of thinking that he considers that the "French motor-car is paid for finally by a cheque, but "his argument gives that impression. **Surely some- "where in this country Englishmen are making the "goods which will be exported to France or to some "other country to pay for the French motor-car. "But if**—in the ordinary course of trade, and apart from "the cases where imports are payments of debts, interest, "or services **every import of foreign goods calls "out a corresponding export of English goods, what "becomes of all the talk about giving more work and "wages to our people?** This, of course, is only one of "the many points which must be remembered in any

"fruitful discussion, but it seems to me the one which is "oftenest forgotten.—I am, Sir, etc.

* * * *

"The University * * *"

I give you another Coruscation from the House of Commons.

"To the Editor of the Spectator.

"Sir,—Sir A. Conan Doyle in his letter in the Spectator "of July 4th has pithily stated the whole argument for "Protection in a sentence, and thrown down a challenge "to Free Traders which I hope you will grant me space "to answer. 'I fear,' he says, 'that all the wit of the "'Free Traders—etc.'

"I assume, of course, that the French motor car is "the better. No Free Trader amuses himself by spend- "ing money on inferior foreign goods in order to see "them figure among our imports.

"How does Sir Arthur pay the Paris maker for "his motor? He does not send him a thousand gold "sovereigns, nor does his banker. Every one, except "Mr. Seddon, knows that the exports and imports of "bullion are relatively small, and nearly balance each "other. On the contrary he pays by cheque. Now a "cheque is itself a piece of worthless paper; but the "system of cheques and clearing-houses is the machinery "by which commerce enables certain individuals, such as "British exporters who send goods abroad but receive "no direct equivalent in value, to square accounts with "other individuals, such as British importers who receive "goods from abroad but do not themselves send back "any equivalent in value for them.

"Thus Sir Arthur's payment for his French "motor finds its way, not to France, but to the "pocket of an English exporter—let us say a "Huddersfield manufacturer who has been sending "woollens to France and must be paid for them.

* * * *

"Let us now consider whether Sir Arthur does his "country more good by ordering his motor from France "or from Birmingham. As far as he himself is con- "cerned, the French machine is preferable; for ex "hypothesi it was the better and cheaper. But would "he not have benefited home industries more had he "sacrificed himself and ordered an inferior car from "Birmingham?

"**I maintain that he would not. By ordering his "car from France he enables a British manufacturer "to make and export a corresponding value of "woollens.** These were made at a good profit; so "good that the woollen manufacturer could send them "to France and pay the freight and yet undersell his "French competitor. The manufacture of the motor in "Birmingham would have been less profitable, for the "maker could not afford to undersell his foreign com- "petitor even in Birmingham. **Thus by spending his "£1000 on the better and cheaper motor, even if it "happens to be French, Sir Arthur has benefited "himself, benefited British shippers and British "agents, and employed a profitable home industry;** "whereas had he spent it on an inferior home-made "machine all this profitable British trade would have "been replaced by an unprofitable manufacture, which "can only exist at the expense and inconvenience of the "consumer.—I am, Sir, etc.

* * * *

"House of Commons."

I give you now

THE BURYING COMMENTARY OF THE CONFLAGRATION.

that Great Free Trade Organ of Infallibility that (wonderful week after week) reduces to cinders and the grey ash of impalpable nothingness all the Protectionist Fallacies that venture within daring reach of its burning radius, and wonderful week after

week rives wider and wider its red reeking doors rapaciously ready for more.

LEADING ARTICLE, SPECTATOR, JULY 18TH, 1903.

"Now with all respect to Sir Conan Doyle he has "been betrayed into a fallacy.

* * * *

"But unfortunately in trade we cannot help bothering "about the foreigner. The foreigner will not let us for- "get him. **If we impoverish him by refusing to take "his goods he is obliged to retort by not taking ours. "As our purchases abroad decreased, so would his. "In other words, the thousands of factories here "which are entirely devoted to making things for "the foreign market—i.e., supplying the things "which have to be exchanged against foreign im- "ports, such as Sir Conan's motor car—would have "to be shut down.** They constitute the other side of "the exchange, and when there is no exchange with the "outside world they must collapse.

"Because we apparently pay for foreign goods in "gold, we forget that there are thousands of Englishmen "working every day to provide the material subjects of "barter. Though we cannot see the channels they take, "the millions of pounds which go out of this country in "bills of exchange, or even in bullion to pay for foreign "goods will find their way back (possibly having first "travelled round the world) to purchase goods here. **"In a word, there are thousands of men and women "here whose whole livelihood depends upon Sir "Conan Doyle being allowed to spend his money on "a French motor-car,** if French motor-cars are better "and cheaper, and so in greater demand, than British "cars."

I give you at last, and finally brethren, if I did but know how to do it with becoming majesty and reverence, —I make you partakers of the wisdom of that exalted Elect who have followed Economical Knowledge like a sinking star beyond the utmost bounds of human sense.

I GIVE YOU THE PROFESSORS! THE IMMORTALS!

!—Ah, Gentlemen, what a day of the Gods that sure must have been, reaching the earth but once in a long eternity, when on a bright summer evening (with the help of a ha'penny pen and a dew-drop of ink) you by the mere adhibition of your signature to an innocent-looking fiscal document awoke next morning to find yourself emblazoned on the roll-call of the Immortals.

I raise my glass:—

I GIVE YOU THE FOURTEEN ECONOMICAL TAILORS OF TOOLEY STREET!

From the world-manifesto of, wherein 'tis written:

> "It is **not true** that an increase of imports involves "the diminished employment of workmen in the import- "ing country. The statement is universally rejected by "those who have thought about the subject, **and is** "**completely refuted by experience.**"

—That you see settles it. And all that we poor Fiscal Reformers have forthwith to do is to be for ever dumb and open no more our babbling mouths.

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, that that I have read to you, difficult as it is to believe, appalling as it is to relate, that represents **the transcendental high-water mark,** the collective concentrated quintessence of English Professorial Economical Knowledge in these the foremost files of English time.

But I pray you, Gentlemen,—do not be over-hasty. Look closer and notice, as you pass, how carefully guarded the utterance is. "**Involves!**" But alas, alas, for poor Professorial Humanity this very adroitness brings in effect but the deserved

retribution of a heavier damnation. For the extract which I have given you is one of those half-truths which in the absolutely gratuitous circumstance of its utterance was

THE BLACKEST OF UNTRUTHS!

And what I think of the men who subscribed to it, and what you ought to think of them, I will tell you, with pleasure, presently.

Now, my friends, I think the most fanatical Free Trade Bigot amongst you will scarcely level the charge against me that I have in any way burked the argument on this cardinal issue of the Free Trade side of the House.

That argument is succinctly this:

The vast nett imports which annually reach the shores of Great Britain are divisible into two great particulars:

1. Imports which come to us in payment of Interest on British Capital invested abroad; as also of a variety of services such as shipping service, insurance, brokerage, etc.; and of wages, profits, emoluments, made in and remitted from other lands. Etc..

2. Imports for which England must pay: this English payment being made and met by the export from Great Britain of an equivalent value of British Goods produced by current British Labour.

Thereafter the Free Trade argument bifurcates thus:

1. No one, scarce even the most abandoned Protectionist idiot, would ask Great Britain to refuse the reception of the first class of Imports,—namely those which come to it in payment of Interest, Shipping Service, etc..

2. To restrict, on the other hand, the free reception of the second class of Imports would be the Apotheosis of Insanity as that would merely throw out of profitable employment the

"thousands of men and women here" (vide the Spectator)

"whose whole livelihood depends upon Sir Conan Doyle
"being allowed to spend his money on a French motor-
"car."

!—But alas, and again, my dear friends, I must beseech your forgiveness. I am an unfortunate miserable: haunted by the spectral dread that any ass amongst you may for a moment imagine that I am bluffing the Free Trade argument out of the least little scruple or vestige of its full weight and force and measure, and therefore at the risk of the utter imbecility of quotation I give you an illuminating extract, pat on this decisive point, from a Fiscal Address by one of the Illustrious Fourteen:

> "The very fact that we were receiving these imports
> "that not the nation, but the individuals of the nation
> "every man of them engaged in trading for profit, were
> "buying these imports, was sufficient proof that we were
> "paying for them.
>
> "Nations might run into debt, but the individuals of
> "a nation did not beyond the ordinary terms of credit.
> "If this was true, what followed? It was, that all this
> "lurid suggestion about displacement and non-employ-
> "ment of labour was not proven. They might prove
> "displacement and non-employment by facts: they
> "could not by showing that our imports were increasing.
> "We were employing the nations of the world in sending
> "us imports; they were employing us in taking our
> "exports. **And one thing was certain, that if by a**
> **"hostile tariff imports were checked we displaced**
> **"those who were making the exports.** But that was
> "a displacement of capital and labour which the so-
> "called reformers would not condescend to look at.
> "(Applause.)"

Nothing, you see, can be more lucid, more positive, more patent! (unless of course the all-too obvious fact that we wretched Reformers are mortally afraid of burning our fingers

on the argumentative spines of this alarming Free Trade (industrial-displacement) Hedgehog.

!—"Surely, somewhere," (as it has been put with a pathos which seems to me to strike the sublime stars with its divine innocence,)—

> "Surely *somewhere* in this country Englishmen are "making the goods which will be exported—to France "or to some other country -to pay for (Sir Conan's) "French motor-car." ! ! ! !

Theoretically, of course, the Theoretical Free Trader *may* admit that imports *might* come to us in payment of capital which has been lent abroad but in the practical fiscal issue that is before the country the suggestion that Britain's adverse Balance of Trade may be partly adjusted in this way is greeted with

CONVINCING ROARS OF DERISIVE CACHINNATION.

Now with regard to the first kind of imports,—those which come to us (or by the convention of argument may be regarded as coming to us) in payment of interest, etc., I will give you the Protectionist argument in the space of a moment.

I promise this in order that I may pass at once to the vital second, namely the imports which in the doctrinaire language of our modern ostrich-headed English Political Economy "call out a corresponding Export of English Goods."

Well, in the first place, I ask: How do the convinced Free Traders and Free Trade Economists know and assert all this with such aggressive assurance?

The answer is easy.

Here is the

IRREFRAGABLE SYLLOGISTIC RATIOCINATION

on which all the magnificence of this unparalleled Cocksurance is based:

I.

The Imports into Great Britain are Paid for:

II.

They are not paid for in Gold:

III.

(Therefore they can only be paid for by British Goods:)

IV.

Therefore they are paid for by British Goods.

V.

But British Goods are only produced by current British Labour:

VI.

Therefore British Imports are Paid for by current British Labour:

VII.

Therefore if you Restrict British Imports you throw into immediate idleness the British Workers who are at present sedulously employed in producing the profitable British Goods that pay for the profitable British Imports.

VIII.

"Therefore, Gentlemen,"—(if you will permit me to quote again the Ducally imposing language of Devonshire,)—

> "Therefore, Gentlemen, if, as I believe,
>
> "IT IS ABSOLUTELY CAPABLE OF DEMONSTRATION
>
> "that the restriction of Imports means also the restriction "of Exports **and the consequent diminution of the "employment of your people** it is a somewhat melan- "choly sight to see the eminent and distinguished men "—etc."

A melancholy sight! Ah! ye Gods above us, what ironic food for divine laughter must have this great controversy provoked in the ambrosial halls of Olympus!

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg you to rub up your Sunday-goggles and improvise a mustard blister to the back of your brains in order that, critical point by point, you may examine with me this

ABSOLUTELY IRREFRAGABLE RATIOCINATIVE DEMONSTRATION

which has so profoundly moonstruck the Ducal wit of Devonshire.

FIRST OF ALL, THEN, I TAKE UP PREMISE NO. 1!

The Imports into Great Britain are paid for!

But luckily, now, as I have been an importer myself of foreign goods I can here speak with a certain measure of authority. I know, e.g., that in the purchase of my goods I received an astoundingly long credit, and that the goods which I received had long figured among British Imports (duly Paid

for a la the Duke of Devonshire) long before they were in reality paid for by me.

Also a turn of my wit enables me to see that if, in the interim, my affairs had gone into the North East corner these British Imports which had already all along been paid for (a la the Duke of Devonshire) might never have been paid for (at least by me.)

Also in my observation of life I have noticed that Families and Firms at times can do a very large Import Business: (and the bigger the Firm and more exalted the Family the more easily largely and lengthily they so can:) which Imports, at first, are all of them very handsomely paid for (a la the Duke of Devonshire) and even also in the end are paid for, truly, but by means of a very small plus and a very large minus realisation.

I dont pretend to know, of course, and I dont suppose any one does, but I find it distinctly worth wondering how long a great Firm like Great Britain & Co., with its innumerable incalculable modes of accommodation, (failure, emigration, capital-erosion,) and adjustment, might pursue the even tenor of that finely graduated path which leads to the end of Greatness and Empire without arousing the suspicion of the I-eagle glance of a Mr. Asquith, or arresting the luxurious detection of a somnoliloquent Duke!

Is, e.g., the Noble Duke of Devonshire aware that at any given moment millions of British Imports ostensibly paid for (a la his own assurance) are in reality not paid for at all:—The British Promise-to-Pay circulating abroad as an International Form of Money, much as a British Paper Bank Note, involving a Promise-to-Pay on Demand, circulates in local currency?

Bankers have estimated that these English liabilities may at any moment run from fifty to a hundred million pounds. Truly a sum of indebtedness which not even a Duke may afford to sneeze at!

But what exactly (in all this) is my point? Merely,—that while Lords and Dukes and Rt. Hons. and Noble Ex-Chancellors of the Exchequer are above much in the world they are not above the Principles of Science and when they condescend to discuss a subject of Science with the country (which anxiously

craves for unprejudiced guidance) they might at least bear in mind to keep within the bounds and laws of Scientific treatment.

It is not *just* correct to say that the Imports into England are paid for.

At any given moment, no economist who knows anything of his business dare with wisdom say more than this:

The Imports into England involve a Promise-to-Pay.

But these Fiscal Refinements I *mention*—merely in order to brush them like cobwebs out of the argument. I accept, for argument's sake, in toto and in its purity, the Ducal position:

The Imports into England are paid for!

I PASS TO THE SECOND PREMISE:

The Imports are not paid for with Gold!

Now what is the Free Trade proof of this confident assertion? Well, Sir, here is a sample of the proof that is usually given:

> "In the five years ending 1900 we imported into "Great Britain 154 millions of gold and we sent out of "Great Britain only 121 millions of gold, leaving a "balance of gold in Great Britain of 33 millions."

I take these figures from the columns of a daily newspaper, and the very convinced Free Trade writer from whom they are quoted adduces them as a perfectly clear demonstration that Imports are not paid for with gold. Well, I wont say. But I will, at least, say this: that the man who can accept these figures as a clear demonstration that Britain does not pay for imports with gold must have notions of logic so far differing from mine that I might as well debate the point with a kangaroo.

But what then, exactly, are the facts? This for one:—That the confident statement that Imports are not paid for with gold is decidedly too sweeping. International Trade Balances are adjusted every day in gold. And there is no gainsaying the possibility—not to say probability—that part of the British adverse Balance of Trade may be paid for with gold.

Therefore, in regard to our imports, the correct scientific statement, so far, is:

The Imports into England involve a Promise-to-Pay:

Said Promise, to be redeemed, if necessary, when necessary, (so far as such redemption can be) in gold.

But why on these pithless refinements do I dwell even for a moment? I do so merely for the purpose of brushing them like empty cockles out of my path, in order that I may accept with the deeper satisfaction, for argument's sake, in toto and in its full simplicity, the Ducal position:

1. **The Imports into England are Paid for:**
2. **The Imports are not Paid for with gold!**

I pass

(WITH A PROFOUND SIGH OF LONG-DEFERRED RELIEF)

to the heart and marrow of the whole occasion:

THE STUPENDOUS FREE TRADE CONCLUSION!

Therefore the Imports are paid for by British Goods!

☞ Ay! But, in God's Good Name!

What Goods?

You see there are Goods and **Goods** in Great Britain, just as there are Goats and **Geese** in the world.

(Fiscal and other.)

XIX.

I say,

What Goods?

Now on looking into the statistics of British Trade for an answer to this question the first thing that strikes your attention is the fact:

That however it may be with the **Goods**

with which we pay,

THE GOODS **FOR WHICH WE PAY**

have increased enormously within the past few decades, and portentously within the past few years.

For example:

Our Nett Imports*

In **1870** totalled **£259,000,000.**

In **1880** they amounted to **£348,000,000,**
„ **1890** „ „ „ **£356,000,000,**
„ **1900** „ „ „ **£460,000,000:**

—Being an increase of £201,000,000 in 30 years.

But even that tall increase looks tame beside the increment which has been the pride and glory of the last few years,—caught up in the casual contemplation of which the convinced Free Importer ripples and breaks

INTO UNINHIBITABLE PAROXYSMS OF PARADISIACAL DELIGHT.

Thus we imported

In **1895** to the value of **£357,000,000,**
„ **1896** „ „ **£386,000,000,**
„ **1897** „ „ **£391,000,000,**
„ **1898** „ „ **£410,000,000,**
„ **1899** „ „ **£420,000,000,**
„ **1900** „ „ **£460,000,000:**

* Imports minus Re-Exports,—exclusive of Bullion and Specie.

Being an Increase in British Imports nett

Of £103,000,000

in the space of the last quinquenniad of the 19th century.

The second thing that arrests your attention is:
(Not alone that our Imports have increased,) but

THAT THE MANUFACTURED PORTION OF OUR IMPORTS

has contributed alarmingly to this general increase.

Thus,

Of Manufactured and Partly Manufactured Goods

we imported *

In	**1870**	to the value of	**£57,000,000,**
„	**1880**	„ „	**£83,200,000,**
„	**1890**	„ „	**£98,200,000,**
„	**1900**	„ „	**£145,200,000:**

Being an Increase of £88,200,000 in 30 years.

But for the more recent years of that period the figures are more startling still.

Thus we imported

In	**1895**	to the value of	**£107,700,000,**
„	**1896**	„ „	**£117,600,000,**
„	**1897**	„ „	**£123,800,000,**
„	**1898**	„ „	**£125,100,000,**
„	**1899**	„ „	**£135,900,000,**
„	**1900**	„ „	**£145,200,000:**

Being an Increase in Manufactured Imports to the value

Of £37,500,000

in the course of the last five years of the 19th century.

---

* The values given are gross, that is to say they include re-exports. "In considering manufactured goods, however, this is of comparatively little moment, as our re-exports consist for the most part of food and raw material. Thus in 1902 of £66 millions worth of re-exports, less than a quarter consisted of manufactured goods."

The next thing that arrests your attention springs not out of the famous Blue Book, but emerges out of your own British sense of decency and Fair-do,

THE REFLECTION, NAMELY, AND THE EXPECTATION

that being such magnificent easy-going extravagant Customers to the World at large, (and certain countries I shall be naming, presently, in particular,)

(THAT) THE WORLD AT LARGE,

(and those countries I have not yet named, in particular,) would do the level best that was in their power to make the mode and manner of Repaying this great and growing indebtedness

AS EASY AND AGREEABLE AND ECONOMICAL

to Great Britain as possible.

———o———

Dipping once more into the statistics of British Trade, with this reflection

AND CHRISTIAN EXPECTATION

in your mind, the first thing that strikes you, slap in the face, is the fact:

That whatever the Goods may be which the Foreigner is accepting in exchange for the Imports with which he floods the British market these Goods are decidedly not the Goods which it would be most convenient for our industries to supply, and which on Free Trade Principles he ought avidly to covet.

On Free Trade Principles the British Goods which the Foreigner ought to accept are the Goods which Great Britain can manufacture most cheaply.

But these, in the gross, are precisely the Goods which he will not receive.

How do I know this?

By the Tariff Barriers which he builds about his ports and erects along his frontiers to inhibit the accession of such Goods.

How like are these Tariff Walls?

Ah, well, here are a few, which I cull from the now famous 1903 Board of Trade Statistical Blue Book under the following heading:

"Estimated average ad valorem equivalent of the import "duties levied by the under-mentioned on the principal articles "of British Export."

	Per Cent.
Russia,	131,
United States,	73,
Austria-Hungary,	35,
France,	34,
Italy,	27,
Germany,	25,
Belgium,	13.

You will notice that these Tariff Walls differ in height. But you must not conclude from this that Germany, e.g., is kinder to British Exports than is, say, Russia. A small duty, "a 25 per cent. duty in Germany," as the Blue Book puts it, "may give as complete protection to a native industry as a 100 per cent. duty in a more backward country."

☞ But notice, also, in passing, an infinitely more vital point. (The one and only thinker of the Liberal party) Mr. Haldane is eternally calling aloud to the people of this country, like a Turkish muezzin from a watch tower, to improve the system of its education, to erect 'Charlottenburgs' in every town and village, and to bring its antiquated business and lagging manufacturing methods up to date. (Wonderful, when you think of it, that the politicians who most at this moment are desiderating Education-for-other-folk are actually the people who, in this fiscal crisis, stand most in need of it themselves!) All the same, in itself, the advice is superlative. Education of all kinds, and in German quantities, is one of the most important weapons in the full armoury of the Protectionist state,—witness what they do for education in America and Germany, among whose statesmen it is perfectly recognised that Free Trade can only flourish on a soil of ignorance and superstition, vide England and Turkey.

and where, as knowledge spreads and deepens, the wisdom of Protection becomes ever more and more unassailably based upon the People's Will. (That, of course, goes without saying.)

But suppose, for a moment, that Great Britain had improved its business methods to the ne plus ultra of human perfection, suppose that, here and now, she were endowed, gratis, with all the industrial knowledge of Heaven itself, in what sense would all that Heavenly knowledge and British human perfection avail in front of these hostile tariffs?

These tariffs, dont you know, have not been random-drawn from an Hungarian lottery-bag? They are not, in any way, haphazard happy-go-lucky hand-me-down accidentals from an ignorant past. In no sense at all are they purposeless or meaningless or inconsequential like, say, the ideas of a *convinced* Free Trader. Nor have they tumbled casually out of a lunatic asylum like the utterly idiotic items of an English Budget.

They are modern, up to date, alive and kicking, designed and ordained with mathematical precision (and conscious decisive purpose) to *exclude* specific British products from specific foreign markets.

You want your British goods into these foreign markets? Very well, then. And you daren't Retaliate? (Because that would be worse than madness, and a greater injury to yourself than the foreigner, and a violation of the great unwritten eleventh commandment.) Very good. But in what sense, then, will Mr. Haldane's Education and a ten per cent. reduction in the cost of your manufactures avail you, when at the call of a penny whistle on every foreign frontier a hundred heightened tariffs are certain to spring, like Roderick Dhu's clansmen from the heather, and leaning upon their shining, 20% elongated, claymores laugh at you and your education and your 10% Reductio-ad-absurdities?

Mr. Haldane might do very much worse for his country than go to bed again and think over it. We are already two generations, no doubt, behind the Germans in Education, but we are also forty generations behind them in Fiscal Policy. And Mr. Haldane, in my opinion, would best, at this moment, contribute to the cause of Education in this country by, before opening his

mouth at large on this critical matter before gaping crowds of enthusiastic Liberal ignorances, contributing a little to his own.

In looking into our British Trade Statistics,

THE NEXT FLABBERGASTING FACT

that would strike a blind man deaf (and any ordinary man blind,) although it follows, of course, as a natural sequence out of these inhibitory Tariff systems, is:

That whatever the British Goods may be which the foreigner is accepting in exchange for the Imports with which he is flooding our markets these Goods are decidedly not the British Goods which he was content at one time to take.

FOR EXAMPLE:

> "In every Granite yard in Aberdeen," about ten or twelve years ago, "the American Monumental Trade "was a staple feature of the business. From New York "in the east to San Francisco in the west, memorials of "the Hill o' Fare, Kemnay, Rubislaw and Peterhead "granites met with a steady and increasing demand.
>
> "At that time it is not too much to say that eleven-"twelfths of all the granite work cut in Aberdeen was "exported to America."

Now if anywhere in this world granite monuments can be manufactured cheaply one would suppose that they could be manufactured cheaply in Aberdeen where harbours and houses and streets and gutters and coal-cellars and hencoops and cabbage-garden walls and even the heads of the inhabitants are composed of that material and rest on the same.

But, with their usual monumental thickheadedness, (even as our British forefathers ordained that British dead should be wrapped in warm British wool,) so our cousins across the sea appear to have concluded that any kind of granite, so be it was American, was good enough for the perpetuation of posthumous

American virtues. (It may be that they were right,) but in any case they clapt on a 50 per cent. tariff on the granite monuments of Aberdeen,—with this delightfully-graduated graduating result, which ought to rejoice the cockles of the heart of the most *convinced* Free Trader and be consigned to the British Museum as

AN EVERLASTING GRANITE MONUMENT

to the golden unapproachable virtues of one-sided Free Trade.

Thus

Of Aberdeen Granite,

the United States imported

In	1892	to the value of £112,382,
,,	1893	,, ,, £ 91,343,
,,	1894	,, ,, £108,570,
,,	1895	,, ,, £ 88,160,
,,	1896	,, ,, £ 55,452,
,,	1897	,, ,, £ 36,915,
,,	1898	,, ,, £ 26,700,
,,	1899	,, ,, £ 18,078,
,,	1900	,, ,, £ 19,081,
,,	1901	,, ,, £ 18,135,
,,	1902	,, ,, £ 19,710.

Of British Cement,

(in part payment of the Imports with which she floods the British markets) the United States condescended to accept

In	1890	to the value of £484,861,
,,	1902	,, ,, £ 31,811:

Of British Hardware and Cutlery,

In	1890	to the value of £393,309,
,,	1902	,, ,, £119,609:

Of British Cycles and Parts thereof,

In	1892	to the value of £255,466,
,,	1902	,, ,, £ 1,970:

Of British Tin Plates,

In 1890 to the value of £4,786,092.
.. 1891 .. .. £5,240,383.
.. 1899 .. .. £ 887,432:

Of British Chemical Products and Preparations.

In 1890 to the value of £2,034,931,
.. 1902 .. .. £ 792,466:

Of British Haberdashery and Millinery.

In 1890 to the value of £253,115,
„ 1902 „ „ £ 85,509:

Of British Silk Manufactures and Yarn.

In 1892 to the value of £1,226,970,
„ 1902 „ „ £ 275,926:

Of British Woollen and Worsted Manufactures.

In 1890 to the value of £5,147,832.
.. 1902 .. .. £1,481,461.

'But,' I seem to hear the ghost of a Free Trader say, 'if the 'United States contracted her purchases of British Goods in 'these particular items you may be sure that she increased her 'demands in other items.'

Of Total British Manufactures,*

in part payment of the Imports with which she floods the British markets the United States condescended to accept

In 1890 to the value of £29,089,323,
„ 1902 „ „ £19,467,914.

'But,' I still seem to hear the ghost of a Free Trader say, 'if the United States contracted her purchases of British Manu-'factures to that extent you may be sure that she increased her purchases of British Goods other than British manufactures.

* Exclusive of Ships, and articles of Food Drink and Tobacco.

Of Total British Produce,* the United States bought

In 1890 to the value of **£32,068,128,**
„ 1902 „ „ **£23,760,327.**

'But,' (I still seem to hear the ghost of a Free Trader say,) 'if the United States is purchasing less and less of British Goods, 'that is no doubt for a good and sufficient reason. Very likely. 'e.g., Great Britain is buying less from the United States?'

Of Total Produce from the United States, Great Britain bought

In 1890 to the value of **£ 97,233,349,**
„ 1902 „ „ **£126,961,601.**

——o——

I give you France.

(Of Woollen Manufactures to Great Britain France sold
In 1902 to the value of **£5,390,916.)**

Of British Woollen and Worsted Manufactures,

in part payment of the Woollens and other innumerable Goods which she deposits freely on the British market, La belle France was polite enough to accept

In 1890 to the value of **£2,746,740,**
„ 1902 „ „ **£1,509,411:**

Of British Haberdashery and Millinery,

In 1890 to the value of **£22,881,**
„ 1902 „ „ **£ 8,721:**

Of British Hardware and Cutlery,

In 1890 to the value of **£110,124,**
„ 1902 „ „ **£ 26,673:**

Of British Chemical Products and Manufactures.

In 1890 to the value of **£760,187,**
„ 1902 „ „ **£543,317:**

*Excep. Ships,—which in 1902 touched the magnificent figure of £586

Of British Cement,

In 1890 to the value of £14,269.
„ 1902 „ „ £ 854:

Of British Cotton Yarn and Manufactures.

In 1890 to the value of £1,321,126,
„ 1902 „ „ £ 961,211:

Of British Copper and its Manufactures.

In 1890 to the value of £1,046,171,
„ 1902 „ „ £ 241,768.

'But,' I seem to hear the ghost of a Free Trader say, 'if 'France has contracted her purchases in these particular items 'she has no doubt increased her purchases of other items.'

Of Total British Manufactures* to France Great Britain exported

In 1890 to the value of £12,537,300,
„ 1902 „ „ £10,249,539.

'But,' I seem to hear the ghost of a Free Trader say, 'if 'France is taking less of our Manufactured Goods she is no 'doubt making amends by taking more of our general produce.'

Of Total British Produce† to France Great Britain exported

In 1890 to the value of £16,567,927,
„ 1902 „ „ £15,410,999.

'But,' I seem to hear the ghost of a Free Trader say, 'the 'explanation is easy. Very likely France exported less of her 'produce to Great Britain.'

* Except Ships, and articles of Food Drink and Tobacco.

† Except Ships, which in 1902 amounted in value to £176,301. Ships were not recorded prior to 1899.

Of Total Produce from France Great Britain bought
In **1890** to the value of **£44,828,148,**
„ **1902** „ „ **£50,642,928.**

But, after all, Sir, what are the United States, (a vulgar fraction of the Americas,) and France?—but a quarter bigger than California, (or Montana,) not by 60,000 square miles so big as Texas, and not half the size of Alaska!

Think of the world of Foreign Countries besides!—Germany, Russia, Austria, Turkey, China, Japan, Spain, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Persia, Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, etc., etc.!

Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the combined Foreign Countries of the World.—

But before I do so, perhaps you will permit me, at this particular point and with these particular facts and figures before you, to diverge for a moment in order that I may kill two fiscal birds with one stone: that is to say, that I may not alone clinch my present thesis, but at one and the same time dispose of a particular Free Trade argument which, as I think, is so calculated to impose upon the unwary that I propose to do it the courtesy of an examination.

Following my usual custom, I will give you the terms of that argument as they have been set forth in public by a responsible Free Trader: in this case, at Manchester, on Nov. 5th, 1903, by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.

Addressing himself to those who view with growing alarm the extraordinary attenuating cul-de-sac (closing fast on the export side and broadening illimitably on the import side) into which our commercial relations have been permitted to drift with the United States, Sir Michael steps airily forward with the superfluous air of one who has imbibed to satiety the atmosphere of millions and,

WITH A PSEUDO-SCIENTIFIC WAVE OF HIS MAGIC IGNORANCE,

endeavours to appease the troubled waters of our innocent alarm with these far-reaching observations:

"Ramifications of International Trade.

"But that is not all. In dealing with these matters "of exports and imports you must not think of the "figures of one country alone.

"I suppose that few people, probably none except "those who are actually engaged in it, have the least "conception of the wonderful ramifications of inter "national trade.

"Now, what happens?

"Take the case of France or of the United States.

"We buy from these countries in values far more than "we send to them.

"How do we pay the debt?

"In this way. France and the United States buy "for their own needs from China, Turkey, South America, "and other tropical countries, silks and tropical produce "of various kinds, and they buy them in great quantities.

"How do they pay for them? Not by their own "exports, but they come to us and they say,

"'Send your cotton goods to China, Turkey, and the "'tropical countries in payment of bills,'

"and we do it to a very large extent, as is proved by the "fact that our exports to those countries I have named "are much larger than our imports. (Hear, hear.

"But what does this mean? **It means that, thanks "to free imports, we are able here to conduct a trade "with these neutral countries which the cotton manu- "facturers and other manufacturers of France and "the United States cannot conduct for themselves "because of the dearness of the production. (Cheers.) "We take through freedom of imports what ought to "be their market**; and, if you put an end to freedom of "imports here, well, you will lose that part, at anyrate, "of your foreign trade. (Cheers.)"

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I think the most illiterate fiscal fathead amongst you will readily grasp the significance of Sir Michael's powerful argument.

Like ancient Gaul, that great argument seems to me to fall of its natural self into three great parts:

First of all,

There is a statement of Fact **which is a Fact:**

Second,

There is a statement of Fact **which is a Fiction:**

And lastly,

There is a statement of Theory (unsupported by facts of any kind) **which is intended to explain the Fact that is a Fiction.**

Let me deal with these Gallic divisions seriatim.

First of all then,

I think there is no denying the fact that

"We buy from France and the United States in "values far more than we send to them."

There is also no denying the fact that there are other countries in respect of whom the converse may be said.

To China,

e.g., in 1902, we sent Goods to the value of

£7,000,000,

and from China we took Goods to the value of

£2,000,000,

leaving a balance in our favour

Of over* £5,000,000.

It is also perfectly true that it is in our power to dispose of that balance to the United States, or to France, or to both, in discharge of any equivalent claims which may be due by us to them.

It is also, I think, undeniable that accommodations of this kind, in endless ramification, form an active essential part of the daily complex web of International Exchange.

So much so, indeed, that Sir Michael had no occasion to go so far away as China. He might have adopted an illustration nearer home.

* Allowing for the fact that Export values do not include freight, insurance, etc., and Import values do.

To Italy,

(no less,) e.g., in 1902, we exported Goods to the value of

£7,000,000,

and we imported from Italy Goods to the value of

£4,000,000,

leaving, therefore, Italy in our debt to the value

Of over £3,000,000.

Which debt-claim, of course, just as with China's, we can transfer to France, or the United States, or distribute to the world in adjustment of counter claims built up against us in a world of multiplex ways.

—All of which, indeed, is so easy, so true, so obvious, as to have gone, a simple Protectionist like myself would have thought, without saying.

But there is a great gulf fixed, wide and impassable as the burning mouth of the Infernal Regions, between these elementary mouse-like qualitative facts and

THE QUANTITATIVE MANSION OF ASSURANCE

which Sir Michael coolly builds up on the same.

But, after all, Sir, nothing is so typical really of the Free Trade mode of argument than just this very Presuming Assurance, or, (as I should prefer to call it,)

Assuming Presumption.

First of all comes the learned-looking confident pseudo-scientific assertion,

With just so much of truth in the same as to render it doubly false,

addressed to the sixty years' ingrained stupidity of a wealthy unreflecting self-conceited (expert batting and betting) nation, by some man who occupies, or has occupied, some position of authority in the same,

OF SOME QUALITATIVE (IMPOSSIBLE) POSSIBILITY,

which germinating fast and furious, like Jack o' the Beanstalk's bean, with the exaggerative impetus of its own absurdity gets

itself magnified forthwith in the forcing atmosphere of cheering ignorance into

A QUANTITATIVE IRREFUTABLE ACTUALITY,

and, *as such*, is paraded next morning through the Leading Articles of every penny partisan newspaper, wherefrom it filters into every partisan ha'penny newspaper,—until by 6 p.m. the blazing imbecility has percolated its pernicious poison through every happy home and found a lodgment in every empty skull in the kingdom.

And then, if you please, on the strength of it all, a day or so afterwards, rises some other great-little man * before some other little-great audience and is saved the trouble, forsooth, of dealing with this and the other Protectionist Fallacy **after their masterly explosion the other night by Sir Huckleberry Hog'shead.**

* "Ah! I am not going to talk to you about the fiscal business to-night "after the riddling these theories and promises got a few nights ago from the "calm straightforward common-sense of the Duke of Devonshire. **After his "penetrating fire upon them we may well leave them in the dust to "which he reduced them. (Cheers.)"**

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman at Dundee.

"They do not see that we have got to pay for the imports, and that we are "paying for them, and therefore if there were no imports you would take "away the whole of the employment upon those goods which are being "manufactured to pay for them. **I am glad I am relieved from the "necessity of going further into that by the admirable exposition "of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach upon that point last night."**

Viscount Goschen at Liverpool.

And by dint of an eloquent geometric multiplication table of iter-gitter-and-re-gitteration the agreeable much desiderated assurance grows and swells (as only an untruth can) until every opinionative convinced self-righteous British ignorant numskull of a Radical believes in his proud little insular heart that the charlatan Mr. Chamberlain and his hoary Protectionist Fallacies have been blown for ever out of blue British water into the deepest limbo of the mediæval Inferno.*

* "We are going to fight this battle out—(cheers)—and I say that already "some of the fundamental propositions, **most of the fundamental pro-"positions, upon which the Protectionist case rests have been already "blown out of the water. (Cheers.)"**

Mr. Morley at Dumfries.

"If it was the case that Mr. Chamberlain's scheme lay at this moment "**discredited in the judgment of this country**—(cheers)—discredited for "its bad history, for its inaccurate figures, for its falsified prophecies, for its "gaping contradictions,—if it lay **a torn and mangled bit of chaos**, "(applause)—what was it due to? Twelve months of argument and dis "cussion before the forum of a free people. (Renewed cheers.)"

(Modest) Mr. Asquith at Cambridge.

"There must surely be **something wrong in Mr. Chamberlain's pro-** "**posals** when **men of the standing** of the Duke of Devonshire, Lord "Goschen, Lord George Hamilton, and Mr. Ritchie were **utterly opposed** "**to them.** (Cheers.) The fact was that we could not shut out imports "without crushing out the exports of manufactured goods made at home. "**Mr. Chamberlain's argument was as rotten in theory as it was** "**unsound and rotten in practice. (Cheers.)**"

(The one and only Liberal thinking) Mr. Haldane at Ealing.

"The report to be presented to the forthcoming Conference of the Inde "pendent Labour Party at Manchester says: '**Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal** "'**policy is completely discredited**; but, notwithstanding that it is no "'**longer a live issue,** Liberals are persistently trying to beat it into life in "'order to give them something to come to the country upon which will save "'them from having to pronounce on important social questions.'"

———"———

You will observe that the idea of *testing in a quantitative* way his qualitative assurance never occurs to Sir Michael.

The glimmer of the Ghost of an idea *of the need to do so* never struggles through the Free Trade obscuration of his soul.

It is also just this, if you will permit me to interpolate a personal note, that fills my soul with a never-ending astonishment.

Dropping as I do into this Controversy out of a science that is exact and quantitative from the crust to the core I am every day I live amazed at the imbecile qualitative drivel that passes in the same, or appears to pass, for serious and conclusive reasoning.

The idea of measurement, the conception of quantitative analysis, seems to be utterly beyond the wildest dreams of that Icarian body of fiscal Illiterates who (Heaven protecting us) having already misguided the destinies of the Empire are coolly expecting a mandate shortly to repeat the presumption.

At first I concluded that the men who could so reason, or accept such reasoning, or expect other people to accept it, as valid must be a lunatic squadron of flying mountebanks, until, in a

moment of inspiration the conundrum was solved for me and I remembered with a grateful sense of relief that these extraordinary logicians were necessarily not after all the *intelligence* of my country but Party Politicians, Partisan Pressmen, Ex-Chancellors of the Exchequer, and (God help the mark!)

FOURTEEN ENGLISH ECONOMIC PROFESSORS.

In any case I will say to you frankly and very truly this that if any member of the science to which I belong were to come before a body of his peers and assure them of the theory of the manufacture of, say, common Washing Soda on some qualitative assertion as flimsy and unsupported as the economic statement on which Sir Michael Hicks-Beach founds, he would be forthwith drummed, and *deservedly*, out of the ranks of serious science,—if ever such an ass could have found his way within.

And yet here comes along a gentleman, (statesman!) ex-chancellor unabashed of the British Exchequer, who blandly invites us to base not the manufacture, if you please, of Baking Soda but the security and futurity of a Great Living Empire

Of between three and four hundred million souls

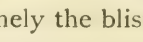
on a baseless vision of unsupported evidence that would provoke

The Cachinnation of a Cow

and move even a cat to tears.

!—Oh immortal Lexicon of the world-compelling English Language what burning word within thy graphic boards shall cover with befitting contumely the blistering Felony

OF IGNORANCE IN HIGH PLACES!



But let us go back from these high Sunday flights of irrelevance to the week-day porridge of Particulars.

Well, as I have just said, and as you have just seen, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach goes a long unrequested distance out of his way in order to deal with the chronic adverse balance of trade between ourselves and the United States. And he goes I cannot tell you how many thousand geographical miles *further* out of his way

out of his bearings out of his depth out of his knowledge out of the reach of common sense and common patriotic honesty to insinuate to thousands of his equally ignorant countrymen

That all is well with that adverse Balance!

that it is adjusted for Britain's good and Britain's glory in a very simple, very safe, thoroughly economical, and perfectly satisfactory Free Trade way.

So complacently fool-sure is Sir Michael Hicks-Beach of this stupidity that he doesn't think it worth the bend of his little finger even to name that balance, to tell us

Whether it is high or low:
Increasing or diminishing!

It is enough for him, apparently, that it is *a balance*,

AN ADVERSE BALANCE BY AN OCEAN'S BRIM!

—And nothing more!

It does not occur to that distinguished impartial man to impart to his countrymen the to me critical information that this adverse balance is growing between the boards of the Atlantic by leaps and bounds:

That

In 1870,* it stood at £29,000,000:

and, thereafter, jumped as follows:

In 1880,*	to	£69,000,000,
„ 1890,*	„	£72,000,000,
„ 1895,*	„	£89,000,000,

until it touched,

In 1900, the Yankee-tall total of £119,000,000,
and, „ 1901, the blue zenith of £123,000,000:

whence, however, it happily fell to

£103,000,000 in 1902.

☞ Adverse Balance! I think you know what I mean After deducting the full measure of our amazing total of

£24,000,000

* These numbers are quinquennial annual averages comprising the year given and the four succeeding.

of British Exports to the United States in 1902 from the 1902 equally amazing

£127,000,000

total of our Imports from the United States there remained a balance of

103,000,000 sterling pounds

which we had to pay to, (or, if you like, cancel with,) America in one way or another.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach mentions France. But it does not occur to him to tell the country that France also has indulged in the same exhilarating Yankee pastime of flooding our markets with more and more of her goods (and taking less and less of our own) so that whereas she built up an adverse balance against us

In 1870,* to the extent of **£24,000,000,**

That balance grew as follows:

In 1890,*	to	£29,000,000
„ 1895,*	„	£37,000,000:

whence, however, it fell (to our British Free Traders' profound chagrin,)

To the insignificant total of £36,000,000 in 1902.

But what was it, please again, that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach did?

What Sir Michael Hicks-Beach did was: at Manchester on November 5th 1903 he said:

"We buy from France and the United States in "values far more than we send to them."

And what was it, please, that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach omitted to do?

What Sir Michael (by the most casual oversight) omitted to do was this:

He omitted to add the debit balances which I have given you together and inform his Manchester Free Trade audience and, through that audience,

A GRATEFUL FREE-IMPORTING COUNTRY,

that our adverse Balance of Trade with the United States and

* These numbers are quinquennial annual averages comprising the year given and the four succeeding.

France, combined,
which,

In 1870,* stood at £53,000,000,

had, by the year of our Lord 1902, reached

The insignificant Liliputian Total of £139,000,000.

But Sir Michael Hicks-Beach very wisely remarks:

"In dealing with these matters of exports and imports
"you must not think of the figures of one country alone."

Very well, then.

In that case, it does not appear unreasonable to assume that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has heard of a little country called Holland.

Even in the best of English Schools I suppose they must be taught, in addition to their cricket, a little Geography.

But apparently Sir Michael has forgotten, if ever he knew, that

Even Little Holland

contrives to pile up against us a *little* adverse balance:

That this adverse balance of Trade amounted

In 1870, to the stupendous total of—Nil,

and that it waxed as follows:

In 1875,*	to	£8,000,000,
„ 1880,*	„	£16,000,000,
„ 1885,*	„	£17,000,000,
„ 1890,*	„	£19,000,000,
„ 1895,*	„	£20,000,000,
„ 1900,	„	£21,000,000,
„ 1901,	„	£25,000,000,

reaching the total,

In 1902,	of	£27,000,000.

But, I dare say, even if Sir Michael *had known* all this it would never have occurred to him to add this sum to the combined total *of what he never tried to ascertain* and tell the country that.

* These numbers are quinquennial annual averages comprising the year given and the four succeeding.

In 1902, the adverse balance of Trade built up against us by

the United States,
France,
and little Holland,
totalled £166,000,000.

Sir Michael, *of course*, has never heard of Belgium. In any case he is not aware that Belgium, *also*, has played American skittles with the wooden-headedness of Free Importing England and that so adeptly that she has raised an adverse balance against us, which,

In 1870,*	amounted to	£7,000,000,
„ 1885,*	to	£9,000,000,
„ 1890,*	„	£10,000,000,
„ 1895,*	„	£12,000,000,
„ 1900,	„	£13,000,000,
„ 1901,	„	£17,000,000,

to the handsome total,

In 1902, of £19,000,000.

Under these circumstances we could hardly expect Sir Michael to add *what he didn't know*

TO THE COMBINED AGGREGATE OF HIS IGNORANCE,

and inform a grateful Free Importing country that the *United States*, *France*, *Holland*, *and Belgium*, laying their benevolent heads together, had, in the year of grace

1902,

conferred upon Gt. Britain the inestimable fiscal favour of piling up an adverse balance of trade against it to the convincing tune

of £185,000,000.

But if Sir Michael has never heard of Belgium I in charity assume that he must have heard of the Empire of Germany.

But was he, or is he, aware that

In 1870,*

* These numbers are quinquennial annual averages comprising the year given and the four succeeding.

(when most of us, here, were laddies at School,) the balance of our trade with Germany left us

£7,000,000 to the Good,

and that that balance to the Good had been converted into

A Balance to the Bad,

By 1875,* to the extent of £3,000,000,
„ 1890,* „ „ „ „ £8,000,000,
„ 1901, „ „ „ „ £10,000,000,
„ 1902, „ „ „ „ £12,000,000.

Now the addition of this German £12,000,000 to the **£185,000,000** which I gave you just now is not an outrageously difficult effort in summation for an *ex-chancellor* of the British Exchequer,

But, alas, Gentlemen, I look in vain through the Manchester speech for an unvarnished statement of the appalling fact that, in the year of grace

1902,

five nations only,

The United States,
France,
Little Holland,
Little Belgium,
Germany,

contrived to pile up an adverse balance of trade against Gt. Britain to the tune of

£197,000,000,

(just three little millions short of)

£200,000,000.

Right! dear Sir, Perfectly right!—I am just approaching the point.

These figures, as my Rt. Hon. friend reminds me, and as it is

* These numbers are quinquennial annual averages comprising the year given and the four succeeding.

only fair to the Foreigner, the Free Trader, and our Protectionist peace of mind, to mention, are subject to considerable qualification.

Thus the numbers are round. The Import values, from which they derive, include freight, etc., and the Export values do not. Also the Export values are of British Produce minus ships, whereas the Import values are gross,—that is to say, they include, or may include, Re-exports.

!—BUT ALAS, AND ALACK, AND AFTER ALL, AND NOTWITHSTANDING!

(inasmuch as the qualifications attach all round, and the Re-exports being as they have been and are,) there is no denying in the numbers or extracting therefrom, or neutralising therein,

THEIR STARTLING DISCONCERTING COMPARATIVITY!

Thus I said but now that our adverse Trade Balance with the United States and France, combined, reached,

In 1870,* the sum of £53,000,000,
and „ 1902, the total of £139,000,000,

—showing an increase in 32 years of £86,000,000!

But if I give you the United States, France, Holland, Belgium and Germany, combined, the figures are more striking still!

For with these our adverse Balance of Trade,

In 1870,* totalled £53,000,000,
„ 1880,* „ £120,000,000,
„ 1890,* „ £138,000,000,
„ 1902, „ £197,000,000,

—showing an increase in 32 years of £144,000,000.

☞ So much, Gentlemen, for the domain of Hicks-Beachian Fact.

I now invite you into the Department of Hicks-Beachian Fiction.

*These numbers are quinquennial annual averages comprising the year given and the four succeeding.

The piquant query comes at once to be **How do we meet this gigantic indebtitude?**

☞ WITH LUDICROUS (HEAVENLY) SIMPLICITY!

Listen again to Sir Michael:

"How do we pay the debt?"—did you say?

"In this way.

"France and the United States buy for their own needs from

"**China,**

"**Turkey,**

"**South America,**

"**and other Tropical Countries,**

"SILKS AND TROPICAL PRODUCE OF VARIOUS KINDS,

"and they buy them in great quantities.

"How do they pay for them?

"Not by their own exports, but they come to us and say,

"'Send your cotton goods to China, Turkey, and
"'the Tropical countries, in payment of bills.'

"And we do it to a very large extent, as is proved by the "fact that our exports to those countries I have named are much "larger than our imports."

So you see, the payment of our gigantic indebtitude doesn't even need the proverbial turn of the wrist. *It is easier* than snuff.

What happens simply, briefly, merely, is:

The good Americans and the friendly French come along politely, and tap us *fraternally* on the shoulder, and say:

'*Dear* John Bull,

'*Dont* worry! *It isn't worth it.* All you require do 'is to re-grease your old joints with the infallible sheet-lightning 'of Free Trade and card and spin and weave for all you are very 'well worth,—

'GOOD OLD IMMEMORIAL TEXTILE SPIDER!

'and from the roaring looms of Lancashire ship your unbeatable 'unapproachable cotton goods to China, Turkey, and the Tropical

countries, and, *thereafter*, hand over your little Chinese and 'Tropical bills to us,

'And you may think no more about your adverse balance!

'It's off the slate!'

How *kind!* Above all, How very *very* simple!

—The good Americans would never dream, e.g., of exploiting the Tropical markets *for themselves* and diddling us out of these little Chinese bills *at first hand.*

Surely! surely! my dear Friends! we have all in our gentle childhood heard, (when the people cried and died in the desert for thirst,) how the good Moses struck the miraculous rock, wherefrom (and upon) the living waters followed forthwith. But surely some fiscal modern Moses ambulating recently through the free-food deserts of economic England must have tapped the living fountains **of all human simplicity** and poured the full cataract into Sir Michael's skull.

!—But may-be I err. (I wont doubt.) Maybe Sir Michael's contention rather is that even if the Americans were so unutterably mean as *to think of supplying* these markets with cotton goods they *couldn't*, because of the *Protection-caused dearness* of their home production.

Couldn't they? **Sir Michael is not aware that the Americans are actually beating us out of the markets in the East in cheap cottons.**

But in dealing with the fiscal folly of good easy England there is, in reality, no need to rush. (A few hundred years are neither here nor there!) Let me, therefore, rather sap this solemn sand tower of Free Trade Imbecility with the slow but systematic shovel.

The Hicks-Beachian argument is, then, that the adverse balance of trade which I have set before you in detail, (and which the convenient apostle of Free Food slurred over at Manchester in the slump,) is met by our export of cottons to China, Brazil, etc..

Very well, then. **Our adverse balance is met by Cottons.**

But if that be so, let us look again at this adverse balance.

I am just after telling you that our Balance of Trade with France and the United States showed an adverse increase in 32 years of **£86,000,000:** and that our adverse balance with these two nations conjoined with Holland, Belgium and Germany showed an increase in the same period of **£144,000,000.**

Now if I remember aright our total export of Cotton manufactures (not to China, Brazil, etc.,) but to all the earth, in 1902, amounted to

£65,000,000:

so that out of these very striking data these not wholly unstriking sub-data emerge:

(1) It would take the whole of our 1902 manufactured Exports of Cotton to all the earth to meet, (not the adverse balance of our trade with the United States and France in 1902,) **but the mere increase which has taken place in that adverse balance since 1870.**—I beg pardon, I'm wrong again. I said 'to meet': and what I should have said was: that it would take the whole of our 1902 manufactured Cotton Exports *to fall short of meeting*, by a sum of **£21,000,000,** this adverse balance's adverse increase.

(2) In a similar way, it would take the whole of our 1902 Exports of Manufactured Cottons **multiplied twice over** to meet, or rather, again, to fall short of meeting, by a sum of **£14,000,000,** (not, pray, the adverse balance of our trade with the United States, France, Holland, Belgium, and Germany, in 1902,) **but the mere adverse increase which has taken place in that adverse balance since 1870.**

But, of course, I mention these trivial *unamended* irrelevances as mere episodes by the way.

What I come really intending to say is:

—That as this Franco-Germanic-Hollando-Belgic-American adverse balance is met by our export of Cottons:

And as this adverse balance has been increasing by leaps and bounds:

One would half-expect, or, if you like, one would not be *in any way surprised*, to observe in our export of Cottons

A SYMPATHETIC HICKS-BEACHIAN INCREASE.

But what *do* we find?
We find that,

of Cotton Yarn and the Manufactures thereof,

we exported to all the earth,

In	1870	to the value of	£71,416,000,
„	1880	„ „	£75,564,000,
„	1890	„ „	£74,431,000,
„	1900	„ „	£69,751,000,
„	1902	„ „	£72,458,000:

astounding figures, which in the circumstances throw to me a tragic reflection on the empty windy wooden-headedness with which a British ex-cabinet minister can get up on his gratuitous hind legs and exhibit his superfluous (I wish I could say undeservèd) contempt for the general economic information of the British Press and the common intelligence of the British People, (including his own.)

—The expected sympathetic increase, you see, turns out to be uncommonly like an unexpected sympathetic decrease.

Ay, but, may-be, the demands of other countries having fallen off, China, Turkey, Brazil and the 'other Tropical Countries' have stepped into the Fiscal breach and enormously increased their demands for cotton goods!

Well, may-be.

But, somehow, the figures they give to me dont seem to bear it out.

I give you **India**, e.g.:

Of Cotton Yarn and its Manufactures

to that great dependency we exported,

In	1880	to the value of	£21,098,000,
„	1890	„ „	£21,240,000,
„	1900	„ „	£17,591,000,
„	1902	„ „	£18,442,000.

Here again, you see, the sympathetic increase looks very like the other way about.

I give you the whole of Asia, Africa, Australasia and South America: the whole of North America, bar the United States and the whole of Europe, bar the principal Protected countries.

In this wide cast of my net I am certain to catch up all the countries Sir Michael had in his eye, if indeed that Rt Hon gentleman had really anything either in his eye or his head when he spoke at Manchester.

Well, to all these countries and regions,

of Cotton Yarn and its Manufactures,

we exported,

In	1880	to the value of	£59,574,000,
,,	1890	,, ,,	£59,811,000,
,,	1900	,, ,,	£55,911,000,
,,	1902	,, ,,	£58,760,000.

Only, I think, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and perhaps a few of his companion *convinced* ex-cabinet Free Food Tea Taxers, could fish out of these figures the sympathetic increase that would lend support to his Chinese theory:

And even he would manage the feat not by looking at the figures—but beating (with closed eyes past a strategic retirement into the innermost sanctuary of his arithmetical consciousness and thereafter beating (h'm) for all they were worth the luminous wings of his uninformed imagination — — creative prejudiced void — — politico-fiscal negligibility. (Hem!!)

But perhaps Sir Michael, in the birthplace of Free Trade was talking with an expansive exuberance *commensurate with the historic occasion.* Perhaps when he spoke of cotton he meant by cotton, cotton and much else.

Perhaps.—But even in that case his complacent theory is countered by a stonewall of statistical adamant which renders his fiscal plight still more ignominiously hopeless.

Recollect, again, what he sought to explain.

He sought to ease our troubled minds as to how we contrive to meet the heavy adverse galloping balances which the United States and France build up against us year by year,—and he found the explanation, easy, absolute, and also ready-made in

the Balances to the Good that result from our (one would imagine *enormously expanding*) trade with "China, Turkey, South America, and other Tropical Countries!"

Well, but, friends, what are the facts?

I give you China, Turkey,—and as I may be allowed to make a selection in so confused a generality, in South America I give you Brazil, Chile, and Peru, and also I give you Egypt and India as representing the most important of Sir Michael's so-called 'other Tropical' (or sub-tropical) Countries.

Well, but I say, what do we find?

At the very outset, this astonishing fact: that our exports to these countries instead of breaking, as one might have expected, into a sympathetic gallop, in order to keep pace with the vaulting excelsior Franco-American Netherlandic and Fatherlandic adverse balances, have been practically stationary for 32,—in the case of India for 22, years.

Thus we exported of British Produce

	In 1870.*	In 1880.*	In 1890.*	In 1902.†
To China,‡	£6,000,000	£5,000,000	£6,000,000	£7,000,000
„ Turkey,§	£8,000,000	£8,000,000	£8,000,000	£8,000,000
„ Egypt,‖	£7,000,000	£3,000,000	£3,000,000	£6,000,000
„ Brazil, Chile, and Peru,	£12,000,000	£10,000,000	£12,000,000	£9,000,000
„ India,	£20,000,000	£30,000,000	£30,000,000	£33,000,000

The optimistic cobble of Sir Michael's complacent theory doesn't appear well to rock to my mind on these breezy facts: but perhaps you think I have made an ungenerous selection out of the tropical nebula of Sir Michael's hypothetical vagueness.

You think very likely that I should have mentioned Venezuela to whom we exported,

* Annual averages for quinquenniads.

† Excluding value of Ships (new.)

‡ Exclusive of Hong Kong and Macao.

§ Including Asiatic Turkey. Also including Roumania, Bulgaria and Servia in the later years in order to make the figures correspond throughout.

‖ Since the opening of the Suez Canal some articles formerly included as exports to Egypt have been included as exports to the countries for which they were intended.

In 1890, £837,594,
„ 1902, - - - £312,000:

or the Republic of Columbia to whom we exported,

In 1890, - - - £1,209,618,
„ 1902, - - - £ 607,982:

or Uruguay to whom we exported,

In 1890, - - - £2,083,494,
„ 1902, - - - £1,580,557:

or the Argentine Republic* to whom we exported,

In 1890, - - - £8,530,427,
„ 1902, - - - £6,122,099:

or British Guiana to whom we exported,

In 1890, - - - £1,022,473,
„ 1902, - - - £ 690,021:

or British Honduras to whom we exported,

In 1890, - - - £119,150,
„ 1902, - - - £ 77,518.

Or, perhaps, you think I should have mentioned the Central American States (Guatemala, Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica,) to whom we exported,

In 1890, - - - £1,037,489,
„ 1902, - - - £ 733,898:

or Cuba and Porto Rico to whom we exported,

In 1890, - - - £2,909,303,
„ 1902, - - - £1,724,830:

or Haiti and St. Domingo to whom we exported,

In 1890, - - - £547,469,
„ 1902, - - - £199,131.

Or, perhaps, when I was by the way of mentioning China you think I should also have named Hong Kong to whom we exported,

In 1890, - - - £2,741,404,
„ 1902, - - - £2,274,217:

or The Straits Settlements to whom we exported,

In 1890, - - - £3,024,655,
„ 1902, - - - £2,804,516.

* Including the Atlantic coast of Patagonia.

If so, as you may see, it would be wisdom to keep your subtle thinking in the discreet region of unexpressed thought, if only to assist Sir Michael next time he opens his intellect on the subject to condescend a little

FROM PROMISCUOUS GEOGRAPHIC GENERALITY TO SCIENTIFIC PRECISION AND PARTICULARITY.

But perhaps when we come to estimate the credit balances which remain to us in our trade with "China, Turkey, South America, and other Tropical Countries," perhaps Sir Michael's Rule Britannia theory will ride off with triumphant success.

Perhaps!—In any case there is never a song like Nil Desperandum!

At the worst we can try.

Referring once more to my fiscal bible,—the Fiscal Blue Book, namely, of 1903,—and accepting the round unqualified figures therein given I note that in 1902 we had a Balance to the Good in our trade with China to the extent of between four and five million pounds: also with India a Balance to the Good to about the same extent,—making in all, say,

£9,000,000 to the Good.

But I observe, on the inverse hand, that our Balance of Trade was adverse with Turkey* to the extent of about six million pounds: also with Egypt adverse to the extent of between seven and eight million pounds: also with Brazil, Chile and Peru adverse to the extent of between two and three million pounds,—making in all, say,

£15,000,000 to the Bad.

Putting all of which together there remains to record that in 1902 our combined trade with China, Turkey, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Egypt and India left us with a nominal adverse Balance to the extent of, say,

£6,000,000.

So that, I think, you see where we stand. Jaunty with hope we go out on our journey with Sir Michael to China, Turkey,

* Including Asiatic Turkey, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Servia.

Brazil, etc., intending to settle our little (uncorrected) 1902
Franco-Netherlandic-Germano-American adverse bill

of £197,000,000,

when behold the inconsiderate very countries that were about to discharge our debt debit us in turn with another little adverse bill which calls aloud for mathematical abridgment or yet another Hicks-Beachian adjustment.

—Ah, Sir, I dont doubt. But so far from forgetting the fact,—do me the honour rather to believe that I may be leaving on purpose a little bird-lime on my twigs in case there be other critical geese about that need plucking.—You think very likely that if the necessary corrections *were* made in the Indo-Chinese Brazilian figures a very substantial credit *would* be rendered available for the indirect discharge of our debts in the manner that is suggested by Sir Michael. I dont doubt.—I have never for a moment thought of doubting it.

But are you prepared to assess this credit balance? And are you prepared to show me that it has grown *pari passu* with the growing liabilities which it has been marked by the ear to discharge?

In a word, are you prepared to take up and endorse *in all its implications* Sir Michael's assertion and defend it like a father quantitatively?

There are in the world, you know, things that no man disputes.

That a cork, e.g., is an admirable and reliable agency for implementing a hole is one of those deep-going truths which no man thinks it worth denying. It is only when some ex admiral of the British Exchequer nominates a beer barrel bung to fill the breach in the hull of a modern ironclad made by a Whitehead torpedo that one thinks the concatenation worth while mentioning.

Whither away now distracted shall we turn?

Ah! perhaps Sir Michael as he ran on the Chinese rocks with his export calico hallucinations, perhaps in his Manchesterian

exuberance he forgot to name with precision the specific countries he had, or ought to have had, in his mind's eye. Perhaps he really intended Nigeria, Persia, Siam, Timbuctoo, and the Cannibal Islands.—

Well, perhaps!

But as there is a measure in all things human, even in a Fiscal discussion, I see no reason that I should prick my too willing steed further

OVER THE ILLIMITABLE INANE,

chasing the will o' the wisp of Sir Michael's fiscal ignorance and statistical indifference.

That Rt. Hon. gentleman, however, may have his redress. Next time he opens his intellect on the subject let him condescend, as I have suggested, from Promiscuous qualitative Generality to a little quantitative *Scientific Particularity* and I will make him the delighted promise to be so immediately hard up to his fiscal heels that he shall be *spared the trouble* even to look round.

I make this promise the more gladly, I dare say, in order that I may pass *the quicker* to the really important **third great Gallic division** of Sir Michael's contention, the famous theory, to wit, on which he grounds the baseless fictions of his facts.

You remember the limpid irresistible way in which he places it.

> "France and the United States buy for their own "needs from China, Turkey, South America, and other "Tropical countries, silks and tropical produce of various "kinds. How do they pay for them? Not by their "own exports but they come to us and say,
>
> "'Send your cotton goods to China, Turkey, and "'the Tropical countries in payment of bills.'
>
> "But what does that mean? **It means that, "thanks to free imports, we are able here to con- "duct a trade with these neutral countries which the "cotton manufacturers and other manufacturers of**

"France and the United States cannot conduct for "themselves because of the dearness of the pro- "duction. (Cheers.) We take through freedom of "imports what ought to be their market; and if "you put an end to freedom of imports here, well, you "will lose that part, at anyrate, of your foreign trade "Cheers."

Nothing, I say, can match the clarity of this exposition save only its magnificent finality. You feel, as you listen to it, that everything is already fixed and settled by a kind of British beneficent forcordination and that the only further fiscal duty that remains to us in life is to go forthwith to bed and fall asleep for the next few hundred years and in our sleep sing 'Rule Britannia!—Britons never never' (shall be blest with common sense.)

What a thumping thunder awakening—to turn from the glib finality of these theoretical assurances to a memorandum like this, chock bristling with those chiels o' Burns' that ye canna ding!

Exports to Japan.*

	Great Britain.	United States.	Germany.
	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.
1878,	19,273,057	2,727,585	1,280,645
1883,	12,775,124	3,233,032	1,421,612
1888,	28,693,567	5,648,734	5,260,897
1893,	27,929,628	6,090,408	7,318,134
1898,	62,707,573	40,001,038	25,610,962
1903,	48,736,758	46,273,871	26,958,977

!—But I crave pardon. My memory fails me.

I have so soon forgotten. Please repeat to me again Sir Michael's story in order that I may grasp with both hands its solace and significance.

'* and the United States buy from China,—etc., silks,—etc. 'How do they pay for them? *Not by their own exports*, but they 'come to us and say * * *.'

How refreshing to turn from the Manchesterian applause which welcomed these thundering observations to the blue

* Imports into from the mentioned countries.

halcyon calm of the Statistical Abstract for Foreign Countries and read!—

Value of Imports into the United States from China,*

1892,	- -	20,488,000 Dollars,
1902,	- -	21,056,000 „ :

Value of Exports from the United States to China,*

1892,	- -	5,663,000 Dollars,
1902,	- -	24,531,000 „ .

What is it possible, my friends, that one should think of in front of figures like these?—(Me!)—I am bereft of the power of ratiocination,—or rather like Lot's wife, freezing, my whole body and being stiffens into one sole saline reflection. Of England my thought is!—(Mother of Empires!)—in the midst of her multitudinous stupidities calmly selecting this fiscal genius to be the Custodian of her Exchequer.—Oh Brave England!

But even as I ponder I grow calm and sweet and melt and run with the comfort of this conundrum. For if *this man's head*, Mr. Chairman, was good enough to direct the fiscal affairs of the greatest empire the world has ever seen, where dwells in the far-reaching Universe, me wonders,

THE MISTY VASTNESS OF THAT GREAT EMPIRE OF THE MILKY WAY

that would be meet for the exercise of your administrative genius, or ripe for the reception of the reforming energy of my economic enthusiasm?—Alas! my friend. Its longitude (and glory) has baffled Heaven to create!—And humbly, therefore, we remain as we remain. In Camlachie!

And yet the situation, in itself, is so ditch-easy of comprehension. The United States, you see, is a Protectionist country. (You wont doubt that.) Protection involves dearness of Production. (That's as certain as God's in Heaven.) And, therefore,—now listen—(for none but an ass can deny it)—therefore neither America nor any other Protectionist country can possibly compete with us in the neutral markets of the world.

When, therefore, the United States and Germany have anything (coffee or silk) to buy in these markets, what they are

*Excluding foreign possessions in China for 1902.

under compulsion to do is this: Hat in hand, perforce, they *have* to come to us and say: 'Dear John Bull, send, please, your 'unbeatable cottons to——.'

(Oh gratuitous idle work of futile supererogation!) In vain to paint the fiscal lily and confirm the irrefragable we turn up the Statistical Abstract for Foreign Countries, Cd. 2202, and inform ourselves:

That the United States exported of Domestic Produce:

		In 1892. Dollars.	In 1902. Dollars.
To Mexico,	to the value of	13,697,000	39,072,000
„ Argentina,	„ „	2,643,000	9,604,000
„ Australia and New Zealand	„ „	11,246,000	28,278,000
„ British Africa,	„ „	3,454,000	28,760,000
„ „ North America,	„ „	42,581,000	103,755,000

Cheek by jowl, in vain we ascertain

That Germany exported of Ditto:

		In 1892. Marks.	In 1902. Marks.
To Mexico,	to the value of	12,037,000	34,130,000
„ Argentina and Patagonia,	„ „	35,169,000	47,231,000
„ Australia and New Zealand,	„ „	20,679,000	45,509,000
„ British South Africa,	„ „	8,217,000	38,194,000
„ „ North America,	„ „	14,775,000	38,734,000
„ „ East Indies,	„ „	32,278,000	70,223,000
„ Dutch „ „	„ „	11,206,000	23,545,000
„ Egypt,	„ „	6,002,000	17,549,000
„ China, Hong Kong, Macao and Kiautchou,	„ „	29,980,000	48,788,000
„ Cuba and Porto Rico,	„ „	6,020,000	12,424,000
„ United States,	„ „	346,144,000	449,072,000

I say, (advisedly,) **in vain.** Because such figures, on the face of them, are utterly absurd and have been merely given to amuse, or typed up to try us, by some obvious imp of a Protectionist printer's devil.

* * * *

Exasperated (by the gross deception) we cast discretion to the winds and go bang with a sixpence in the purchase of a ha'penny of change and the 1902 "Board of Trade Memorandum on the

"Comparative Statistics of Population Industry and Commerce "in the United Kingdom and some Leading Foreign Countries," and therein we read :

(But first of all *we make sure.*) What can really *Exports* be? We turn up the Encyclopedial Dictionary of the English Language and ascertain that,

To Export means 'to send out commodities to foreign countries in way of traffic.'

And then we read this :

Comparison of the Annual Exports of Domestic Produce of the Undermentioned Countries for the last Twenty-one Years (in millions sterling).

Year.	Germany.	United States.*	France.	United Kingdom.
	Million £.	Million £.	Million £.	Million £.
1880,	145	172	139	223
1881,	149	184	142	234
1882,	160	153	143	241
1883,	164	168	138	240
1884,	160	151	129	233
1885,	143	151	124	213
1886,	149	139	130	213
1887,	157	146	130	222
1888,	160	142	130	234
1889,	158	152	148	249
1890,	166	176	150	263
1891,	159	182	143	247
1892,	148	212	138	227
1893,	155	173	129	218
1894,	148	181	123	216
1895,	166	165	135	226
1896,	176	180	136	240
1897,	176†	215	144	234
1898,	181†	252	140	233
1899,	203†	251	166	255‡
1900,	222†	286	164	283‡

* Years ended 30th June.

† Excluding the value of ships exported and of the "Improvement Trade" for home account. These items, which were not formerly included in the official totals of the value of the exports from Germany, amounted to 5·7 million £ in 1897, 6·9 million £ in 1898, 6·9 million £ in 1899, and 8·1 million £ in 1900.

‡ Excluding the value of new ships, and of their machinery exported. These exports, which amounted in value to 9·2 million £ in 1899, and 8·6 million £ in 1900, were not recorded prior to 1899.

Five Years' Averages at Beginning & End of Period compared.

	Average, 1880-84. Million £.	Average, 1896-1900. Million £.	Increase (+) or Decrease (−) in 1896-1900 compared with 1880-84. Amount. Million £.	Per Cent.
Germany, -	156	192	(+) 36	(+) 23·1
United States,	166	237	(+) 71	(+) 42·8
France, -	138	150	(+) 12	(+) 8·7
United Kingdom,	234	249	(+) 15	(+) 6·4

And then we mark learn and inwardly file the following comment by the author of the Board of Trade Memorandum, (Sir A. E. Bateman :)

> "This last table shows that, comparing the beginning "and the end of the period from 1880 to 1900, there was "a general increase, measured by values, in the export "trade of all four countries.
>
> **"In proportion, the increase was greater, alike in "the cases of France, Germany, and the United States "than in that of the United Kingdom, while in absolute "amount it was also greater in both Germany and the "United States."**

That strikes one's enquiring mind, at first, like a moderate good beginning.

But alas, in a lightning's (reflection) flash it dawns,—that our exasperated search has been in vain.

Why?

Because these statistics refer to the export of *General* Produce, and, therefore, in the case of France, include Wines, etc.: and, in the case of Germany, beet-root sugar, etc.: and, in the case of the United States, cotton and maize, etc.:—merchandise in regard to which we cannot possibly compete with anybody: (or at least do not.)

!—True, no doubt, our own exports include coal (but that, of course, is neither here nor there.)

Returning (re-irritated) perforce, accordingly,—this in the Memorandum is the next thing that meets our enquiring gaze:

Exports of Manufactured Articles from France, Germany, and the United States, to all Countries in the Undermentioned Years.

Year.	France. Million £.	Germany. Million £.	United States. Million £.
1880,	74	83	21
1881,	75	88	24
1882,	76	94	28
1883,	74	98	28
1884,	68	101	28
1885,	65	90	31
1886,	70	97	28
1887,	70	102	28
1888,	68	104	27
1889,	77	105	29
1890,	80	107	31
1891,	77	102	35
1892,	75	98	33
1893,	70	100	33
1894,	66	94	38
1895,	76	109	38
1896,	76	115	48
1897,	77	115	58
1898,	77	120	61
1899,	91	136	71
1900,	90	149	90

Five Years' Averages.

	Average, 1880-84. Million £.	Average, 1891-95. Million £.	Average, 1896-1900. Million £.	Increase in 1896-1900 compared with 1880-84. Amount. Million £.	Per Cent.
France,	73	73	82	9	12·3
Germany,	93	101	127	34	36·6
United States,	26	35	66	40	153·9

Also these figures look fairly calm and collected and conclusive enough,—but you must not prejudge with too much haste. Figures, as everybody knows, are the fountains of interminal fallacies, and in the world, after all, there is nothing wears like the leather of logic. Listen!—You know, e.g., that Germany turned her back on Free Trade in 1879, that the M'Kinley tariff became operative in 1890 and the Méline in

1892: (and you also know to the innermost marrow of its bare back bones the ingoing stress of Sir Michael's irrefragable argument:—) To wit:

☞ We manufacturers of Gt. Britain lick creation in manufacturing,—

(Excuse me) we all know that, but why?

-for the very obvious irremedial reason that our beautiful fiscal system of Free Importation enables us *to buy in the cheapest market.* If accordingly were enacted a British M'Kinley tariff or a Méline tariff or if you set up to act the fiscal fool like the silly Germans did in 1879, you would at once inevitably increase the cost of British manufacture,—with this for result, that the magnificent fabric of our Industrial Export Trade (which we owe solely to Adam Smith and Free Trade) would straightway tumble about our ears like an infant's house of cards.

-**Nothing in logic, as a blind man might see, out of Heaven, can be more certain than that!**

Unless this:*

American Exports of Manufactured Articles.

		Million £.	
Decade before the M'Kinley Bill,	1880	21	
	1890	31 = 33	p.c. incr.
Decade after the M'Kinley Bill,	1891	35	
	1900	90 = 190	p.c. incr. over 1890.

And this:

German Exports of Manufactured Articles.

	Million £.	
1880 (Free Trade abandoned)	83	
1890	107 = 29	p.c. incr
1900	149 = 79	p.c. incr. over 1880.

And maybe also this:

French Exports of Manufactured Articles.

		Million £.
1882	Before the Méline Tariff,	76
1890		80
1893	After the Méline Tariff,	70
1902		95.

* 'Imperial Reciprocity' The Daily Telegraph

These analytic figures look even cooler and calmer and more conclusive,—but alas for the exploded fallacy of Protection, that is only their deceptive first appearance.

A moment's scrutiny reveals that the exasperated sixpence has after all been thrown to the winds in vain.

Why?

For various reasons.

As e.g.?

Well to begin with. The ostentatious statistics which you are after parading are derived, if you will but carefully notice, "from the Official Statistics of the respective countries." But it surely needs no saying that the Yankees are the most accomplished liars on earth, and, in a similar manner, for reliability, the German statistics of Manufactured Exports are very likely on a par with the Manufactures themselves!—

2. Formidable *on the surface* as the Manufactured Export Statistics of the Great Protected Countries may appear they are after all but a bagatelle to the magnificent record of Manufactured Exports which our beloved Free Trade Britain has to show.

Take, e.g., this table:

Total Exports of British Manufactures.*
1872-1902.

1872,	**£236,000,000**
1882,	**£217,000,000**
1890,	**£229,900,000**
1902,	**£229,200,000**
New Ships,†	£5,900,000

☞ —Notice how paltry are the foreign statistics by the Free Trade side of these!

Or if, (by dearth of memory,) you vividly fail to realise this astonishing disparity give me your attention while I give you this compacted comparison:

* 'Imperial Reciprocity.'—The Daily Telegraph.

† Ships not recorded prior to 1899.

Comparative Exports of Manufactures.
1882-1902.

	United Kingdom.	Germany	France.	United States.
1882,	£217,000,000	£ 94,000,000	£76,000,000	£28,000,000
1902,	£235,000,000*	£155,000,000	£95,000,000	£84,000,000
Incr.,	£ 18,000,000	£ 61,000,000	£19,000,000	£56,000,000
Incr. per cent.,	8	64	25	200

No doubt (if you are an expert to think in parochial numbers) and choose with jaundiced eyes to view these figures, in the abstract, *from an unpatriotic angle*, you *may* find it possible to distort so far the obvious truth as to imagine that Germany and the United States leave Great Britain leagues behind in the **gross increase** of their manufactured exports.

But *were even such so*,—**that** is altogether in the expected nature of things. You cannot possibly expect a man in the best vigour of his manhood to add to his stature by annual inches like an infant. (Or if that illumination fails to impress you)—

"I will give a little homely illustration, which may appeal
"to Mr. Chamberlain himself. (Laughter.)

"I HAVE GOT A SON!—

"who is standing for a constituency in Scotland. (Cheers.)
"He has never made a speech in his life, and therefore,
"I suppose, his speaking may be registered as zero
"(Laughter.) Mr. Chamberlain is perhaps the most
"accomplished and powerful speaker we possess. But
"suppose this time next year my son, by talking every
"night in public or in private, raises himself from the
"position of zero to being a 10 to 20 per cent. better
"speaker than he was you would not throw it in Mr
"Chamberlain's teeth—'There, you miserable man,
"'(laughter)—you have not improved (laughter)—you
"'have not improved in the least in the last twelve-
"'months. (Renewed laughter.) Here comes this young
"'chap along; he has improved 15 per cent. in the last
"'twelvemonths from what he was when he began.'†
"(Laughter.)"

* Including Ships.

† Lord Rosebery at Leicester

3. The term "Manufactured Goods" is very, as you ought to know, unreliably vague. For example:

> "The list of 'manufactured goods,' in the case of "the United States, includes some articles which would "not, perhaps, be classed by us as manufactured. Chief "among these may be mentioned refined mineral oil, "and paraffin and paraffin wax, the exports of the "first-named article having reached a value of over "14 million £ in 1899-1900, while the exports of paraffin "and paraffin wax accounted for a further sum of "1·8 million £ in the same year." *

Obviously, therefore, the manufactured statistics of the United States (and consequently also those of France and Germany) are not worth the serious chirp of a sparrow.

☞ Details are the things that matter. Gross statistics prove nothing.

Confounded whereat back—deaf, blind, wild, stung to mid-summer desperation we plunge to assuage our pain into the Foreign Statistical Abstracts:

And emerge with these from their azure depths:

Manufactured Articles Exported from the United States:

	1892. Dollars.	1902. Dollars.
Agricultural Instruments, - - -	3,795,000	16,287,000
Saws and Tools, - - - - -	1,900,000	3,906,000
Sewing Machines, (and parts,) - -	3,134,000	4,023,000
Engines and Boilers, - - - -	2,520,000	5,788,000
Machinery, (all other,) - - - -	10,638,000	37,781,000
Wire, - - - - - - - -	853,000	5,278,000
All other, (Iron and Steel and Manu. of,)	9,756,000	41,777,000
Total, - -	32,596,000	114,840,000
Copper Ingots Bars etc., - - -	6,934,000	39,191,000
Cotton Manufactures, - - - -	13,226,000	32,108,000
Leather and Manufactures of, - -	12,085,000	29,798,000
Wood Manufactures, - - - -	6,063,000	11,618,000
Chemicals, Drugs, Dyes, Medicines, etc. -	6,694,000	13,288,000

* Board of Trade Memorandum.

And these:

Manufactured Articles Exported from Germany.

	1892. Marks.	1902. Marks.
Machinery of all kinds, including Locomotives,	61,618,000	180,777,000
Iron Wares Fine,*	51,069,000	131,830,000
Iron Wares Coarse,*	88,734,000	206,728,000
Iron Wire,	25,611,000	29,389,000
Iron Bars Malleable,	21,360,000	37,216,000
Pig Iron,	6,273,000	19,192,000
Total,	254,665,000	605,132,000
Cotton Yarn,	20,939,000	31,703,000
Cotton Manufactures,	157,392,000	259,791,000
Silk Manufactures,	142,013,000	146,195,000
Woollen Yarn,	38,510,000	62,460,000
Woollen Cloths and Stuffs,	165,456,000	175,080,000
Wearing Apparel,	88,184,000	147,162,000
Leather, Dressed, Dyed,	46,385,000	93,123,000
Leather Wares, excluding Gloves,	66,465,000	41,366,000
Paper of all kinds,	58,149,000	59,746,000
Musical Instruments,	35,533,000	42,794,000
Books, Maps, Engravings, Lithographs, etc.,	84,466,000	187,786,000
Glass and Glass Wares,	37,752,000	48,005,000
Dyes: Aniline and other Tar Dyes, etc.	52,553,000	89,299,000

Even *with these*, however, we are left a little still in the fog. The Statistics such as I have given you them contain no hint or glint anywhere of the *distribution* of the increasing Protectionist (versus Free Trade) exports. It might very well be, e.g., that Germany, for some specific evanescing reason, had enormously increased her exports *merely* to conterminous Austria: France to contiguous Spain, and the United States to Canada: while those of Free Trade Britain roamed and ruled without a rival throughout the rest of the world.

* Includes Steel.

Not by any means, either, improbable, a priori.
Here is a posteriori, however, the distributive illumination!

Imports *

Into Russia.

	1891.	1901.		Roubles.
From Germany,	103,269,000	210,954,000	Increase	107,685,000
,, United Kingdom,	83,060,000	102,967,000	Increase	19,907,000
,, United States,	39,731,000	34,921,000	Decrease	4,810,000

Into Norway.

	1892.	1902.		Kroner.
From Germany,	55,294,000	79,309,000	Increase	24,015,000
,, United Kingdom,	52,670,000	76,517,000	Increase	23,847,000
,, United States,	9,472,000	12,436,000	Increase	2,964,000

Into Sweden.

	1892.	1902.		Kronor.
From Germany,	115,850,000	196,971,000	Increase	81,121,000
,, United Kingdom,	95,224,000	130,070,000	Increase	34,846,000
,, United States,	12,834,000	10,417,000	Decrease	2,417,000

Into Denmark.

	1892.	1902.		Kroner.
From Germany,	103,822,000	166,468,000	Increase	62,646,000
,, United Kingdom,	68,080,000	87,791,000	Increase	19,711,000
,, United States,	28,629,000	71,480,000	Increase	42,851,000

Into Holland.

	1892.	1902.		Gulden.
From Germany,	275,008,000	567,341,000	Increase	292,333,000
,, United Kingdom,	268,286,000	237,257,000	Decrease	31,029,000
,, United States,	148,915,000	234,377,000	Increase	85,462,000

Into Belgium.

	1892.	1902.		Francs.
From Germany,	167,823,000	331,142,000	Increase	163,319,000
,, United Kingdom,	182,617,000	283,920,000†	Increase	101,303,000
,, United States,	206,535,000	275,841,000	Increase	69,306,000

* For special notes in connection with these returns see the Statistical Abstracts.

† Including diamonds (in the rough) to the value of 42,688,000 francs.

Into France.

	1892.	1902.		Francs.
From Germany,	337,439,000	418,204,000	Increase	80,765,000
„ United Kingdom,	530,115,000	566,842,000	Increase	36,727,000
„ United States,	533,470,000	424,835,000	Decrease	108,635,000

Into Switzerland.

	1892.	1902.		Francs.
From Germany,	229,395,000	328,812,000	Increase	99,417,000
„ United Kingdom,	41,697,000	54,050,000	Increase	12,353,000
„ United States,	40,633,000	61,605,000	Increase	20,972,000

Into Portugal.

	1892.	1902.		Milreis.
From Germany,	2,785,000	9,220,000	Increase	6,435,000
„ United Kingdom,	9,303,000	17,341,000	Increase	8,038,000
„ United States,	6,038,000	3,989,000	Decrease	2,049,000

Into Spain.

	1892.	1902.		Pesetas.
From Germany,	22,815,000	88,702,000	Increase	65,887,000
„ United Kingdom,	194,351,000	188,191,000	Decrease	6,160,000
„ United States,	91,473,000	116,298,000	Increase	24,825,000

Into Italy.

	1892.	1902.		Lire.
From Germany,	143,946,000	221,715,000	Increase	77,769,000
„ United Kingdom,	244,593,000	287,151,000	Increase	42,558,000
„ United States,	78,791,000	211,089,000	Increase	132,298,000
„ Canada,		1,202,000	Canada.	

Into Austria Hungary.

	1892.	1902.		Kronen.
From Germany,	462,043,000	652,012,000	Increase	189,969,000
„ United Kingdom,	123,263,000	142,723,000	Increase	19,460,000
„ United States,	50,183,000	135,806,000	Increase	85,623,000

Into Greece.

	1892.	1902.		Drachmas.
From Germany,	4,065,000	11,045,000	Increase	6,980,000
„ United Kingdom,	28,910,000	28,715,000	Decrease	195,000
„ United States,	1,891,000	3,174,000	Increase	1,283,000

Into Bulgaria.

	1892.	1902.		Lew.
From Germany,	8,297,000	8,556,000	Increase	259,000
„ United Kingdom,	17,929,000	15,216,000	Decrease	2,713,000
„ United States,	96,000	304,000	Increase	208,000

Into Roumania.

	1892.	1902.		Lei.
From Germany,	113,501,000	80,184,000	Decrease	33,317,000
„ United Kingdom,	84,090,000	55,440,000	Decrease	28,650,000

From the which **Illumination** it must be allowed, (as even the most convinced Free Trader must admit with astonishment,) that **at least in the European market our beloved Free Trade England is completely outpaced by Protectionist Germany,**— unless I have made some cruel mistakes in transcribing and subtracting.

But in case the least little suspicion should linger in the minds of any of you as to this *very comforting* proposition perhaps I had better give you some corroborative statistical evidence by Sir A. E. Bateman.

Increase or Decrease between 1884-85 and 1898-1900 in the Amounts imported from the United Kingdom, Germany and the United States respectively by the undermentioned countries.*

(Increase denoted by +, Decrease by −.)

	United Kingdom.	Germany.	United States.
	£	£	£
Russia in Europe,	+ 1,647,000	+ 7,556,000	+ 1,636,000
Norway,	+ 2,760,000	+ 2,397,000	+ 570,000
Sweden,	+ 3,880,000	+ 4,545,000	+ 167,000
Denmark,	+ 2,418,000	+ 2,654,000	+ 3,205,000
Holland,	− 1,254,000	+ 4,636,000	+ 18,834,000
Belgium,	+ 4,885,000	+ 4,158,000	+ 5,710,000
France,	+ 538,000	− 873,000	+ 9,773,000
Portugal,	+ 1,186,000	+ 737,000	+ 725,000
Switzerland,	+ 319,000	+ 3,371,000	+ 1,778,000
Spain,	+ 2,788,000	− 1,185,000	+ 647,000
Italy,	+ 305,000	+ 2,612,000	+ 5,012,000
Greece,	+ 94,000	+ 292,000	+ 176,000
Roumania,	+ 523,000	+ 2,336,000	+ 67,000
Bulgaria,	− 94,000	+ 230,000	− 5,000
Totals,	+ £19,995,000	+ £33,466,000	+ £48,295,000

* For special footnotes see Board of Trade Memorandum.

There can be no great harm either in troubling you with this little newspaper extract:

DUNDEE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

(From a speech by Mr. Victor Fraenkl.)

"But they in Dundee who manufacture the plain article
"that could be made by everybody, and was being made
"by everybody, were excluded entirely by the high
"tariffs that had been built up against them,—so high
"that really they had lost all the continental markets—
"Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy,—not one of
"these could they send a yard of cloth to or a pound of
"yarn although these countries had the liberty to send
"as much as they pleased to this country.

"But not only that. **Those countries were actually**
"taking all the remaining markets in Europe that
"we had.

"This country used to have a good trade with
"Spain and Portugal, but they found now that those
"markets were being captured by the continental
"spinners.

"He thought that was very serious."

!—Not that the particular referendum in itself is of cardinal national importance: but because that a straw may sometimes show how the wind is blowing.

Of course, in all this, to the *convinced* Free Trader, there is nothing to wonder. (*There never is*, of course.) Germany, they will tell you, splarging amorphous slap through the heart of Europe has an enormous advantage of position (in the way of transit facilities) over her rival Great Britain.

—(The which is no doubt very passably true. Although if I were a *convinced* Free Trader I should not greatly mind to impress the point.

Why?

Well, you see, I should very likely reason in this way.

The whole Fiscal controversy, so far, pivots on the preconception (which is as firmly rooted as Ben Nevis in the bed-soil of our insular conceit) that British Free Trade is not merely a *little*

better than German Protection but that the difference between them in favour of Free Trade is so utterly inexpressible that it is the purest blasphemy to concatenate them in the same human breath.

But if, now, it be granted that Germany beats us in the markets of Holland Belgium and France because her frontier lines up with these countries, and we have the Channel to cross, obviously then the incalculable manufacturing (mystic) advantage of Free Trade can after all be expressed (in suspension) in the transit terms of a few miles of sea water.—(And, you see,) *if I were a convinced Free Trader* I should be very much alarmed for my idol if *so much* became generally known.

But in view of the contention such as it is, let us, out of pure argumentative courtesy, now fare further afield.

I might, of course, parade you round the British Possessions.

I might take you to the greatest of our colonies Canada :

Imports into Canada.*

From	United Kingdom.	Germany.	United States.
	£	£	£
1890, - -	8,915,000	776,000	10,744,000
1891, - -	8,639,000	781,000	11,031,000
1892, - -	8,496,000	1,147,000	10,918,000
1893, - -	8,866,000	786,000	11,963,000
1894, - -	7,955,000	1,200,000	10,897,000
1895, -	6,396,000	985,000	11,226,000
1896, - -	6,776,000	1,218,000	12,035,000
1897, - -	6,043,000	1,334,000	12,667,000
1898,† - -	6,678,000	1,147,000	16,172,000
1899, - -	7,615,000	1,519,000	19,111,000
1900,‡ - -	9,203,000	1,722,000	22,570,000
1901, - -	8,839,000	1,442,000	22,702,000
1902, - -	10,114,000	2,224,000	24,834,000

—in order to show you how utterly insignificant is the progress made by our rivals in their commercial dealings with the Dominion, overagainst our own.

* For consumption (including Bullion and Specie.)

† A preference of 25 per cent. given to British Imports over Foreign.

‡ A preference of 33⅓ per cent. given to British Imports.

I might carry you to Australasia:

Imports *

From	United Kingdom.	Germany.	United States.
	£	£	£
Into New South Wales, 1890,	8,628,000	639,000	859,000
1902,	8,572,000	947,000	2,105,000
Difference,	- 56,000	+ 308,000	+ 1,246,000
,, Victoria, - 1890,	9,607,000	682,000	1,069,000
1902,	6,935,000	903,000	1,494,000
Difference,	- 2,672,000	+ 221,000	+ 425,000
,, †South Australia, - 1890,	2,483,000	297,000	219,000
1902,	1,901,000	220,000	324,000
Difference,	- 582,000	- 77,000	+ 105,000
,, Western Australia, 1890,	415,000	‡28	14,000
1902,	3,350,000	302,000	650,000
Difference,	+ 2,935,000	+ 302,000	+ 636,000
,, Tasmania, - - 1890,	680,000	440	§16,000
1902,	585,000	15,000	§52,000
Difference,	- 95,000	+ 14,000	+ 36,000
,, Queensland, - 1890,	2,120,000	57,000	121,000
1902,	2,496,000	268,000	362,000
Difference,	+ 376,000	+ 211,000	+ 241,000
,, New Zealand, - 1890,	4,221,000	50,000	355,000
1902,	6,851,000	210,000	1,318,000
Difference,	+ 2,630,000	+ 160,000	+ 963,000
Total Increase, -	£2,536,000	£1,139,000	£3,652,000

—in order to repeat and accentuate the lesson.

(I might introduce you out there) to a namesake of my own Mr. Watson, ex-Labour Premier of Australia, who at a meeting of the Melbourne citizens held to advocate Preferential Trade:

> "expressed the belief that there was practical unanimity "on the preferential question in Australia. There was "room on the preferential platform both for Protectionists "and Free Traders.
>
> "**The trade of Germany and the United States "with the British Colonies had increased in a decade**

* Including Bullion and Specie. † Exclusive of Northern Territory.
‡ 1891. § American Foreign.

"from £11,500,000
"to £30,500,000,
"whereas exports from Great Britain to Australia
"had dropped from £26,000,000
"to £23,000,000,
"and the trade of foreign nations with Australia had
"risen from £6,000,000
"to £11,000,000."

I might land you at Natal on the way home and introduce you to F. S. Latham, Member of Parliament there, who the other day in one of the heavy magazines writes:

"There are alarming indications of a gradual
"supplanting of the British Manufacturer in South
"Africa by his European and American rivals.

"Imports into Natal.

	1901.	1902.	1903.
"From Great Britain, - -	£6,523,129	£8,253,684	£8,560,177
" „ Foreign Countries, -	£1,553,851	£2,836,279	£4,457,507

That is to say,—"Natal's Imports from the United Kingdom
"showed in 1903 an increase of £306,493 over the pre-
"vious year, while her Imports from Foreign Countries
"increased by no less than £1,621,228.

———o———

"Imports into Cape Colony.

	1902.	1903.
"From Great Britain, - -	£22,304,990	£21,703,663
	—a decrease of 2½ per cent.:	
" „ Foreign Countries, -	£7,841,969	£9,827,416
	—an increase of 25 per cent.	

———o———

"Apart from the South African Colonies a close
"study of the question cannot fail to convince the
"enquirer that Gt. Britain's Colonial trade generally is
"being steadily undermined and imperilled by foreign
"competitors.

"At one time the whole of the cement used in "Natal was imported from England. Now hardly a "cask comes from there. And why? Because the "cement market as regards Natal has been entirely "captured by the Germans who are also fast ousting "British Cement in the Transvaal."

I might, in order to clinch an indisputable thesis, take you over the whole of our Possessions and Colonies under the pilotage of Sir A. E. Bateman:

Increase or Decrease between 1884-85 and 1898-1900 in the Amounts imported from the United Kingdom Germany and the United States respectively by the undermentioned British Possessions.

(Increase denoted by +, Decrease by −.)

	United Kingdom.	Germany.	United States.
	£	£	£
India,	+7,904,000	+1,899,000	5,000
Straits Settlements,	− 799,000	+ 350,000	+ 71,000
Ceylon,	+1,037,000	+ 140,000	+ 19,000
Mauritius,	+ 136,000	+ 60,000	+ 69,000
Australasia,	−3,953,000	+1,790,000	+2,753,000
Natal,	+2,934,000	+ 173,000	+ 516,000
Cape of Good Hope,	+8,607,000	+ 635,000	+1,892,000
North America,	−1,167,000	+1,040,000	+9,070,000
West Indies,	+ 212,000	+ 38,000	+ 664,000
British Guiana,	− 185,000	+ 2,000	+ 51,000
Total,	+£14,726,000	+£6,003,000	+£14,958,000

I might, of course, prolong the agony.

But everybody would feel when I had done that I had been more or less beating the superfluous air, because even the most *convinced* Free Trader must admit that for a variety of reasons, political, preferential, sentimental,—language, loans, service-supplies, wars and war-waste, etc.,—we do possess in these statistics a *slight* advantage over our foreign rivals.

A fairer test of the Hicks-Beachian idea will be to go further afield.

In that case suppose I give you the

Imports*:

Into Mexico.

	1893†.	1902.		Dollars.
From Germany,	2,875,000	6,452,000	Increase	3,577,000
„ United Kingdom,	5,681,000	8,264,000	Increase	2,583,000
„ United States.	26,236,000	39,017,000	Increase	12,781,000

Into Chile.

	1892.	1902.		Pesos. Fuertes.
From Germany,	20,954,000	36,453,000	Increase	15,499,000
„ United Kingdom,	34,099,000	52,408,000	Increase	18,309,000
„ United States,	4,599,000	14,394,000	Increase	9,795,000

Into Uruguay.

	1892.	1901.		Pesos. Fuertes.
From Germany,	2,092,000	2,913,000	Increase	821,000
„ United Kingdom,	5,647,000	6,167,000	Increase	520,000
„ United States,	1,105,000	2,078,000	Increase	973,000

Into Argentina.

	1892.	1902.		Pesos. Oro.
From Germany,	10,677,000	13,229,000	Increase	2,552,000
„ United Kingdom,	35,835,000	36,995,000	Increase	1,160,000
„ United States,	7,377,000	13,304,000	Increase	5,927,000

Into China.

	1892.	1902.		Haikwan Taels.
From Germany—no separate statistics.				
„ United Kingdom,	28,870,000	57,625,000	Increase	28,755,000
„ United States,	6,062,000	30,139,000	Increase	24,077,000

Or suppose I give you again:

Into Japan.

	1892.	1902.		Yen.
From Germany,	6,375,000	25,927,000	Increase	19,552,000
„ United Kingdom,	20,789,000	51,847,000	Increase	31,058,000
„ United States,	5,988,000	49,643,000	Increase	43,655,000

* For special notes in connection with these returns see the Statistical Abstracts.

† 1892—no returns.

Or suppose I change about and put the argument rather to you in this way.

There is—the German Empire.

Suppose I take that Empire and enquire how Free Trade Great Britain and the Protected United States have fared together in *her* exclusive markets.

Imports into the German Empire.

	1892.	1902.		
	Marks.	Marks.		Marks.
From United Kingdom,	547,591,000	557,311,000	Increase	9,720,000
From United States,	534,790,000	893,003,000	,,	358,213,000

The difference, you see, is decidedly *marked*, and all to the advantage of the Protected States.

Of course the common-or-garden *convinced* Free Trader will at once remind the world that the tremendous increase of German Imports from the United States is made up, no doubt, of Raw Industrial Material which we cannot supply. But his subtler *convinced* brother (P.S.—Please excuse the looseness of my language. F.T. and *subtlety* of any shape or form are so inconceptual.) will reason rather thus:—'If Germany is increasing so 'fast her Raw American Supplies she must be doing commercially 'wonderfully well!—whereas according to the letter and spirit 'of my irrefragable theory she ought to be going fast to the 'industrial dogs.—H'm!—(Perhaps I had better—not interrupt.)'

Suppose it be granted however that the comparison is not quite conclusive.

In that case we can reverse. There is the United States. Suppose I take the Land of the Stars and Brag and enquire how Free Trade Great Britain and Protected Germany fare together in *her* exclusive markets.

Imports into the United States.

	1892.	1902.		
	Dollars.	Dollars.		Dollars.
From Germany,	82,908,000	101,998,000	Increase	19,090,000
From United Kingdom,	156,301,000	165,747,000	,,	9,446,000

Here again, you see, we are beaten by our Protectionist rival,—albeit the advantage of position in the way of ocean transit is altogether with us.

Very likely, of course, the explanation is easy.

Very likely, e.g., the goods which Germany exports to the United States are goods which we *do not* and *cannot* produce.

!—A priori, a not improbable Hicks-Beachian hypothesis.

Here is, however, (to its misfortune) an 'a posteriori' American!

Statement showing the value of some of the Imports into the United States from the United Kingdom and Germany during the Year ended 30th June 1900.

Articles.	United Kingdom.	Germany.
	Dollars.	Dollars.
Chemicals:		
Alizarine, natural or artificial, including Extract of Madder,	68,142	691,525
Indigo,	157,754	319,329
Quinine and Alkaloids of Cinchona Bark,	134,996	617,007
Coal-Tar Colours and Dyes,	230,287	3,822,162
Other Chemicals,	1,942,549	3,145,275
Paints and Pigments, Colours,	526,472	708,866
Cement, Roman, Portland, and other hydraulic,	377,630	1,885,702
Fertilizers:		
Phosphates, crude or native,	2,339	354,019
All other, except Guano,	23,629	863,938
Oils:		
Whale and Fish,	1,121	13,193
Volatile or Essential,	27,283	162,347
Chocolate, other than Confectionery and Sweetened Chocolate,	24,430	156,309
Meat, and Meat Extracts,	43,324	43,486
All other Meat Products,	5,547	36,352
Rice Flour, Rice Meal, and Broken Rice,	34,067	330,074
Starch,	21,094	90,857
Malt Extract, fluid and solid,	384	3,926
Manufactures of:		
Collodion,	15,160	32,540
Cork Bark, and Cork,	10,733	31,005
Gutta-Percha,	69,516	157,609
Ivory,	4,163	11,540
Cutlery,	439,013	1,016,687

Articles.	United Kingdom.	Germany.
	Dollars.	Dollars.
Manufactures of:		
Leather:		
Calf Skins, tanned, or tanned and dressed, and patent, enamelled and japanned,	20,043	45,263
Upper Leather, dressed, and Skins, dressed and finished,	516,333	1,966,263
Gloves of Kid, or other Leather,	413,622	2,785,103
Cotton:		
Clothing, not including Knit Goods,	106,355	562,894
Knit Goods, hand or machine,	165,164	4,185,229
Silk:		
Clothing,	239,763	342,364
Dress and Piece-Goods,	577,948	1,779,768
Ribbons,	45,387	160,283
Velvets, Plushes, and other Pile Fabrics,	20,493	1,014,546
Wool:		
Clothing, except Shawls and Knit Goods,	315,921	405,992
Knit Fabrics,	144,877	293,894
Shawls,	20,131	50,602
Yarns,	23,042	102,376
Straw,	9,865	187,889
Hair,	7,107	9,551
Copper,	10,519	18,736
Lead,	1,096	11,828
Zinc,	1,106	16,149
Bronze, etc.,	1,238,149	2,106,696
Paper, lithographic, etc.,	611,704	2,284,453
Palm Leaf,	166	5,068
Wood,	268,346	817,533
China, ornamented,	2,225,128	2,619,737
Glass,	401,976	1,409,317
Feathers and Downs, natural, dressed for Millinery Ornaments,	5,596	22,244
Artificial Feathers, etc.,	43,091	610,519
Matches,	12,269	21,011

Articles.	United Kingdom. Dollars.	Germany. Dollars.
Brushes,	106,208	143,093
Buttons and Button Forms,	40,932	155,976
Mineral Waters,	3,548	395,677
Musical Instruments,	31,077	816,110
Pencils, Lead, Lead and Wood, Slate,	107,574	197,555
Toys,	24,692	2,674,035
Beads (except Amber),	4,325	667,465
Pipes and Smokers' Articles,	42,586	46,350
Percussion Caps, Cartridges, etc.,	11,939	28,681
Clocks, Watches and parts thereof,	166,978	194,710

How delightful with labour after ploughing through this elongated list to turn once more aside into the Midland Hall in Manchester and listen again to Sir Michael's immortal haver as it is doomed to reverberaver down the long limbo of Free Trade perdition :

> "But what does that mean? It means that, **thanks "to Free Imports, we are able here to conduct a "trade** with these * countries which the cotton manu- "facturers and other manufacturers of * * **cannot con- "duct for themselves** because of the dearness of the "production. (Cheers.) **We take through freedom of "imports what ought to be their market:** and if you "put an end to freedom of imports here, well, **you will "lose that part, at any rate, of your foreign trade.** "(Cheers.)"

☞ Why, by the way, Sir Michael, must we necessarily *lose* that part, at any rate, of our foreign trade? If we adopt Protection we do but adopt a burden *under which all our rivals at present groan.* So that we should all for the future

Enter the Industrial Derby under the self-same handicap:

—and 'tis a poor patriot, thereafter, sure, who doesn't allow that British Pluck and Rule Britannia would accomplish the rest.

I overhear a Cobdenite make out that Beetroot sugar forms a not inconsiderable item in the German exports to the United States—!

—Ah, but even so, my Free Trade brother, you could not really have selected a more distinguished feather out of the cap of modern Protection. Because by every existing Free Trade right, (but for Protection,) such an industry had never seen the light: or been feebly born only to be forthwith buried in the British West Indies.

Let me now before I leave this aspect of my subject, for the sake of those who are weak of memory,—as also for those who are weak of head, (which means the combined body of *converted* Free Traders,) focus per the lens of Sir A. E. Bateman the statistical effects which I have been giving shape to.

Here is, however, first of all, an isolated preliminary preparatory table which I have stumbled over somewhere in the course of my reading **and which is so suggestive and portentous of British Free Trade Industrial Progress** that it has clung glued to my notebook ever since:

British Exports (excluding Coal*) to all Markets outside the Empire.†

	1872. Million £	1882. Million £	1890. Million £	1900. Million £	1902. Million £
To United States,	40·6	31	32	19·7	23
To Asia, Africa, and South America,	45	39·5	49	49	46
To all Europe,	100·8	78·2	78·2	84·5	75·7
	186·4	148·7	159·2	153·2	144·7

☞ I overhear someone remark:—Why exclude Coal and the Colonies?

!—Never mind, my friend, for the time being. Just accept their exclusion as you accept your exclusion from the Peerage, and ponder with prayerful humbleness over the solace that remains!

I give you respectfully now the tables constructed by the statistician of the Board of Trade.

* And of course ships.

† 'Imperial Reciprocity.' Daily Telegraph.

Increase or Decrease between 1884-85 and 1898-1900 in the amounts imported from the United Kingdom and Germany respectively by the undermentioned Countries:

Increase denoted by +, Decrease by −.)

	United Kingdom.*	Germany.*
	£	£
European Countries (exc. Austria-Hungary,)	+ 19,995,000	+ 33,466,000
Egypt, - - - - - - - - -	+ 1,322,000	+ 356,000
United States, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile,	− 3,774,000	+ 5,514,000
China, - - - - - - - -	+ 510,000	†
Japan, - - - - - - - - -	+ 3,010,000	+ 1,796,000
British Possessions (chiefly India, Australasia and British North America,) - -	+ 14,726,000	+ 6,003,000
Totals, -	+ £35,789,000	+ £47,135,000
Deduct British, - - -		35,789,000
Difference in favour of Germany,		£11,346,000

Increase or Decrease between 1884-85 and 1898-1900 in the amounts imported from the United Kingdom and the United States respectively by the undermentioned Countries:

(Increase denoted by +, Decrease by −.)

	United Kingdom.‡	United States.‡
	£	£
European Countries (exc. Austria-Hungary,)	+ 28,682,000	+ 88,346,000
Egypt, - - - - - - - - -	+ 1,322,000	+ 183,000
Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, - - -	+ 844,000	+ 1,319,000
China, - - - - - - - - -	+ 510,000	+ 2,033,000
Japan, - - - - - - - - -	+ 3,010,000	+ 3,538,000
British Possessions (chiefly India, Australasia and British North America,) - -	+ 14,726,000	+ 14,958,000
Totals, -	+ £49,094,000	+ £110,377,000
Deduct British, - - -		49,094,000
Difference in favour of United States,		£61,283,000

* Omitting the trade of Germany and the United Kingdom.

† Not distinguished.

‡ Omitting the trade of the United States and the United Kingdom.

"Taking the amounts in the tables as they stand the "effect is to show that the United Kingdom increased its "exports to the countries named, between 1884-85 and "1898-1900,

"by £11,346,000 less than Germany
"and £61,283,000 less than the United States.

—So Sir A. E. Bateman!

Culled from another source I give you the following:

Special Exports (excluding Coal and Ships).

	United Kingdom.	Germany.	United States.
1872, - -	£246,000,000	£108,000,000	£89,000,000
1900, -	£241,000,000	£220,000,000	£274,000,000

Not perhaps also unworthy of your attention are the following statistical addenda, which I dare say might have fallen into place a little earlier but are better now than never.

(1.)

Exports from Germany.

(From a writer in the Times, who derives from German Statistics)

"1897.	1899.	1901.	1902.
"£189,312,050	£237,630,050	£225,632,300	£240,641,650

"These exports last year worked out to £4 13s. per head "of her population, against £3 19s. 1d. in 1901, £4 4s. 6d "in 1900, £3 18s. 9d. in 1899, £3 13s. 5d. in 1898, and "£3 10s. 5d. in 1897: (Great Britain alone purchased at "the rate of 16s. 7d. per head of Germany's population "last year, against only 13s. in 1897.)—and were "dispersed through the world in the following "manner:

	"1897. "£	1899. £	1901. £	1902. £
"Europe,	148,030,650	173,728,100	177,572,000	188,332,850
"Africa,	3,047,150	3,490,650	3,554,000	4,590,040
"Asia, -	6,909,000	9,071,750	10,516,900	10,144,950
"America, -	29,654,050	30,097,600	31,160,700	35,175,450
"Australia,	1,629,700	1,999,550	2,733,300	2,360,700

"**The progress of Germany's foreign trade since "1897 may conveniently be expressed by the index "method.**

"If the total (imports and exports) for 1897 be "represented by 100, the figure for 1902 will be 123; "and it is noteworthy that the exports have increased "more than the imports (127 against 119), **the expansion "of the exports being as follows:**

"1898,	106
"1899,	115
"1900,	126
"1901,	119
"1902,	127

"As to continents, the following growth of exports is "shown (1897 = 100):

	"1898	1899	1900	1901	1902
"Europe,	108	117	125	120	127
"Africa,	105	115	120	117	151
"Asia,	123	131	167	152	147
"America,	90	101	118	105	119
"Australia,	106	123	154	168	145

"In other words, Germany has during the past six "years increased

"**Her exports to European countries by 27 per cent.**
" ,, ,, **African** ,, **51** ,,
" ,, ,, **Asiatic** ,, **47** ,,
" ,, ,, **American** ,, **19** ,,
" ,, ,, **Australia** ,, **45** ,,

(2.)

Exports from the United States.

(From a writer in the Glasgow Evening News.)

"In the case of the United States the statistics, as "issued this year by the Government Bureau of Statistics, "are not less eloquent. They account, in some measure, "for the triumphant tone adopted by Americans in "speaking of their expanding trade, and they explain "why America believes in the value of her tariff system.

"Here are a few instructive figures:

"Export of American Manufactured Goods.

	In Dollars.		In Dollars.
"1870,	68,279,764		
		Gain over previous	29,113,079
"1880,	102,856,015		
		Gain over previous	34,576,251
"1890,	151,102,376		
		Gain over previous	48,246,361
"1900,	433,851,756		
		Gain over previous	282,749,380

"We ask you to give particular attention to the "immense development which, as the figures show, "took place between the years 1890 and 1900.

"And why did the exports of the United States "take such an immense stride in that decade?

"The Americans Have no Hesitation "in attributing it to the fact that, during this "period, the M'Kinley tariff was in force. They are "proud of the fact that the total increase of exports "during that decade was greater than during the "entire preceding century. And they have every "reason to be proud.

"And here is a fact of first-class importance to every "member of the British Empire in connection with these "exports of American manufactures: one half of their "total exportation of manufactures in 1902 went to "British territory; 100,000,000 dollars to Great "Britain alone, and another 100,000,000 dollars to "her colonies."

Now really all these figures are, to say the least of it, *a trifle disconcerting*, and if I were Sir Michael Hicks-Beach I am frankly bound to acknowledge that I would think so. In spite of all the unfathomed profundity of my abysmal *conviction* as a Free Trader I am perfectly certain they would induce me *at least to begin to wonder* whether I was really so economic and clever and knowing and patriotic as I had been trying to persuade the world and myself and the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Mr. Chamberlain that I was.—In the end, of course, I should come around to believe that I really was. But for a passing moment, if only out of common politeness, *I think* I would give at least the 'wonder' a look-in.

But I'm not done.

Even with all that I have given you the a posteriori argument is not yet quite complete. (And, of course, the a priori is still to arrive.) *So far*, indeed, statistically speaking, I have been pleasingly occupied merely in gently leading Sir Michael's Free Food coffin unsuspecting up to the ultimate nail,—or, (if some of you prefer a more poetic allusion,) **to the lambent final flames** of the general Free Trade Fiscal Fallacy Crematorium.

For if it be true that there are advantages going in re. the Foreign and Colonial markets—advantages of position,—discrimination in shipping rates, etc., there is existing

STILL A MARKET IN THE WORLD NOTWITHSTANDING!

—in which all the natural industrial advantages (or at least most, or many,) rest happily with ourselves.

☞ **I refer to the British Home Market.**

How fares it with our rivals here?

Eh bien, Messieurs:

Attendez!

Articles manufactured or partly manufactured (some of the) imported into the United Kingdom from Germany Holland and Belgium.

	1890. £	1902. £
Woollen Manufactures,	3,165,803	4,914,051
Cotton Manufactures,	1,693,973	4,463,450
Linen Manufactures,	296,742	463,351
Glass Manufactures,	1,703,202	3,109,695
Brass, Bronze and Copper Manufactures,	61,981	400,136
Iron and Steel Manufactures,	2,118,821	5,653,968
China and Earthenware,	445,069	653,652
Chemical Manufactures and Products,	727,180	924,225
	£10,212,771	£20,582,528

!—*Of course there is nothing really surprising in this enormous increase.* You see: "We take through Freedom of Imports *what* "*ought to be their market;*" and as I said before at Manchester so again I repeat: "if you put an end to Freedom of Imports here, "well, you will lose that part at any rate of your foreign trade. "(Cheers.)"

Do. imported into the United Kingdom from the United States.

	1890.	1902.
	£	£
Iron and Steel Manufactures,	497,126	3,723,813
Brass, Bronze and Copper Manufactures,	16,740	251,298
Chemical Manufactures and Products,	45,026	174,408
House Frames and Joiners' Work,	162,924	386,507
Leather Manufactures,	12,444	477,046
Cordage and Twine (1891),	12,532	112,078
Paper of all sorts.	47,098	409,155
	£793,890	£5,534,305

Ditto. imported into the United Kingdom from France.

	1890.	1902.
	£	£
Jute Manufactures (1897),	4,067	33,882
Linen Manufactures,	104,439	137,948
Silk Manufactures,	7,147,067	9,077,302
Embroidery and Needlework, Lace, Artificial Flowers, Hats and Bonnets,	1,208,098	2,657,882
Iron and Steel Manufactures,	145,495	353,607
Brass, Bronze and Copper Manufactures,	135,284	486,907
Chemical Manufactures and Products,	292,599	374,378
House Frames and Joiners' Work,	112,382	247,514
Leather Manufactures,	828,045	934,108
Cordage and Twine,	82,303	106,493
Paper of all sorts,	136,157	202,020
China and Earthenware,	132,439	273,102
Cotton Manufactures,	365,367	969,250
	£10,693,742	£15,904,393

"**But what does that mean?**"—

☞ 'How sweet,' by the way!
'(On beds of amaranth and moly,)
'**While these facts lull us** blowing lowly
'To watch the long dark Michael drawing slowly
'**His prejudices from the Cobden hill**'

"*But what does that mean?*—

"It means

"that thanks to Free Imports we are able here to con-
"duct a trade with these countries which the cotton
"manufacturers and other manufacturers of France and
"the United States (and Belgium and Holland and
"Germany) cannot conduct for themselves because of
"the dearness of the production. (Cheers.)"

'*To hear the dewy echoes calling :—*'

"**We take through Freedom of Imports what ought**
"**to be their market :**"

'**To watch the emerald-coloured folly falling :**'

"and if you put an end to Freedom of Imports here,
"well—"

'Thro' many a woven acanthus phrase divine—!!'

But perhaps if I take the trouble to combine the statistics the result will be more dramatic: and therefore, of course, less convincing to the convinced Free Trader.

Value of Articles manufactured or partly manufactured (excluding articles of Food Drink and Tobacco) imported into the United Kingdom.

	1890.	1902.
	£	£
From Germany, - -	9,447,584	16,057,099
„ Belgium, - - -	12,680,772	20,684,353
„ Holland, - - -	15,447,380	19,786,587
„ France, - - -	25,848,006	31,071,418
„ United States, - -	10,279,669	20,930,627
	£73,703,411	£108,530,084
Deduct,		73,703,411
Increase,		£34,826,673

That is to say,

for every £100

in manufactured and partly manufactured goods which these protected rivals exported to us in 1890 they exported to us of do.,—twelve years later,

the value of £147 (about.)

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not an ex-Chancellor of the British Exchequer. I haven't the brains to be one, even if I had the want of them to wish to be. But even if I were only a very ordinary ex-chancellor of a morning coffee stall on a London by-street and had undertaken to deliver an address to "a meeting of business men in the Midland Hall Manchester, "on the Fiscal Question, on the invitation of the Manchester "Chamber of Commerce," as Sir Michael Hicks-Beach undertook to do on Nov. 6th, 1903.—

This idea in preparing my address would never have been absent out of my skull!

☞ Say!—*What will be the earthly sense of my lathering* 'to a meeting of business men in the Midland Hall Manchester,' or indeed to any other people any other where, to the effect that Freedom of Imports enables Great Britain to beat its Protected Rivals to the manufacturing ends of the earth, **when our Protected Rivals are so completely beating us in our own markets before ever we get a chance of starting for the ends of the earth!**—

But I must at this point acknowledge a philosophic interjection!—

It may be readily rejoined that these increasing inroads upon our Home Market are not just exactly a proof that we cannot as a Nation manufacture as cheaply as our Protected Rivals.

The Protected Products that make the incursion may have been produced under wage and work conditions which we cannot admit, or have been assisted by differential transit rates or direct export bounties, or they may have been dumped in our markets below cost.

Quite—Yes!— But the philosophic Chipper-in if he desires to take a hand in this debate must first of all submit as we have all to do, great and small, to the rules of argumentative perspective

What is just the point that I am debating?

From France and the United States annually great quantities of Goods are dumped upon these shores. Our British Manufacturers would sell their souls into the bargain to be in a position

to pay for these Goods by direct industrial exchange,—but France and the States say—No!

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach now arrives at Manchester and spreading out thick the jelly of his Job's comfort says to our distressed manufacturers with unction,—'Dont worry. It's all 'already right. France and the United States must get paid 'somehow. And if they are silly enough to refuse direct payment 'in British Woollens and Cutlery and Tinned Plates they must 'take payment indirectly from us, whether they will or not, per 'the markets of China, Turkey, etc.. And the solid virtue of 'our Free Importing Great British System is just this,—that it 'enables us to beat our Protected Rivals in the neutral markets 'to the ends of the earth and therefore to force upon them this 'indirect Chinese payment.'

The great Mr. Gladstone said the identical same thing in Dundee in 1890,—when he tried manfully to assuage **in the oil of butter** the infliction of the M'Kinley Act:—

> "I dont mean to say that there are not injurious "effects. There is a great deal of displacement and "disturbance * * . But, gentlemen, taking a larger "view, **it is not true that any tariff in any country "upon earth can interfere seriously with the pros- "perity of Great Britain and the United Kingdom. "(Cheers.)**
>
> "And why?
>
> "Why, if you will simply follow me in a few words "you will see, I think, how it is that this operates. Let "us suppose that there are twenty great markets in the "world, and that those, for the sake of argument, are all "the markets in the world, and that in one of those "markets a stringent Protection law, such as the "M'Kinley tariff, is passed. No doubt the first effect "is to injure us in that market, and to restrict our "dealings. But then, what is the larger and wider effect?
>
> "**The larger and wider effect is to increase, to "raise, the standard of prices in the United States of "America. Raising the standard of prices at home "means a diminished power of exportation.** (Hear

"hear.) **That diminished power of exportation means "that, while we are damnified in one of our twenty "markets, we derive benefit in the other nineteen "from the diminished power of the United States to "compete with us in any one of them**—(cheers)—a "diminished power due to the augmentation of prices "and to the imposition of restraints under which she is "to work.

"And so, even if we go on all round the world, it still "remains that each country that gives greater stringency "to Protection within its own borders is thereby—though "damaging us in its own market—is thereby giving us a "freer and broader field and a more commanding power "in every one of the other nineteen markets of the "world. (Cheers.)

"**The consequence of this is that it is not possible "for us to receive vital or profound injury from any "of these operations abroad.**"

* * * *

"**The Americans must get paid for their exports;** "we want their commodities; we want their corn; we "want their cheese; we want their oil; we want I know "not how many things that they produce. They send us "those goods; they wish to send them, they will send "them, and they must be paid for them; **and they must "take payment either in British manufactures, or in "foreign and colonial manufactures which we have "bought in other countries by exporting our goods.** "But they must and they do take payment largely in "British manufactures."

Now in my reply I have made nothing of the joke of John Bull having to cadge around, humphing his cumbrous packs to the uttermost bounds of the habitable earth, in order to oblige Brother Jonathan and Beautiful France. I have merely pointed out that among the goods which we annually import from France and the United States are great sterling millions of manufactures, and I am just further after pointing out that these sterling millions are increasing by leaps and bounds.

And what I come in the end to say is :—that it strikes my Scottish bump of humour as a trifle not uncomic that an ex-Chancellor of the British Exchequer should come blandly around and blarney to the country : 'It's all already right. Dont worry. 'We are adjusting our obligations to France and the United 'States by *necessarily* beating them in the markets of China. 'Turkey, etc.,'—when the actual imports which we have to pay, and which we are supposed to adjust per the markets of China and Turkey, are an annually increasing demonstration that our manufacturers are beaten before they get the boat for China.

But, as I say, no sooner have I arrived at this point than a blear-eyed unattached Philosopher interrupts by interjecting a leaf out of my own Reform attack upon the Protected Markets.

But the reply to the interjecting philosopher quoad the Hicks-Beachian argument is very easy :

(1.) The Hicks-Beachian theory postulates and accepts without the slightest hope or hint of fiscal qualification the full current British and Foreign conditions, and declares that being as these are, and just because of their being as they are, we are *bound to beat* our rivals in Turkey, China, etc..

But proof having been led that we are already, every hour of the twenty four, beaten in our own Home Market the Hicks-Beachian argument is not immediately at liberty to run for shelter under the umbrella of the inferiority of Foreign Conditions, because in the Free Trade argument this identical inferiority is the direct and *necessary* outcome of Foreign Protection. If we are beaten in the Home Market by these conditions, therefore, that is merely tantamount to saying that Free Trade is beaten by Protection.

(2.) Nor can the Free Trade Debater find room for shelter behind any system of Foreign Preferential Rates, or other forms of Foreign Bounty, because these also are of the weapons of Protection. And if we are beaten in the Home Market as a result of their action that again is just tantamount to saying that Free Trade is beaten by Protection.

(3.) Less can the Hicks-Beachian Philosopher object to any special transit rates that may be given to foreign goods by British Shippers and British Railways. Because all that kind of iniquity is just part and parcel of his beloved Free Trade.

Everybody, e.g., knows that British Shipping lives upon Free Trade and is the out-topping mundane monument of its everlasting benefits. If, under these circumstances, steaming merrily out with British Free Trade coal to feed the foreigners' furnaces, I say, if British ships can delightedly afford to return with a ballast of Foreign Goods at nominal rates that is purely their own Free Trade affair.

—Who is indeed the fool that he should complain? Who, after all, but the British consumer reaps the benefit, and who is the British consumer, please, but every man, woman (and baby) in the kingdom, poor and rich alike?

In a similar manner our Railways must live. British Railway Shareholders are just as patriotic as any of you can possibly be and are accustomed to sing Rule Britannia with as loud a roar, and if they go out of their way to oblige the foreigner, be sure they do so not out of any cosmopolitan love for him but merely in order to improve their own dividends. And nobody surely needs any telling at this time of day that the most certain scientific machinery ever invented by the mind of man for advancing the welfare of the commonweal is just for the commonweal to sit dumb-still and let every individual interest in its own little way look after its individual own. No other can hope to do it with such zealous initiative, and, everybody attending best to his own business, the business of everybody is best attended to and everybody is happy and well.

(4.) Nor is the Hicks-Beachian argument adjuvated by the theoretical solace that may be squeezed out of Dumping. Because if we are dumped out of our Home Market and, thereafter, book by the next happy boat to Turkey and China (in order to pay for the dumped goods there,) what is there really in a Free Trade Freedom-loving country to prevent the Foreigner taking out a passage by the same boat and dumping us out of China as well?—

But as to this little turn in the debate, perhaps the best that I can do is to ask you to listen to this latest Report upon the Trade of Protected Germany by the British Consul-General :—

"The Trade of Germany.*

"A report on the trade of Germany for the year 1904, by the British Consul-General, was issued by the Foreign Office yesterday. The Consul states that, while the year 1904 cannot be designated an exceptionally 'good' one, **it may yet be assumed that the condition of German trade and industry in the last two years was perhaps better on the whole than that of any other European country. The labour market improved almost from month to month, and the number of unemployed fell to a comparatively low figure.**

"It must also be noted that during a period of depression or indifferent trade abroad Germany has increased her exports, apart from 'dumping,' in a great many instances in better class and highly-finished articles.

"Attention was directed in previous reports to the increasing importance of the export of German machinery and highly-finished iron goods, which latter must not be confounded with the forced or 'emergency' sales of pig iron and partly manufactured or heavy iron goods.

☞ **"The growing export of machinery testifies to the unremitting and successful efforts of the German manufacturer to turn out good work at moderate prices, and, in fact, at lower prices than his competitors.**

"Undoubtedly the iron industry, the manufacture of machinery and instruments, and the electrical and chemical industries, at present form the centre of industrial life in Germany."

(5.) Nor can the Hicks-Beachian Free Debater lay the flattering solace to his soul that the—our rivals' attack upon the markets of the world proceeding upon unremunerative lines is certain the day after next to pan out, for as far as any ordinary human being can judge it is only just beginning in earnest to pan in.

* Glasgow Herald, April 6, 1905.

Listen, e.g., to these exhilarating paragraphs:

(1)

"**Progress in States.***

"The year 1904 has been one of unchecked material progress in the United States. We have gained two million inhabitants—equivalent to annexing a third of Canada—and our total population has increased to nearly 85,000,000. We have added about three billion dollars to our national wealth, which is now estimated at over 111,000,000,000 dollars. The value of the year's crops has been the greatest ever known. **Our foreign commerce has surpassed all American records,** and our domestic commerce has exceeded the total volume of the foreign trade of all the nations of the world combined."

(2)

"**British Firms Outbid.**†

"**America Captures Large Australian Orders.**

[From our own Correspondent.]

"New York, July 25.

"The largest and most valuable steamship cargo that ever left the American shores for Australia has just been despatched from here. It consists of 12,000 tons of freight valued at more than £300,000.

"The most interesting feature of this record consignment of American wares is that the Cufic—one of the White Star liners owned by the International Mercantile Marine Company—was chartered for the purpose by the United States and Australasian Steamship Company, an exclusively American concern which is fighting the various British steamship companies that load here for Australia and New Zealand.

"The Cufic's cargo is one of the most varied that has ever

* Collier's Weekly.

† Glasgow Record and Mail, Aug. 5, 1905.

left the States. Fremantle, Melbourne, and Sydney are the ports where the freight will be discharged.

"About 30,000 cases of kerosene oil have been shipped by the Standard Oil Company, and large quantities of steel rails, steel plates, wire machine tools, electrical equipment, sewing machines, agricultural machinery, 1500 tons of printing paper, and 500 tons of tobacco are on board.

"Sixteen locomotives are also on the Cufic for the New South Wales Government Railways. These locomotives are part of a contract recently placed with the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia. The contract price per locomotive is £3700 delivered in Sydney.

"The American figures were 15 per cent. less than those of the lowest British bidders, notwithstanding the fact that the specification called for British designed engines.

"The American terms of delivery were considerably more favourable than the European.

"The American quotation was also some 25 per cent. lower than the best Australian price."

But *cant you see*, you unreasonable thickhead, (I hear a refined Free Trader murmur,) that this *very actual identical enormous* increase in Manufactured and **Partly Manufactured** British Imports of which you complain is a striking and **perfect corroboration** of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's irrefragable theory.

You forget their sort.

Why!—'Tis these very manufactures **and half-manufactures,** *inasmuch as they provide the instruments and the raw material for the higher grades of manufacture*, that enable us to manufacture so cheaply and therefore to augment our Export Trade to the ends of the earth.

Ah, good Sir, I thank you!—But before we talk at large in this fine old crusted Free-Trade-falutin way (with which I am only too, Heaven knows, sick-familiar) suppose we ascertain, *first of all*, the facts:

Imports into the United Kingdom of Manufactured and Partly Manufactured Goods:*

During the ten years 1883-1892,	£ 904,000,000
„ „ 1893-1902, - -	£1,247,000,000
Increase, - - -	£ 343,000,000

Exports from the United Kingdom of Manufactured and Partly Manufactured Goods of British Production: (Except Ships.)

During the ten years 1883-1892,	£2,053,000,000
„ „ 1893-1902, - -	£2,061,000,000
Increase, - - -	£ 8,000,000

☞ So that by this very brilliant logic we had to increase our Manufactured Imports by £343,000,000 in order to enable us to increase our Manufactured Exports by £8,000,000!!!

Exports of Manufactured Goods by Ten of our Principal Manufacturing Industries:—Cotton, Woollens, Iron and Steel, etc..* v. infra.

In the ten years 1883-1892,	£1,317,000,000
„ „ 1893-1902, - -	£1,209,000,000
Decrease, - -	£ 108,000,000

Total value of articles manufactured and partly manufactured in the United Kingdom (exclusive of articles of Food Drink and Tobacco and Ships) exported from the United Kingdom to all Foreign Countries:†

1890, - - -	£149,651,000
1894, - - -	£117,907,000
1898, - - -	£122,804,000
1902, - - -	£131,686,000

Decrease in 12 years (1890-1902), - £17,965,000

* J. Holt Schooling.

† Board of Trade Memorandum 1903.

Ditto exported from the United Kingdom to all Destinations:*

1890,	- - -	£228,805,000
1894,	- - -	£183,556,000
1898,	- - -	£198,054,000
1902,	- - -	£227,645,000

Decrease in 12 years (1890-1902), - £1,160,000.

Total value of articles manufactured and partly manufactured† in the United Kingdom exported from the United Kingdom to all the World:

1872,	- - -	£236,000,000
1882,	- - -	£217,000,000
1890,	- - -	£229,868,743
1902,	- - -	£229,212,625

Decrease in 12 years (1890-1902), - £656,118.

I hear the dying echo of a final murmur!

—I beg your pardon, Sir. (I am grown a little dull of hearing.)

'—What do I really hope to have proved by my long rigmarole of *adroitly-loaded unreliable* statistics?'

Ah, dear Sir, *nothing*.

I build *on the unreliable sand of no statistics*.

I am like Free Trade: I found on the irrefragable logic of common sense,—as you will be my witness presently.

☞ I have made use of my statistics for one sole patriotic purpose simply:—as an eloquent means, merely, of *suggesting* the tragic depths of Industrial Impotence into which we are certain to sink if ever we are Heaven-forsaken enough to imitate the **vicious pernicious antiquated exploded unscientific** industrial methods of our

* Board of Trade Memorandum 1903.

† Except, of course, Ships. 'Imperial Reciprocity'—The Daily Telegraph,—which, in turn, quotes from the 'Accounts of Trade and Navigation.'

utterly negligible,
hopelessly outpaced,

ever-for-all-time-to-be-in-all-things industrially outclassed (necessarily) Protectionist rivals!

Ladies and Gentlemen, I beg your permission now to recover from this prolonged digression (without, however, in any way apologising for its unexpected length or its instructive dreichness!)

—You remember where we parted from the main argument. **Gigantic the Pons Asinorum of the Great Fiscal Debate:**

—How are Great Britain's enormous and enormous-growing Importations paid for?

Had loomed up awe-inspiring into view.

But I, before essaying myself to cross, I thought it well to pave the preliminary way by a few axiomatic observations:

One of which was: If the Foreigner really is accepting, in payment of the Imports with which he is flooding the British markets, British Goods, *whatever these Goods may be* they are decidedly not the Goods which he was content at one time to take.

Whereof, in statistical illustration, I gave you the case of the United States and France:—and was about to give you the Combined Foreign Nations of the World—when Sir Michael Hicks-Beach took me by the elbow at Manchester and volunteered out of his own bat to *explain away* the United States and France and indeed name the economical word that would give the fiscal reason for—'letting things alone' with British commerce for the next ten thousand years.

I was immediately under a polite obligation, therefore, to turn and adorn that Statesman's tombstone with a

REQUIESCAT IN PACE,

(the best I could,) to his patriotic elementary lack of common economic common-sense.

I resume now the broken link of my argument and give you the Combined Foreign Nations of the World :—

From the United Kingdom in part payment of the fast-increasing Imports which they are permitted to dump upon the British Market the Combined Foreign Nations of the World condescended to accept:

	In 1890.	In 1902.
	£	£
Woollen and Worsted Yarn and Manufactures,	19,702,000	12,599,000
Silk Yarn and Manufactures,	2,015,000	1,112,000
Cotton Yarn and Manufactures,	43,804,000	42,571,000
Linen Yarn and Manufactures,	5,641,000	5,073,000
Jute Yarn and Manufactures,	2,825,000	2,121,000
Bags and Sacks,	546,000	391,000
Cordage and Twine,	286,000	266,000
Leather and its Manufactures,	1,748,000	1,594,000
Saddlery and Harness,	220,000	151,000
Skins and Furs, foreign, dressed in United Kingdom,	650,000	517,000
Caoutchouc Manufactures,	960,000	885,000
Haberdashery and Millinery,	583,000	307,000
Hats of all sorts,	611,000	379,000
Umbrellas, etc.,	150,000	59,000
Apparel and Slops,	950,000	711,000
Prints, Engravings, etc.,	108,000	99,000
Perfumery,	54,000	47,000
Wood Manufactures,	327,000	194,000
Matches,	17,000	8,000
Arms, Ammunition, etc.,	1,080,000	789,000
Steam Engines,	3,208,000	1,957,000
Other Machinery,	8,461,000	7,907,000
Tinplates,	5,935,000	3,200,000
Other Iron and Steel,	14,727,000	12,869,000
Copper,	3,398,000	1,866,000
All other Metals,	1,946,000	1,871,000
Hardware and Cutlery,	1,599,000	954,000
Plate and Plated Wares,	190,000	174,000
Clocks, Watches etc.,	53,000	41,000
Carriages and Wagons, (including railway rolling stock and cycles,)	2,002,000	1,081,000
Cement,	876,000	147,000
Stones and Slates,	398,000	229,000
Earthen and China Ware,	1,548,000	1,119,000
Glass and Manufactures thereof,	467,000	374,000
Chemical Products and Preparations,	5,198,000	3,986,000

'But,' I seem to hear the ghost of a Free Trader say, 'if the 'combined Foreign Nations of the world have contracted their 'purchases of British Manufactured Goods in these particular 'items they have no doubt greatly increased their imports in 'other items.'

Of Total Manufactured Goods* from Great Britain the combined Foreign Countries of the World bought

In 1890 to the value of £149,651,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £131,686,000.

(Or if you would like to see the intervening years I give you these also :—)

	£
In 1890 to the value of	149,651,000
„ 1891 „ „	135,265,000
„ 1892 „ „	128,111,000
„ 1893 „ „	123,328,000
„ 1894 „ „	117,907,000
„ 1895 „ „	131,566,000
„ 1896 „ „	133,085,000
„ 1897 „ „	127,774,000
„ 1898 „ „	122,804,000
„ 1899 „ „	134,858,000
„ 1900 „ „	142,200,000
„ 1901 „ „	128,116,000
„ 1902 „ „	131,686,000

'But,' (I seem to hear the ghost of a Free Trader say, 'if the 'combined Foreign Nations of the World are taking less and less 'of our Manufactured Goods they are no doubt making amends 'by taking more and more of our general produce.'

Of Total British Produce† from Gt. Britain the combined Foreign Countries of the World bought

In 1890 to the value of £176,160,000.
„ 1902 „ „ £169,848,000.

* Excluding articles of Food, Drink, Tobacco and Ships.

† Except Ships.

(Or if some of you would prefer that this should include Foreign and Colonial produce, I give you that as well :—)

To all Foreign Countries whatsoever, of Total British Colonial and Foreign Produce,*

Gt. Britain exported

In **1890** to the value of **£234,000,000,**
„ **1902** „ „ **£227,000,000.**

'But,' (I seem to hear the ghost of a convinced Free Trader say,) 'the explanation is no doubt easy. Very likely the com-'bined Foreign Nations of the World exported less of their 'produce to Gt. Britain.'

Of Total Merchandise from the combined Foreign Countries of the World,

Gt. Britain imported

In **1890** to the value of **£325,000,000,**
„ **1902** „ „ **£421,000,000.**

———o———

My friends! I make no apology for pouring out upon your long-suffering patience this overwhelming deluge of depressing details, (not to speak of what is still to follow,)—because none, I think, is needed.

No more eloquent sermon on the resplendent merits of our dearly-beloved Free Trade was ever delivered (or ever will be) than they in the unoffending innocence of their unadorned simplicity.

(If not your *convinced* Free Trader,) the forlornest goat on a Highland hill,—the thickest-headed cow in a British paddock, cannot fail to grasp their significance.

COMMENT IS IMPERTINENCE!

Even, I think, I am entitled to go further and allege, that the British-born man whom they fail to rivet arouse alarm and fill with a patriotic horror, that man is a traitor to his country,—fit for stratagems and spoils,

AND THE MANGIEST BRITISH MESSAN

unnamed unclaimed in a British street is worthier of the British franchise than he!

* Except Ships.

☞ And bear in mind, too, that these figures are even worse than they look, because, in the interval, they carry no suggestion of the enormous increase of population which has taken place in the combined Foreign Nations of the World, nor of the three and three quarter millions increase in our own.)

Now, also, Ladies and Gentlemen,

—You will understand how, when I undertook the Sir Michael Hicks-Beachian digression a few moments ago, I spoke to you of killing two fiscal birds with one stone.

That Rt. Hon. Gentleman, you remember, went confident leagues out of his way in order to cover himself with the Free Trade fiscal glory of explaining away the extraordinary economic anomalies, (as he must have understood them to be,) of the United States and France, with, as you recollect, the happy indeterminate help of our cotton exports to China, Turkey, etc..

Had he waited, or informed himself *a little* on the subject before he spoke, he might have ascertained, that the Combined Foreign Countries of the World, in their commercial relations with the United Kingdom, were just as anomalous as his supposed anomalies and stood as urgently in need of the happy indeterminate cotton export assistance of some remoter (extra-mundane China, Turkey, etc..

The particular satisfaction, therefore, attaches to Sir Michael of being able to feel that he is twice buried.

But after all, Sir, what are the Combined Foreign Nations of the World? Are they not, to say sooth, but a fraction (albeit considerable) of the illimitable world, while outwith their confines lies the mighty fabric of the British Empire comprising a fifth of the land surface of the earth and one fourth of the world's inhabitants?

It may be that, *taken all over*, our manufacturing industries are exhibiting the desiderated incrementation.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I give you the World!—

Of Cement

to the World Gt. Britain exported

In 1872 to the value of £ 504,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £1,282,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £ 521,000:

Of Earthen and China Ware,

In 1872 to the value of £1,986,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £2,239,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £1,900,000:

Of Glass and Manufactures thereof,

In 1872 to the value of £1,122,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £1,065,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £1,098,000.

☞ N.B. In these statistics, by the way, I wish you to keep your eye merely on the years 1890 and 1902. If I happen to introduce 1872 into the comparison that is chiefly for a little amusement of my own.

I have noticed, e.g., that to speak of 1872 to a convinced Cobdenite is like to speak of B—— W—— to an Irishman. It fairly makes him 'wud.' And in that condition, happy to say, he becomes an active effective propagandist of the Fiscal Truth.

You see, 1872 was at one time a great year with the convinced Cobdenite, because from its lofty height he was accustomed at one time to mark with pride the triumphant progress which the trade of the country had made from the abolition of the Corn Laws. But from a lofty mountain, unfortunately, you can look in more directions than one, and now that he has discovered this simple fact he is seeking all he can to damage the prestige and pride of his erstwhile annus mirabilis by reminding us of the inflation of trade and prices which then prevailed—due in some measure, it is supposed, to the Franco-Prussian War.

—For the which, of course, we poor Protectionists cannot be

too profoundly grateful because it tends to loosen the foundations of the Great Superstition and prepares the economic fools of England for the reception of the actual effective causes of British Industrial Progress subsequent to 1846—as distinguished from the Superfluous Absurdity which has been labelled and swallowed universally as *the* cause.

Of Arms and Ammunition,

In 1870 to the value of £2,396,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £1,869,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £1,832,000:

Of Hardware and Cutlery,

In 1872 to the value of £5,089,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £2,764,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £2,178,000:

Of Cycles,

In 1890 not separately distinguished,
„ 1896 to the value of £1,855,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £ 718,000:

Of Iron and Steel and their Manufactures:

Tinplates,

In 1890 to the value of £6,362,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £4,333,000:

'Other Iron and Steel,'

In 1890 to the value of £24,702,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £24,545,000:

(Or giving Totals merely:)

Of Iron and Steel and their Manufactures,

In 1872 to the value of £35,996,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £31,565,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £29,204,000:

Of Copper and its Manufactures,

In 1872 to the value of £3,231,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £4,551,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £2,933,000:

Of Cotton Yarn and Manufactures

In 1872 to the value of £80,164,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £74,431,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £72,458,000:

Of Cotton Yarn alone,

In 1872 to the value of £16,697,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £12,341,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £ 7,404,000:

Of Woollen and Worsted Yarn,

In 1872 to the value of £6,110,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £4,086,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £3,530,000:

Of Woollen and Worsted Manufactures,

In 1872 to the value of £32,383,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £20,419,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £15,264,000:

Of Linen Yarn,

In 1872 to the value of £2,131,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £ 866,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £ 842,000:

Of Linen Manufactures,

In 1872 to the value of £8,225,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £5,710,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £5,430,000:

Of Jute Yarn and Manufactures,

In 1872 to the value of £1,748,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £3,054,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £2,513,000:

Of Bags and Sacks Empty,

In 1872 to the value of £1,627,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £ 649,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £ 442,000:

Of Silk Yarn etc. and Manufactures,

In 1872 to the value of £4,085,000,
„ 1890 „ „ £2,707,000,
„ 1902 „ „ £1,631,000:

Of Haberdashery and Millinery.

In 1872 to the value of £6,640,000.
„ 1890 „ „ £2,113,000.
„ 1902 „ „ £1,774,000:

	1890. £	1902. £
Of Chemical Products and Preparations. -	5,863,000	5,446,000
„ Clocks Watches etc., - - - -	123,000	102,000
„ Hats and Umbrellas, - - -	1,849,000	1,646,000
„ Paper of all sorts, - - -	1,679,000	1,672,000
„ Prints Engravings etc., - -	153,000	143,000
„ Saddlery and Harness. - - -	642,000	583,000
„ Skins and Furs, foreign, dressed in the United Kingdom, - - - -	712,000	546,000
„ Matches, - - - - - -	146,000	71,000
„ Wood Manufactures, - - - -	591,000	564,000

XX.

One would suppose that figures such as these that I have given you (and need I say that they do not exhaust the bankrupt list) would move even the most case-hardened Free Trader to think.

But alas!—

SO WELL AS I (POOR WORM) HAVE REASON TO,

you do not know the *convinced* Free Trader.

All *his* thinking (such as it ever was) was done for him 60 years ago. He is even proud of the fact. *He* think! Why should he? His divine idol, his immaculate theory, his superlative principles are (long ago) founded on

THE IRREFRAGABLE ADAMANT OF UNASSAILABLE LOGIC.

Cant you understand, man, once for all, that *two and two make four* and that not all the combined thinking of all the inspired economic protectionist idiots in the combined world will ever modify that immutable fact?

You tell him,—(you beseech him first of all to listen:) you prove to him by bell, book, and candle, that our great staples have reached the end of their tether, that some are verging fast downhill and others oscillating on the swither.

—He regards you unmoved.

(Or, perhaps, he quibbles.) Perhaps he suggests that if we are not sending a greater *money-value* of goods abroad we are sending a larger *quantity* for a smaller money.

Perhaps he will proudly inform you that we sent out of the United Kingdom,

In **1872,**

3,547,211,852 yards of Cotton Goods,

at a money value of **£63,466,729,**

as against, in **1902,**

5,331,552,500 yards of Cotton Goods,

at a money value of **£65,054,017.**

Or if he is up to a wrinkle in the Woollen Industry perhaps he will address you in the Daily Chronicle respectfully thus:

> "Such a method shows ignorance. I speak quite "respectfully. For instance, the declared value of our "woollen manufacturing exports in 1890 was £27·4 "millions. In 1902 it was £23·3 millions. Yes, but the "average price of wool in 1890 was 10·27d per lb.; while "in 1902 it was 7·51d per lb. (Statistical Abstract of "1888-92, p. 170 and 171). One year fine Botany and "Saxony goods may be in fashion, and prices will be "high. Another year cross-breds and Cheviots may be "in demand, and may sell to a much larger yardage, but "on account of the lower price of material, and con- "sequently the lower price of goods, even though more "yards have been sold, as good wages paid, and as good "a profit made, the declared value will be less, thus "giving the superficial readers the impression there is a "falling off in the industry, whereas the reverse is the "case."

☞ (Or if he is a *specially patriotic* British Coalowner perhaps he will give you the identical story about the Export of British Coal!)

Or perhaps his great Goose wings, if he is a King's Counsel (and at the same time Member for the Border Burghs,) he will grandly flap, and astonish the eternal stars with this loud quack:

"Mr. Chamberlain displayed

"EXTRAORDINARY CONFUSION OF MIND,

"because not only did he take the year 1872, **the "mountain peak**, and compared it with 1902, and show "apparently that our volume of trade had fallen off, or "rather was in a stagnant condition, but he actually took "**the 'boom' prices of 1872** and compared them with "the prices of 1902.

"If they wanted truly to compare the volume of "trade they must get rid of the fallacy of comparing the "total price value with the total price value. On account "of the improvement in machinery, of improved education, "of the skill and industry of the people, it may have been "that while prices had gone down, the volume of trade "may have been doubled. In order to be quite fair they "must take the prices of 1868 and transmute them into "the prices of 1902. In that way they would be able to "know how the volume of trade of to-day compared with "the volume of trade in 1868.

"**There had been a decrease in prices on the "average since 1868 of 20 per cent. Our total "exports in 1868 were 179 millions. At the same "prices our total exports in 1902 would be 346 "millions, or an increase of 93 per cent.** They "would thus see that in a period of under forty years "this country **had practically doubled** its export trade "so far as its volume was concerned. (Cheers.) **What "more could any man want?**

"Coming next to

"**manufactured exports.**

"Mr. Shaw stated that **in 1868 the amount was 165 "millions, and that at the same prices for the goods "to-day the volume of exports was 284 millions, or "an increase in these 34 years of 72 per cent.**

"The man who was dissatisfied with that progress "would be hard to please. (Cheers.)

"**The fact was that all talk about stagnation "or attempts to terrify the country by the shadow "of declining trade was to adopt the tactics of the "quack * * .**"

—Quack! —!!—

And all on such lovely orthodox lines too!

"Manufactured Exports!!"

Oh the sweet gratitude one is entitled to feel for the divine refreshingness of such a phrase!—

You see—when Sugar Refining fails you under F. T.,—opportune up pops Jam. And when the Exports of Real Manufactures fail you, what a Heavenly Godsend to be able to turn your Free Trade Industry to—"M-n-f-ct-red Exp-rts!"

The Free Trader has never heard of the Farmer's wife:

"Dear John!" said she, "I find we are not doing so well as we used to."

"How's that?"

"Well, you see, we used to get £200 for our Tattie crop. And now—."

"And now what? And now what?"

"And now we are getting only £100."

"Silly woman! we are selling now double the potatoes we used to."

"But they are bringing us less."

"Tut! Tut! Jenny. How you women-folk have no head for business! Cant you see, my dear, if we were only selling our tatties and turnips at the prices *that used to be, when you and I were young*, you would be rolling to church in a motor gown and

I to market in a silken car? I tell you, lass, things were never so well with us as they are *just at this present.*" *

(Talking of the farmer's wife,) perhaps you mention

AGRICULTURE.

You inform him that the people employed in that greatest of all industries,

IN ENGLAND AND WALES ALONE,

have gone down,

since 1891,
by 111,232,
since 1881,
by 211,487,
since 1871,
by 435,514,
since 1861,
by 814,709,
since 1851,
By nearly a Million!

(The convinced Free Trader smiles.)

You tell him that the acreage under wheat has gone down,

since 1891,
by 619,000 acres,

representing a fall in the annual crop of about 20,000,000 bushels,

since 1881,
by 1,195,000 acres,
since 1871,
by 2,059,000 acres,
since 1851,
by 2,441,000 acres.

(The convinced Free Trader continues to grin.)

* I am not denying, of course, the element of qualification in the Free Trade contention. I am merely chaffing the Free Trader's mania for soaring into the empyrean of the Universal with every little gooseberry he picks.

You tell him that the acreage under corn of all kinds has gone down,

since **1869,**
by **3,483,000 acres:**

The acreage under green crops (potatoes, turnips, vetches, etc.,)

since **1871,**
by **1,030,000 acres:**

And that the land under permanent pasture has increased,

since **1867,**
by **6,356,000 acres.**

The convinced Free Trader has *ceased to grin.*
—He is offering up prayer on your behalf,

INWARDLY PITYING YOUR HELPLESS INNOCENCE!

Perhaps the co-coon is wearing a silk tile and the association suggests

SILK.

You take him to Macclesfield, where (before the French Treaty in 1860) flourished

80 Throwing Mills,
and 90 Silk Manufactories:
—in all 170 Mills!

You take him around to-day, and ask him to count the mills:

8 Throwing Mills:
20 Silk Manufactories!

(Before you leave) you ask him to count the population:

1851, - - -	39,000
1901, - - -	34,000

You bring him to Coventry—where, at the time of the French Treaty in 1860,

9000 silk looms employed 28,000 out of a total population of 42,000 and turned out 2,300,000 yards of ribbon a week:

(where, about twenty years afterwards, not a fourth of that number of looms existed:)—where, to-day, the industry is "nearing extinction."

You take him to Manchester where plied at one time

20,000 busy looms,

—a number which boomed steadily upward until it reached in the eighties the fine total of

6000:

—(where, to-day, the industry is "practically extinguished.")

You take him to Watford, Rickmansworth, Chesham, Tring, and Aylesbury, where "some years ago there were large mills, filled with costly machinery, engaged in silk-throwing,—all of which have now disappeared, killed by foreign competition."

You carry him round by the dying silk industries of Congleton, Leek, Derby, Middleton, and Nottingham, and thence to Spitalfields which in her proud hey-days, (1824,)—(before the advent of the Free Trade Millennium) boasted of

24,000 silk looms employing 60,000 operatives,

and, twenty years or so after that divine advent, vaunted herself

of 1200 looms,

—and, to-day,—is delighted with less.

You might have spared yourself the tedious journey. The convinced Free Trader all the time has been *sound asleep!*

You *pinch him in the ribs* and proclaim aloud in his ear that once upon a time no fewer than

150,000 looms

wove silk in Britain.

You invite him to guess what the number had boomed to by **1872?**

Ans. 65,000!

The Free Trader has *barely heard you.*

You borrow a speaking trumpet and with the roar of a Boanerges shout: That our import of raw and thrown silk rose

from **12,700,000** lb. in **1857,**
to **2,000,000** lb. in **1902.**

The Free Trader is not in any way impressed.

You inform him that **the Imports into the United Kingdom of Foreign Manufactured Silk Goods,** (exclusive of yarn,) on the contrary, diminished as follows:

	£
In 1857,	1,700,000
„ 1872,	9,400,000
„ 1880,	13,300,000
„ 1890,	11,300,000
„ 1900,	14,200,000
„ 1902,	13,400,000

You vary your pedagogy.

You sum up the Imports in decennial periods: *

Imports of Silk Manufactured Goods.

In ten years, 1883-1892,	£109,000,000
„ „ 1893-1902,	£147,000,000
Increase,	**£ 38,000,000**

You repeat the story of our Exports in do.

Exports of Silk Manufactured Goods.

In ten years, 1883-1892,	£22,000,000
„ „ 1893-1902,	£14,000,000
Decrease,	**£ 8,000,000**

You murmur to yourself as if you were remembering the tag of an old song:

Increase in Manufactured Silk Imports, - £38,000,000
Decrease in Manufactured Silk Exports, - £ 8,000,000

You pick up the Census of England. (You resist the temptation to pitch it at his head.) You extract the information, merely, that, in England and Wales, the people engaged in the silk industry numbered,

In 1851,	130,723
„ 1861,	116,320
„ 1871,	82,963
„ 1881,	64,835
„ 1891,	52,027
„ 1901,	39,035

Actual Diminution between 1891 and 1901, - 12,992.

* These (and other similar expositions that follow) are from Mr. J. Holt Schooling's excellent work,—'Mr. Chamberlain's Proposal.'

You go back another ten years. You reckon what the number *should have been* in 1901 as compared with 1881, making allowance for the difference in Population.*

Calculated Number, - - -	81,000
Actual Number, - - - -	39,000
Diminution in 20 years, - -	42,000

—And you pitch instead *that!*

The Free Trader is as much concerned as if you were giving in detail the diminution of spiders in an old cart shed.

You mention, casually, (as if you had forgotten the fact) that the duties that are levied on our silk goods average,

In France, - -	20	per cent.
„ Germany, - -	25	„
„ the United States,	70-75	„
„ Russia, - nearly	100	„

The Free Trader is not in any way worried about you or your silk duties. He is too busy weaving silken dreams of his own in a far away economical moonland.

You direct his attention to the United States.

You request him to bear in mind, (by way of contrast,) that while our English forefathers built up and bequeathed to us a magnificent-going silk trade, (which, as I have said, involved in 1857 the importation of no less than 12,700,000 lb. of raw and thrown silk,)—a legacy which England blew to the winds in silken soap-bells at the inspiration of the soapy softheads who boomed the bubble of Free Trade,

our American cousins started business

with no silk trade of any kind,—with the business legacy merely of our English forefathers' commonsense.

AND THEN YOU READ ALOUD THIS:

"Favoured by Protective duties, ranging from 50 to 60
"per cent. ad valorem, the Silk manufacture in the
"United States has been nursed into activity.

* See footnote on preceding page.

"Thus, in 1860,"
(when the decline in our English Silk trade began,)
"the proportion of native manufacture was
"13 per cent.,
"in 1880, - - - 38 ,,
"and, in 1882, - - 40 ,,
"of the entire consumption."

AND THEN YOU RECITE THE FOLLOWING TABLES, ONE SLOWLY AFTER THE OTHER:

Imports of Raw or Thrown Silk:

Into the United States,

1880, - - - 2,562,000 lb.,
1901, - - - 10,406,000 lb.:

Into Germany,

1880, - - - 5,970,000 lb.,
1901, - - - 11,362,000 lb.:

Into Great Britain,

1880, - - - 3,876,000 lb.,
1902, - - - 2,054,000 lb..

The Free Trader is at last overcome. His eyes are closed. **He is once again interceding with Heaven to open the eyes of your benighted imbecility!**

Perhaps he is Loud with Cuffs and Collar and therefore engrossed in

LINEN.

You tell him that the people engaged in the Linen Industry in England and Wales, numbered:

In 1851, - - - 27,421
,, 1861, - - 22,718
,, 1871, - - - 18,680
,, 1881, - - - 12,871
,, 1891, - - - 8,531
,, 1901, - - - 4,956

Actual Diminution between 1891 and 1901, - 3,575.

You go back another ten years. You reckon what the number should have been in 1901 as compared with 1881, making allowance for the increase in Population :

Calculated Number, - - -	16,000
Actual Number, - - - -	5,000
Diminution in 20 years, - -	11,000

You inform him that

The Imports of Linen Yarn and Manufactures

into the United Kingdom totalled :

In 1890, - - -	£1,114,163
,, 1902, - - -	£1,651,045

You sum up the Imports for him in decennial periods :

Imports of Linen Goods.

In ten years, 1883-1892, - - -	£ 9,000,000
.. .. 1893-1902, - - -	£12,000,000
Increase, - - -	£ 3,000,000

You serve up our Exports in the same way :

Exports of Linen Goods.

In ten years, 1883-1892, - -	£63,000,000
.. .. 1893-1902,	£59,000,000
Decrease, - - -	£ 4,000,000

You juxtapose and repeat for his convenience :

Linen Imports,	Increase, £3,000,000
Linen Exports,	Decrease, £4,000,000

(The Free Trader isn't concluded.) His worshipping eye is still fixed upon the eternal pole-star of economical truth. He hears a still small voice you cannot hear—and a hand perchance of C-bd-n's Gh-st) * * * !

You apologise for his inattention, and refer to

LACE.

You ask if he is aware, or wishes to be made aware, that the people employed in the manufacture of Lace, in England and Wales, numbered :

In	1851,	61,726
„	1861,	54,617
„	1871,	49,370
„	1881,	44,144
„	1891,	34,948
„	1901,	36,439

You ask if he is aware, or wishes to be made aware, that the

Imports of Lace into the United Kingdom

totalled :

In	1890,	£ 907,647
„	1902,	£2,493,179

Alas ! you might as well apologise to the falling Lucifer and refer to the lost Garden of Eden.

Perhaps it is Winter and you go back to

WOOLLENS.

You mention that in England and Wales the people employed in the manufacture of Woollens and Worsteds numbered :

In	1881,	240,000	out of a total Population of	26,100,000
„	1891,	258,000	„ „	29,100,000
„	1901,	236,000	„ „	32,600,000

You reckon, as compared with 1881, according to population, the number that should have been employed in 1901, and set the figures side by side :

Calculated Number,	300,000
Actual Number,	236,000
Diminution in 20 years,	64,000

You mention the fact that

The Imports of Woollens and Woollen Yarns

into the United Kingdom totalled:

In 1865,	£ 2,889,888
„ 1890,	£11,274,525
„ 1902,	£12,900,336

You reproduce the information on the decennial system:

Imports of Woollen Manufactured Goods.

In ten years, 1883-1892,	£ 84,000,000
„ „ 1893-1902,	£102,000,000
Increase,	£ 18,000,000

Imports of Raw Wool, Woollen Rags, etc..

In ten years, 1883-1892,	£264,000,000
„ „ 1893-1902,	£245,000,000
Decrease,	£ 19,000,000

Exports of Woollen Manufactured Goods.

In ten years, 1883-1892,	£196,000,000
„ „ 1893-1902,	£158,000,000
Decrease,	£ 38,000,000

—Heavy you lean with the burden of these facts forth, and murmur in his ear:

Imports of Raw Wool gone down by	£19,000,000
Imports of Woollen Manufactures gone up by	£18,000,000
Exports of Woollen Manufactures gone down by	£38,000,000

Alas! as well might you lean with your facts against the nearest lamp-post and murmur the decalogue to your own door-mat.—The Free Trader's wits are sixty years away wool-gathering among the green wigs of his Great Grandfathers.

Perhaps, in a way, Woollens are too warm.

You try

COTTON.

You mention the fact that in England and Wales the people employed in the manufacture of Cotton numbered :

In 1881,	552,000	out of a total Population of	26,100,000
„ 1891,	606,000	„ „	29,100,000
„ 1901,	582,000	„ „	32,600,000

Actual diminution between 1891 and 1901, - 24,000.

You reckon as compared with 1881 the number that should have been employed in 1901 according to population :

Calculated Number, - - -	690,000
Actual Number, - - - -	582,000
Diminution in 20 years, - -	108,000

(In the same brain bump with this diminution) you ask him to locate the following :—

Imports of Cotton Yarn and Manufactures

into the United Kingdom :

In 1865, - - -	£ 759,358
„ 1890, - - -	£2,802,847
„ 1902, - - -	£6,007,969

You implement 'the following' with decennial returns :

Imports of Cotton Manufactured Goods and Yarn.

In ten years, 1883-1892, - - -	£28,000,000
„ „ 1893-1902, - - -	£43,000,000
Increase, - - -	£15,000,000

Imports of Raw Cotton.

In ten years, 1883-1892, - - -	£416,000,000
„ „ 1893-1902, - - -	£348,000,000
Decrease, - - -	£ 68,000,000

Exports of Cotton Manufactured Goods and Yarn.

In ten years, 1883-1892, - - -	£711,000,000
„ „ 1893-1902, - - -	£672,000,000
Decrease, - - -	£ 39,000,000

You engage the thunder of a Gramophone and invite it to shout:

Imports of Raw Cotton gone down by	**£68,000,000**
Imports of Cotton Yarn and Manufactures gone up by	**£15,000,000**
Exports of Cotton Yarn and Manufactures gone down by	**£39,000,000**

Alas! the Free Trader has stuffed his dull ears with the subject of Prelection and—is oblivious to all things sub-lunar in the life of Cobden!

You bring him up to Scotland.—Perhaps a change of air may enliven his wits.)

You fetch him round by the hub of the Scottish Woollen Industry: by Hawick and Selkirk and Galashiels.

You beg, borrow, or steal a Scottish Census: and invite his attention to these eloquent returns:

Population of the Border Burghs.

	1891.	1901.	Decrease.
Selkirk, - -	5,788	5,701	87
Hawick, - -	19,204	17,303	1,901
Galashiels, - -	17,367	13,615	3,752
Total Decrease, - - -			5,740

Especially you direct his economic study to the Rise and Fall of Galashiels:

Population of Galashiels.

1851, - - - -	5,918	
1861, - - - -	6,433	
1871, - - - -	10,312	
1881, - - - -	15,330	
1891,	**17,367**	
1901, - - - -	13,615	
Increase from 1861 to 1871,		3,879
,, ,, 1871 to 1881, - -		5,018
,, ,, 1881 to 1891, - -		2,037
Decrease ,, 1891 to 1901,		**3,752**

You enumerate the

Number of Persons employed in the Galashiels Woollen Industry.

1891, - - - -	4,805
1901, - - - -	3,351
Decrease, - -	1,454

You append the number of

'Unoccupied and Unemployed.' *

1891, - - - -	132
1901, - - -	763
Increase, - -	631

You carry him unpremeditating on—and drop him in Dumfries:—into a social gathering there in connection with Troqueer Tweed Mills: 19 xii. 1903.

"**Comparing the present year with 1875, he said "their trade with America, France, and Germany "had fallen off to the extent of £60,000, equal to "£400 a-week of wages lost to the working people "of Dumfries.** When the German tariff was first put on "one of their largest customers offered to find all the "capital to start a mill to make their goods in Germany. "The patterns and the fancy yarns were to be made "here, and the plain ones over there, where the goods "were all to be woven and finished by foremen sent "from here. In other words, Scotch brains were to find "work for German workpeople to produce Scotch tweeds "made in Germany. This was no idle offer, and he "saw from a speech recently delivered by Sir Walter "Thorburn that a similar offer was made to him. And "this is what was going on in other trades. Coats, the "cotton people, had a mill in Russia and one in America, "and just recently a firm of worsted makers in Bradford "had intimated their intention of moving a large part of "their machinery to America. No doubt their firm had "been more largely affected than others, because they

* Males.

"were always noted for doing a large foreign trade, but "other towns had suffered greatly, and short time was "the rule, not the exception. Their home trade had "increased, but not to such an extent as to compensate "for the reduction of foreign trade, and both could have "been carried on together."

(Mr. W. H. Scott, the senior partner of the firm, is the speaker.)

You carry him to Langholm,—what time there is afoot a crowded meeting there in the Buccleuch Hall:

(The same Mr. Scott has just spoken.) And now Mr. Charteris, 'another Dumfries manufacturer,' is making everybody happy with the assurance:

"that there were in use in the Woollen Mills of Scotland, "than there were ten years ago,—

"**100,000 fewer Spindles!**

"—**Langholm had suffered in two mills a loss of "trade of £47,000:**

"**While in Galashiels a well-equipped mill which "had cost £20,000, after standing idle for years, "was sold quite recently for less than £2000.**

"The town of Hawick had also suffered and all "round in the South of Scotland business was the "reverse of flourishing. Short time in the mills was "now very common."

You bring him round by Stirling Bridge and the Battle of Bannockburn.

(You leave the Free Trade story of the Glory still to Mr. Charteris.)

"The formerly well-known firm of Messrs. Smith & "Sons, of Stirling, has within the period I have mentioned "become extinct. **This firm alone had about 25,000 "spindles and over 140 looms, and employed close "on 1000 workers. The whole machinery, both "spinning and weaving, was good and up-to-date, "and after being repeatedly exposed for sale at a "nominal price without bringing a single offer, the "machinery was eventually sold off at breaking-up**

"**prices.** This of itself is about the strongest evidence "you could get of the unsatisfactory condition of the "trade. The suffering and loss caused in the district, "and to the workers, by the closing of these large works "cannot be fully estimated. **A number had to seek "parish relief, and many of these are still in this "unfortunate position.**"

You fetch him on to Glasgow,—where any casual policeman will oblige with a list of

16,000 looms

which in recent years have ceased to weave in the city and its neighbourhood.

You nominate for his textile consideration

Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, and Ayrshire.

You tell him that in these three counties there were at one time

143 Cotton Factories.

You ask him to count the number now.—Or, in order to spare a little of his Yankee shoe leather, you give him Sir William Arrol,—who was remarking in a speech, the other day, that in Renfrewshire alone there used to be, in his young days,

28 large Cotton Mills,
—now none!

You appropriate for the second time a Scottish Census and expound to him that in the three just counties named there were employed in **the Textile Industries,** at the time of the last Census,

		15,000,
as against	In 1875, - - -	**33,000.**

You demonstrate to him that in Scotland generally there were employed in

The Woollen and Worsted Manufactures *

	In 1901, - - -	**24,906,**
as against	In 1891, - - -	**40,034.**

* See footnote on page 219.

You smother the unconvinced Sahara of hi ignorance with the irritating limelight of detail :

Statistics of Seven Counties employing largest number in Woollen Industry.

	1891.	1901.	Numerical Decrease.
County of Selkirk,	6,259	4,614	1,645
,, Clackmannan,	4,548	3,616	932
,, Roxburgh, - -	3,688	3,145	543
,, Ayr, -	2,540	1,882	658
,, Peebles,	1,863	1,722	141
,, Lanark,	3,764	1,500	2,264
,, Dumfries, -	1,763	1,325	438
	24,425	17,804	6,621

You show him that the number of those employed in Scotland in

The Cotton and Flax Industries *

was In 1901, - - - 38,388,
as against In 1891, - - - 62,951 :

And in

Mixed Materials, *

In 1901, - - - 43,040,
as against In 1891, - - 63,136 :

—Being a diminution all over, in the space of ten years, in the Industries mentioned, of

60,000 operatives, *

—an adult aggregate only 8000 short of the total population of Greenock.

—Alas, the change of air has been of no avail. The I. T. is as God-forsaken in the woollen North as ever he was hopeless in the helpless South.

You return from the Land of Cakes and Kilts and—Happy inspiration !

—Change the whole subject abruptly.

* These figures, I believe, owing to exegetic modifications in the census of 1901, are not just comparable. But even this injustice to Ireland is of comically little importance—in front of the sublime Free Trade joke.—That it would be all the immortal same to the Free Trader if they were

(Maybe he is no more interested in Scottish Textiles than a Bantu Nigger.)

You attempt

GLASS.

You quote to him again our

Exports of Glass and its Manufactures:

1872,	- - -	£1,122,000
1902,	- - -	£1,098,000
1903,	- - -	£1,102,494

You then confide to him the

Imports of Glass Ware into the United Kingdom:

1871,	- - -	£ 994,888
1890,	- - -	£2,084,865
1902,	- - -	£3,696,992
1903,	- - -	£3,727,362
Increase since 1871,	-	**£2,732,474**

You amplify the crystal story with decennial returns:

Imports of Glass.

In the ten years,	1883-1892, - -	£18,600,000
„ „	1893-1902, - -	£30,300,000
	Increase, - -	**£11,700,000**

Exports of Glass.

In the ten years,	1883-1892, - -	£10,300,000
„ „	1893-1902, - -	£ 9,000,000
	Decrease, - -	**£ 1,300,000**

You juxtapose these results in order to make to the slow pulse of his intelligence everything as transparent as the subject of elucidation:

Imports of Glass, - -	**Increase, £11,700,000**
Exports of Glass, - -	**Decrease, £ 1,300,000**

You do the same for the returns of 1902:

Imports of Glass Ware into the U.K., 1902, - £3,696,992
Exports of Glass Ware from the U.K., 1902, - £1,098,000

You humbly ask him, now,—if he thinks it would be within his mathematical powers to divide the one of these into the other in order to inform himself **how many times more than our Exports of Glass Ware in 1902 were our Imports.** And if he gets through the ordeal successfully you beg him as a favour to repeat to his inner consciousness, slowly, all the way home, the Quotient, touching carefully every lamp-post that he passes in order to keep his Free Trade ideas in concatenation : as thus :—

'This great country of ours, (the belovèd Free Trade mother of many Empires,) imported of Glass Ware in 1902

3½ times more than she exported :

—Oh Ezekiel, Habakkuk and Hezekiah! Great is the Power of ——!'

* * * *

And having got him softly home and safely ensconced in the ease of his arm chair you ask for what remains of his wandering wits to lend to this :

"The Glass Trade.*

Speech by Sir H. Seton-Karr, M.P.

"Speaking in regard to the glass trade, he, Sir H. Seton-Karr, had got some information which he was prepared to say was absolutely correct. **Forty years ago England and France were practically the plate glass makers for the world, but up to 1895 the English manufacture had decreased by 45,000 feet per week, while France, Germany, Belgium and America had increased by 760,000 feet per week. The world's output had increased 238 per cent. and England's output had decreased 32 per cent.**

"He would give them another view of it, and this was later information up to 1902. Take the imports of glass into the United Kingdom, glass in many cases made by sweated foreign labour, by men who were paid lower wages and worked longer hours—and he wanted Trade Union Leaders to explain why it was that they were in favour of protecting labour in this country if they were not in favour of keeping out the protected sweated labour from abroad. (Cheers.)

* The St. Helens Reporter, 20th November, 1903.

"Take Sheet Glass.

Since 1850 the imports of sheet glass had grown over 70 times in volume in this country, and most of the increase occurred during the last twelve years, since 1890, amounting in that time to 64 per cent. of the whole increase.

"Take the case of Plate Glass.

In 1902, the imports into this country were 80 times that of 1850, an increase since 1892 of over 1½ times, 151 per cent. Working men would understand what that meant. And then the imports as compared with the home manufactures. The imports of foreign sheet glass in 1893 were double the home manufactured, and in 1902, nine years after, the excess had risen to 2¾ times. And the same was the case in the polished plate trade. In 1902 the foreign imports exceeded the home production by 2¼ times.

"**What was the result of that enormous increase? They knew as well as he did that two glass works had been closed down in St. Helens alone, and the men had been turned into the streets,** and at the present time there was only one plate-glass factory working in the country, and that was the large works known so well in St. Helens. (Applause.)

"**And the natural conditions for making glass were all in favour of England. We had a temperate climate, and natural supplies of coal, salts and sand, and other constituents of glass, and there were handy seaports. Everything was arranged by nature that the glass trade ought to be a successful growing trade;** and as far as the quality of the men was concerned he was bold enough to believe that our workmen were as good as any foreigner, and he might say a great deal better. (Applause.) If that was so, would some one tell him why our trade had gone down instead of up, and why, if one-sided free trade was the right thing, had all those glass works been closed down, and hundreds of men turned out into the street? He did not want to pile up the agony; but he could give figures of the chemical and bottle-glass trades. They all told the same story. In the bottle-glass trade the export trade had been killed by hostile tariffs, and large quantities of foreign-made bottles were brought into the country, underselling our own products. We could do nothing but establish a fairer system of trade. The

same thing prevailed in the chemical trade. Skilled English workmen had been imported into America and other countries to make chemicals, and the result was that our export trade had gone down by leaps and bounds. In 1890, America put on a duty of 23/- a ton to protect its own manufacture and the result was that hardly any soda ash had been exported since that time from England. The decrease in exports represented a loss to English workmen of £300,000 in wages. * * "

And this:

"Dumping of German Bottles.*

"St. Helens Trade Declining.

"St. Helens Magistrates' Clerk has issued a circular pointing out that the glass bottle works of St. Helens have recently discharged several hundred workers owing to want of orders, while at the same time, under our present system of free imports, thousands of gross of German and other foreign bottles are sent every week into this country.

"He states in a letter that at **least 500 of the glass-bottle workers of St. Helens, and those dependent upon them, have lost employment during the past three weeks through the unfair dumping process in this particular industry from foreign countries.**"

And this:

"The Decline of the Glass Bottle Trade in Glasgow.

"SIR,—As there have been a few articles written about the decline of the glass trade in St. Helens in the newspapers of the country, I will, with your permission, give **the decline of the bottle trade in Glasgow.**

"**About 28 years ago there were eleven factories, producing 1,036,800 bottles per week.** The foreigner then got hold of our large brewers, and down went the trade, slowly but surely, and first one manufacturer went to the wall, then another, **until there were only two left.** Every one of the men who lost their all was well off at one time, and some of them were prominent citizens of Glasgow. Besides these men, other three

* Glasgow News, 7th December, 1903.

have tried the bottle-making, with the same result. The fact is, if it had not been for a few patriotic firms in the spirit trade, and a very few in the aerated water trade, bottle-making in Glasgow would have stopped altogether. They that are left—both employers and their men—have to thank these firms for keeping them in the trade.

"A German importer told me the other day that he had got a low quotation from Germany for a large quantity of bottles, so as they could keep their furnaces going, but if he could not take the large quantity it was no use. This large quantity was just their surplus stock, which has been driving the home trade to the wall all along **and forcing employers to put away hundreds of men—bottlemakers, blacksmiths, masons, bricklayers, joiners, potmakers, carters, and labourers,—with the result that there are only 169,344 bottles per week making at the present date, against 1,036,800 per week 28 years ago.** I may also state that eleven factories would consume 2400 tons of coal per week, as against about 300 tons required at present.—I am, &c.,

"MANUFACTURER."

And then this:

"No fewer than **15 well-known glass works have been closed down in the last few years within a small radius of Newcastle and Sunderland.** One of these was the largest in the United Kingdom employing 2000 hands. On another the proprietors are said to have lost £250,000 in trying to keep it going."

And finally this:

"The Plate Glass Trade.

"**The Plate Glass Trade which 25 years ago employed 20,000 workmen has now practically died out,** the last of the big plate glass works having been closed on June 30th, 1903."

—Breathless and weary you ask at last,—*What the transparent idiot thinks of it all?*

The convinced Free Trader has no reply. He merely shifts

his monocle and orbs you through it with a (glazed with 60 years of stupor) eye!

You nominate for a variation

EARTHENWARE & CHINA.

You dilate first of all on the alarming expansion of our **Exports:**

1890, - - -	£2,239,000
1902, - - -	£1,900,000
Alarming Expansion, -	£ 339,000

And then on the equally irritating **diminution in our Imports:**

1890, - - -	£633,279
1902, - - -	£981,481
Irritating Diminution, -	£348,202

You figure out the same distressing story on the decennial system:

Exports of Earthenware, China, etc.

In the ten years,	1883-1892,	£23,000,000
,, ,,	1893-1902, - -	£21,500,000
	Incrementation, - -	£ 1,500,000

Imports of Earthenware, China, etc.

In the ten years,	1883-1892, -	£5,900,000
,, ,,	1893-1902, - -	£8,300,000
	Diminution, - -	£2,400,000

And then by way of a jovial antidote to his incipient depression you recite the happy increase in our—

Exports of Unmanufactured Clay.

	Tons.	
1890, - - -	250,990	£272,720
1902, - - -	456,013	£507,319
Increase, -	205,023	£234,599

—The Free Trader doesn't complain: (doesn't even shift his

monocle :)—modifies merely his Gorgon stare—from one of glass to one of earthenware.

An original idea!

You will make paving stones of his granitic convictions and fix them up (for the feet of future generations) in

CEMENT.

You remind him of **the flourishing condition of our Exports :**

1890, - - -	£1,281,963
1902, - - -	£ 520,512
Decrease, -	£ 761,451

In order to fillip the flagging jog-trot of his imagination you amplify the Reminder :

Exports of Cement.

Six years, 1888-1893, inc., - -	£6,466,643
(Ten years later)	
Six years, 1898-1903, inc., - -	£3,754,555
Decrease, - -	£2,712,088

You give him now the Imports of Cement.—But, in case he should imagine you are bluffing him by the well-known Protectionist device of selecting special years, you inform him, first of all, that Cement Returns were not distinguished prior to 1897, and then you recite as follows :

Imports of Cement.

1897, - - -	£ 42,339
1898, - - -	£181,552
1899, - - -	£246,114
1900, - - -	£211,532
1901, - - -	£377,744
1902, - - -	£392,567
Increase in five years, - - -	£350,228

—Alas! your statistical travail is without avail :—pillared immovably in the Cobdenite concrete of his adamantine thick-headedness you might as well have been adjuring Nelson's Monument to join you in a game of chucks.

(Paralysed you pause for breath.)
You wipe the intellectual beads from your brow.
—You hear time called and —Divine Patience—return.

Perhaps it is summer and you mention

STRAW HATS.

You dwell upon

The Imports of Straw Hats and Bonnets

(trimmed and untrimmed) from foreign countries:

	Dozens.	Value.
1898, - - -	149,662	£ 60,851
1899, - - -	134,354	£ 72,239
1900, - - -	177,142	£ 97,681
1901, - - -	197,116	£125,014
1902, - - -	277,167	£244,925
1903, - -	329,808	£231,850

You add up the value column and hire some one to hint:

"That Free Trade has enabled the foreigner to take "from our straw-hat people in the past six years the "wages spent in making £832,560 worth of hats and "bonnets,—wages which were given to the foreign work-"people who made these hats."

You add, from the same biassed source, as if you were connoting the casual demise of a comparative house-fly, "that the industry of straw-plaiting in the country has been *killed*."

—The convinced Free Trader has barely grasped your intention. He is too overwhelmingly preoccupied with other articles of straw—to be able to attend to such *trivialities as Straw Hats*:—to wit,

(1) The Man of Straw,—Mr. Chamberlain,

(2) The Fire of Straw,—The Fiscal Reform Agitation,

(3) The Last Straw,—(that is going to break England's Industrial back if she assumes it,)—**Protection!**

Perhaps he is sporting a pair of

FRENCH KIDS.

In that case you direct his attention to the flourishing condition of our Great British Industry in re. the

Importation of Foreign Gloves.

1856,	3,900,000	Pairs.
1872,	12,600,000	,,
1882,	19,300,000	,,
1902,	20,900,000	,,
1903,	20,200,000	,,

And then you recite to him this:—

"Within a few years, the great firm of Dent, Allcroft "& Co. established factories at Grenoble, Prague, Heidel- "berg and Brussels.

"Other manufacturers followed suit,

"and now the strange spectacle is presented of large "factories all over Europe, employing many thousands "of foreign workmen being run by English Manufac- "turers for the purpose of supplying the English "market."

Alas! you are like the unfortunate Missionary who, eloquising to the Esquimaux on the horrors of Hell, found them beaming all over at the ruddy prospect.

The convinced Free Trader is rubbing his kid-gloves with glee,—in cosmopolitan admiration and delight *at the Messrs. Dent, Allcroft & Co. etc.'s great kindness and consideration.*

Perhaps he wears his hair long like Paderewski and affects a lollipop air!—

In that case you suggest Music and

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

You allude, first of all, to

Our Exports of Musical Instruments.

	Average Annual Value.
1885-89, - -	£202,750
1890-94, - -	£184,502
1895-99, - -	£181,752
1900-01, - -	£212,763

And then you give him

Our Imports of Musical Instruments.

	Average Annual Value.
1885-89, - -	£ 785,369
1890-94, - -	£ 977,324
1895-99, - -	£1,170,443
1900-01, - -	£1,313,289

And then you lugubriously remind him how the Foreign Manufacturers and their agents in this country are growing gradually small and beautifully less:

Foreign Manufacturers with Special Shops or Representatives in London:

	1889.	1902.
German, - - - -	19	113
French, - - -	5	8
American, - - - -	14	51

And how our British Home Manufacturers continue to multiply and replenish the land:

	1889.	1902.
English Wholesale Manufacturers,	87	73
English Small Makers, -	44	32

—If he hails from London you add the bright particular local tit-bit:

> "that during the last fifteen years no fewer than twelve
> "important piano and organ manufactories have been
> "closed up in London alone."

Alas and alack! The convinced Free Trader has not the slightest interest. He has all the Musical Instruments *he* ever intends to want:—to wit, the good old mono-tuned Monkey Organ made at Manchester sixty years ago!

Perhaps he proudly treads the Glory Soil of Free Trade Britain in

AMERICAN BOOTS,

as indeed do I daily myself,—on principle.* In that case you magnify the magnificent progress our Export Boot Trade has made since 1870: as thus:

Export of Boots and Shoes.

	1870, - - -	£1,148,423,

(adding to the export record, slowly,)

	1872, - - -	£1,695,248,
and	1873, - - -	£1,707,886,

—in order gently to prepare his imagination for the overwhelming increase after thirty years:

1890, - - -	£1,898,290
1902, - - -	£1,896,604
1903, - - -	£1,845,380

(You make no allusion to the casual)

Decrease of £52,910 between 1890 and 1903.

You ask very humbly, merely, if he would care to open his horizon for a moment to the Distribution of our Exports:

Export of British-made Boots and Shoes in 1902.

To all Foreign Countries, - -	**£ 186,047**
To British Possessions, - - -	**£1,710,557**
Total, - -	**£1,896,604**

And as soon as you think he has had time to drink in the Distribution, and conquer his Imperial Hilarity, you impart the story of

Our Imports of Foreign Boots and Shoes.

1890, - -	£333,011 =	99,613 Dozen Pairs.
1902, - -	£877,814 =	243,705 ,, ,,
1903, - -	£940,422 =	237,166 ,, ,,
Increase between 1890 & 1903,	£607,411 =	137,553 ,, ,,

* Because I have long ago recognised that the quickest way to an Englishman's logical faculty,—in many cases 'The Only Way,' is in and through his trousers pocket.

You supplement the story with decennial returns.

Imports of Boots and Shoes.

In the ten years,	**1883-1892,** - -	**£3,653,000**
„ „	**1893-1902,** - -	**£5,812,000**
	Increase, - -	**£2,159,000**

Exports of Boots and Shoes.

In the ten years,	**1883-1892,** - -	**£17,139,000**
„ „	**1893-1902,** - -	**£16,219,000**
	Decrease, - -	**£ 920,000**

You add for his satisfaction **the number of people employed** in England and Wales in the Boot and Shoe Industry:

1881, -	**224,000**	out of a total Population of	**26,100,000**
1891, -	**249,000**	„ „	**29,100,000**
1901, -	**251,000**	„ „	**32,600,000:**

—(Penultimately calculate) as compared with 1881 the number that should have been employed in 1901 in accordance with population:

Calculated Number, - - -	280,000
Actual Number, - - - -	251,000
Diminution, - -	29,000:

And at last, by way of a graphic adieu, confide to him this little episode:

"Boots from America.

"In the saloon of the Parisian was a Free Trader, very vociferous. He was the representative of a great United States boot-making firm, and he simply exuded shoe statistics, in order to convince us that the invasion of Great Britain by the American boot was a blessing for which we could not be too thankful. He told me—and his figures, I have since found, are absolutely trustworthy—that of six million dollars worth of footwear exported from the United States in 1902, two million dollars worth came to the United Kingdom, practically a million dollars worth to British Australasia, and half a million dollars worth of boots to Canada. **Ten years ago Britain took only 2,169 dollars worth of boots from America; last year she took in exact figures 2,013,890 dollars worth.**

"**In 1892 Britain bought 1,507 pairs of American boots; last year she bought 1,035,396 pairs.** Two-thirds of the boots exported by the States go to British territory; **last year there were 2,539,983 British subjects walking the revered path of Free Trade in Yankee-made boots.**"

The convinced Free Trader!—He doesn't worry. All England if it likes in Yankee-made boots may walk to the bottomless pit of everlasting Perdition, so be only it keeps religiously walking, as this very well correspondent puts it, in the holy Cheap-John irrevocable footsteps of the 'Ever Sainted.'

———o———

Perhaps his favourite tune's 'The Lads o' Gala Water.'

In that case you re-tune up your fiscal fiddle and give him Hawick and

HOSIERY.

Exports of Hosiery.

	Cotton.	Woollen.	Total.
1890, - -	£663,992	£913,680	£1,577,672
1902, - -	£457,742	£952,767	£1,410,509
1903, - -	£443,308	£966,270	£1,409,578
Decrease between 1890-1903,			£ 168,084

You impart, by way of parenthetic variation, the distribution of our Hosiery Exports:

Exports to Foreign Countries (in 1903), -	£ 271,159
,, ,, the Colonies (in 1903), - -	£1,138,419
Total, - - -	£1,409,578:

And how these distributions are by way of progressing:

Exports of Hosiery to Foreign Countries.

1898, - - -	£323,908
1903, - - -	£271,159
Decrease, -	£ 52,749

Exports of Hosiery to the Colonies.

1898, - -	£ 794,252
1903, - - -	£1,138,419
Increase, -	£ 344,167 :

And at last you give him the expectant apple of his heart's delight :

Our Imports of Foreign Hosiery.

1890, - - -	£335,982
1903, - - -	£783,367
Increase, -	£447,385

—You pause in order to reap the reflex joy of the expanding grin :—and then you insinuate fresh fuel to the happy flame by emphasising the fact that the Hosiery Imports you have given are of **Cotton only,**—'the Woollen and Worsted Hosiery Imports not being recorded separately by the Board of Trade.'

And then as a farewell brick at his thickhead you juxtapose :

Exports of Hosiery (Cotton and Woollen) to all Foreign Countries in 1903, - -	**£271,159**
Increase (only) of Hosiery Imports (Cotton only) between 1890 and 1903, - -	**£447,385**

One would suppose that little simple facts like these would provide with economic food for reflection a barn-yard turkey.

(I dont doubt that they would.)

☞ All that we know for certain is that they dont make the slightest impression on the frozen wits of the ordinary Free Trade owl.

Perhaps his favourite scenery is the picturesque aspect of dilapidated works and smokeless stacks.

In that case you hand him for his private delectation this private letter :

"DEAR SIR,—I have your letter of the 4th. The "Tariff question in connection with the

CHEMICAL TRADE

"is a large one, as it was one of the first to be affected "in the country. Broadly speaking, however, there were "in 1875

"24 Chemical Works in the Tyne district,

"many of them large concerns, employing a very large "number of men.

"Now there are only 3,
"One at full work,
"One half work,
"and one practically shut up,

"the remainder having all been dismantled.

"This deplorable state of affairs has been brought "about by foreign competition, German particularly, * * . "It is not a question of cost, but simply the effect of "hostile tariffs in foreign countries. Not content with "closing so many works, the Germans have invaded the "markets supplied formerly from the Tyne, and dumped "their Bleaching Powder into these markets, such as "Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, and all along the Scotch "coast, where so many paper works are situated. Still, "we cannot get our products into their country, while our "free import system enables them to dump into Scotland "with all these deplorable results, * * .

"The last works that were closed to make room for "the Germans were the 'Friar Goose Works' on the Tyne. "**These splendid works were employing 700 men, to "whom were paid £1000 a-week in wages, and kept "3000 souls in comfort.** Now, instead of the roaring "of the furnaces, there is the silence of the tomb, the "sparrows build their nests in the roofs, and the old men "are in the workhouse."

The Free Trader is more than ever charmed.—What a divine economic and many-sided Principle! Looks after the interests even of the British sparrow!

Perhaps he is about to be married and—absorbed in

FURNITURE.

In that happy case you ask him to compare

Our Exports of Furniture, Cabinet and Upholstery Work.

In the ten years,	1883-1892,	£6,600,000
„ „	1893-1902,	£6,000,000
	Decrease,	£ 600,000

with

Our Imports of Joiner and Cabinet Work,*

In the ten years,	1883-1892,	£ 4,900,000
„ „	1893-1902,	£10,500,000
	Increase,	£ 5,600,000

And then, side by side, you set them—Increase and Decrease, like blushing bride and happy bridegroom:

Decrease of Exports,	£ 600,000
Increase of Imports,	£5,600,000

Alas! the F.T. is not *about to be* married. He is already fast and forever indissolubly united to the inviolable trams of the incorrigible Cobden's antediluvian unupsettable apple cuddle cart!

—THE SUBLIME INCOMPREHENSIBLE MEGALOPLESIOSAURUS!

Perhaps he is a Jew and therefore interested in

JEWELLERY.

In that case you re-refer to your fiscal Repeater and relate to him: first:

Our Imports of Watches.

1890,	£ 675,000
1902,	£1,212,000

* Including House Frames and Fittings.

Next you suggest that in the three years, 1900-02, we imported close on

Half a Million in Foreign Jewellery.

And then you append the following illumination from a Sherlock Holmes in the Trade:

"The parcels from Germany are usually marked as of about one-tenth of their actual value. As far as we can tell, parcels are declared at the amount that can be claimed off the Railway Co. (£10) or Carrier (£12), the balance of value being insured by a policy similar to our Lloyd's. As only a certain amount can be claimed from the carriers it is useless opening the eyes of the untutored mind to a parcel's real value, and, of course, that keeps the amount down in the Blue Books.

"**There are dozens of firms in Birmingham and more still in London who buy more German Jewellery individually than is down in our Blue Book for the whole nation.**"

Alas, the Free Trader's interest in Jewellery is all summed up and concentred in the fabulous

PRINCELY PRICELESS VISIONARY EMPTY TOAD'S HEAD ILLUSION

of Restricted Exports
and Unrestricted Free Importation!

Perhaps he is a wan Poet (or an etiolated Doctrinaire like Mr. Morley) and therefore interested in

STATIONERY.

In that case you send him a Pictured Postcard with all our Stationary British Industries going off in a Free Trade Galloping Consumption,—and this for picturesque letterpress:—

"Many in my trade will remember a time when, with the exception of Bank note-paper,

"**everything sold in a Stationer's Shop**

was of British origin.

"What is the case to-day?

"Now we have printing papers, writing inks, pens, penholders, lead pencils, fountain and stylo pens, Christmas and birthday

cards, leather goods, letter-files, erasers, inkstands, paper fasteners, rubber bands and general fancy goods all made abroad.

"Take a single instance—one of hundreds.

"The steel pen had its birth in England, and Birmingham makers made pens for the world. The Americans found that British pen-makers supplied pens to the American public cheaper than American makers could and so they put a duty of sixpence on every box of imported pens. This made British pens dearer than the American and killed the trade.

"Now, the American pen-makers, with their home trade secured, flood this country with their surplus products.

"The same process has been gone through exactly in papers, writing and machine inks, lead pencils, rubber bands, etc., until none of our stationery houses finds it worth while to send travellers to America, while American houses and agencies are being established here every month."

All of which notwithstanding, this fellow is decidedly too pessimistic. He has forgotten the beautiful refrain of my Grandfather's Clock and the magnificent Stationery asset that remains to the country; in the stopt brains of the convinced F.T.!!

If he is *ultra-refined* in appearance perhaps you accept the cue and suggest

SUGAR.

You take him to **Bristol.**

You make your exordium the fact that the Sugar Industry has flourished there for over two centuries. You inform him that so late as 1884 Bristol was in a position to turn out 44,000 tons of sugar i' the year. You tell him that in the year of grace 1900 only **1 Refinery survived** with an output of about 15,000 tons a year.

You take him to **London.**

You explain to him that in 1884 there were 8 Refineries in full work there:

to-day 2.

You fetch him to **Liverpool.**

You explain to him that in 1884 there were 10 Refineries at work there:

to-day 5.

You hark him to **Sugaropolis Greenock.**

You explain to him that in 1884 there were 9 Refineries at work there employing some 3000 hands:

in 1900 2.

And then by way of peroration, or as a last spoonful of delight to the cup of his intoxication, you give him in parallel columns

The Exports and Imports of Sugar into Great Britain:

	Exports.	Imports.
1872, - -	£1,014,256	£3,142,703
1903, - -	£ 614,738	£9,966,651
	Decrease, £399,518	Increase, £6,823,948

The Free Trader is beaming at the delightful contrast and reaming all over like a bottle of effervescing cosmopolitan swats.

He is full up with two reflections:

(1) What a delicacy of fraternal Refinement on the part of the foreigner, (he is thinking,) to do the Refinement of our sugar for us and save us the dirty trouble!

(2) What a fine and fortunate thing for the Superior Industries,—the Stirrers of Strawberry Jam, Barley Sugar Crystallographers, Cookie Artists and Collaborators of Cross Buns, and that radiant widely-diffused Body of enthusiastic—Confectioners of Whisky Punch,—Foreign Refined Sugar!

There is, and were you groping with a searchlight for the next sixty years, you would find no room in his reaming noddle for two sister reflections:

(1) The Reflection, namely, that it might pay our superiority, (without in any way deducting from the nobility of our industry,) to refine our own sugar *as well as* confuse it merely refined into superior Candyman's Sticks—or a caramel pigment for Barley Bree!

(2) The Reflection that what a foreign bounty-feeding Government can *so kindly* do for *our* Superior Industries it

can of a Summer morning with a sudden flype of the saccharine Export stocking (dishing us and our Superior Industries in the by-going) do for *its own!*

Perhaps he is a mere child (like Mr. Balfour) in many matters.

In that case you direct the music of his attention to the following delightful arithmetical

PROGRESSIONAL PROCESSIONAL:

1890,	£ 748,000
1891,	£ 792,000
1892, - - -	£ 807,000
1893, - - -	£ 884,000
1894, - - -	£ 964,000
1895, - - -	£ 998,000
1896, - - -	£1,052,000
1897, - - -	£1,069,000
1898, - - -	£1,100,000
1899, - - -	£1,185,000
1900, - - -	£1,188,000
1901, - - -	£1,233,000
1902, - - -	£1,240,000
Grand Total, -	**£13,260,000**

You enquire if he would credit: (if indeed it could ever have entered his convinced noddle to suspect:)
that this

PERFECTIONALLY GRADUATED JACOB'S LADDER OF MATHEMATICAL MILLIONS

stood for the

TOYS AND GAMES

Imported into G. B.

'Credit!' did you say?—The child is charmed! 'Tis but another peacock's feather in the golden tail of his divine Hobby Horse.—'*F.T. caters even also for the kids.*'—You hear him crooning with a kid's delight.)

Perhaps he hails from Dundee and is interested in

JUTE.

In that case you invite his attention to the following figures :

Exports of Jute Manufactures.

1890, - - -	£2,625,835
1902, - - -	£1,908,236

Imports of Jute Manufactures.

1897,* - - -	£1,628,906
1902, - - -	£1,995,464

—And then you ask him to perpend this little extract from the London columns of the Glasgow Herald. (29.8.1904.)

"**A Ruined Industry.**

"**The Stratford Jute Works,** which have been in the hands of the family of Lord Mayor Ritchie for the past fifty years, and **which at one time were a valuable property, were closed yesterday afternoon, and 850 hands thrown out of employment. Competition from Calcutta, where labour is very cheap, has been too keen for the Stratford works.**

"For many years our jute imports have been almost stationary—there have been fluctuations, but, taking the average of twenty years, there has been no material alteration—and our exports of jute piece goods have decreased since 1891 by one-quarter, and the fall in prices by one-sixth.

"**In the same period of twelve years India's exports of jute manufactures have quadrupled.**"

—Alas, the convinced Free Trader doesn't hail from Dundee and was never interested in Jute, but even if he did and were, not all the Extracts at your command to muster whether of Beef, Jute, Mutton, Suet, or Soap, could ever extract one touch of remorse from the love of his altruistic soul—not ay even to-morrow were every Jute Mill in Dundee to submerge in the German Ocean.

—Also if, indeed, India's Jute Manufactured Exports *are* doing so well,—Why not?—'tis but a new bright feather in the

* Not separately distinguished prior to this date.

matinee hat of his beloved.—Dont you know, really, that the wealth which accrues to Calcutta and Chicago and Berlin is just so much wealth that accrues to us? Dont you know that they become richer better-all-round customers in whose disbursements we are bound to predominate by the natural law of economic evolution, if not directly—then via (be sure of it!) the Fiji Archipelago and Timbuctoo?

Bah! I'm afraid you know nothing.

Perhaps he hails from Cleveland, or the Clyde Valley, and is interested in

IRON.

In that case you invite his comparative attention to this instructive (Free Trade versus Protection) Steel and Pig Iron Steeplechase.

Pig Iron Production.

Average.	Great Britain. Tons.	Germany. Tons.	United States. Tons.
1876-1880,	6,600,000	2,100,000	2,200,000
1903,	8,800,000	9,800,000	18,000,000

Steel Production.

Average.	Great Britain. Tons.	Germany. Tons.	United States. Tons.
1876-1880,	1,000,000	510,000	810,000
1903,	5,000,000	8,700,000	*15,000,000

Pig Iron Consumption.

Average.	Great Britain. Tons.	Germany. Tons.	United States. Tons.
1876-1880,	5,400,000	2,200,000	2,200,000
1903,	7,800,000	9,600,000	18,500,000

Total World's Output of Pig Iron.

Average.	Great Britain. Percentage.	Germany. Percentage.	United States. Percentage.
1876-1880,	45	14½	15
1903,	18½	21	38

* 1902.

Total World's Output of Steel.

Average.	Great Britain. Percentage.	Germany. Percentage.	United States. Percentage.
1876-1880,	33	16½	26½
1902,	13½	21½	41½

You further append for the continuity of his gratification:

I.

Iron and Steel Manufactures.

	British Exports.	British Imports.
1872,	£36,000,000	£1,000,000
1880,	£28,000,000	£2,250,000
1890,	£31,500,000	£3,250,000
1900,	£32,000,000	£7,750,000
1902,	£29,000,000	£8,000,000

II.

Exports of Iron and Steel.

In the ten years,	1883-1892,	£257,000,000
,, ,,	1893-1902,	£244,000,000
	Decrease,	£ 13,000,000

Imports of Iron and Steel.

Iron and Steel Wrought or Manufactured.

In the ten years,	1883-1892,	£28,000,000
,, ,,	1893-1902,	£60,000,000
	Increase,	£32,000,000

Other Iron and Steel.

In the ten years,	1883-1892,	£37,000,000
,, ,,	1893-1902,	£59,000,000
	Increase,	£22,000,000

Total Decrease of Exports of Iron and Steel,	£13,000,000
,, Increase of Imports ,, ,,	£54,000,000

III.

Number of Persons occupied in the Iron and Steel Industry in England and Wales.

1881,	201,000	out of a total Population of	26,100,000
1891,	202,000	„ „	29,100,000
1901,	216,000	„ „	32,600,000

Number of Persons, as compared with 1881, that should have been employed in 1901 according to population:

Calculated Number,	251,000
Actual Number,	216,000
Diminution in 20 years,	35,000

Or if perchance, (which is quite possible,) he comes from Newcastle away, (and is indifferent to generalities,)—perhaps you add for his bright particular parochial exhilaration that to your certain knowledge (Board of Trade Returns—Labour Department) the workmen employed in the Iron and Steel Manufacture in Northumberland and Durham (16 establishments) fell from

9851 in 1900,
to 8741 in 1902,
to 8147 in 1903:

—being a 'fall,' my most noble countrymen, of no less than

1704 Iron Workmen in three years.

(Perhaps also you suggest,) if haply he remembers the closing down of

The Spennymoor Works, (Sir Theodore Fry & Co.) in 1900.
The Moor Works,—Stockton, in 1902,
And the Tudhoe Rolling Mills in do.?

—And if, in deed and in brief, speaking blandly, he is aware that, pari passu with these unrelated events, the manufactured Iron and Steel of certain classes (bar, angle, bolt and rod iron, steel girders, beams, joists, and pillars, etc.) imported into the United Kingdom from Germany Holland Belgium and the United States grew from

£1,038,795 in 1899,
to £1,968,135 in 1900,
to £2,141,862 in 1901,
to £2,918,190 in 1902:

being an increase of £929,340
in one year from 1899,
an increase of £1,103,067
in two years from 1899,
and an increase of £1,879,395
in three years from 1899.

Alas! alas! not with the iron help of Steel even can you strike a spark of intelligent national misgiving out of the Free Trade flint of his obdurate mis-understanding.

Perhaps he hails from Aberdeen (or Devon or Cornwall) and is interested in

GRANITE.

In that case you hand him for his perusal Tariff Reform Tract No. 18 of the Industrial Series.

But before you do so you pave the thick way for his too heavy understanding by the following suggestive excerpt:

"**The Granite Trade.**

"**Curbs.** The curb trade up to 1880 was a most important branch of the granite industry, **over 20,000 tons being shipped every year from Cornwall and Devon alone. It has now become almost extinct, owing to the increasing use of foreign granite.** The demand for granite curb is as large as ever, if not larger, but it is being **more and more supplied by Norway and Sweden,** which pour thousands of tons into this country every month.

"**Heavy Engineering.** The curb trade, however, is not the only department of the granite industry which has been severely injured. The heavy engineering work has been attacked of recent years, and **during the last ten years over 2,000,000 cubic feet have been shipped from Norwegian and Swedish quarries for dock and harbour works in Great Britain.** This competition

is steadily increasing, and bids fair to extinguish the home industry in this branch of the trade as it has done already in the case of curb.

"**Architectural Granite.** The third great department of the granite industry is the architectural and monumental trade. This is chiefly confined to Scotland, and has been heavily hit by the M'Kinley and Dingley tariffs. **At the present time large importations of foreign granite (the raw material) are worked and polished at Aberdeen into the fully manufactured article,** meaning, of course, work and wages for a very large number of men. **But orders have already been placed for the most up-to-date machinery to be erected in Norway for the purpose of dressing and polishing the granite abroad instead of in this country.** So that, not content with sending us the raw material, these foreign quarries are preparing to dump upon us the fully manufactured article, a process which means inevitably loss of employment and loss of wages for thousands of British granite workers."

And then, as I say, you present him gratis with the tract:

"**AN INJURED INDUSTRY.**

"**A Preference to the Foreigner.**

"A few days before Christmas the following advertisement appeared in the Broadstairs local paper:—

"'BROADSTAIRS AND ST. PETER'S URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.

"'NORWAY GRANITE KERB AND CHANNEL.

"'The above-named Council hereby invite **Tenders** for the **Supply** and **Delivery** of 1030 ft. run of 6 in. by 12 in. **Norway Granite Edge Kerb** (Straight), 80 ft. run ditto (Circular), and 1050 ft. run of 12 in. by 6 in. **Norway Granite Channel.**

"'Further particulars and Form of Tender may be obtained on application to the undersigned.

"'Sealed Tenders, endorsed "Tender for Granite," to be sent to my office on or before Monday, the 4th day of January, 1904.

"'By order,

"'HOWARD HURD,

"'*Town Surveyor*.

"'Council Offices, Broadstairs,

"'*19th December*, 1903.'

"On December 30th the following letter was addressed by a British firm of Cornish quarry owners to the Broadstairs Town Council :—

"'*30th December*, 1903.

"'**To the Gentlemen and Members of the Broadstairs and St. Peter's Urban District Council**—

"'COUNCIL OFFICES,
"'BROADSTAIRS.

"'GENTLEMEN,

"'We beg to say that we are in possession of your Form of Tender for Curb and Channel, and notice that Norway Granite only is specified.

"'**Would you be prepared to entertain an offer for Cornish Curb and Channel?**

"'**There are many granite masons out of work in this district,** and it does appear hard that British Granite should not be given an opportunity of competing.

"'Awaiting your favour,

"'We are,

"'Yours faithfully,

"'_____.'

"On the 14th January, 1904, the Broadstairs Town Council replied as follows :—

"'*14th January*, 1904.

"'DEAR SIRS,

"'Your letter of the 30th ult. was duly considered by the General Purposes Committee on the 5th inst., and their recommendation was adopted by the Council at the meeting held on the 11th inst., which provided for the purchase of Norway Granite Curb and Channel, as advertised. **The Council could not see their way to make any alteration in the kind of granite specified in the Form of Tender.**

"'Yours faithfully,

"(Signed) 'HOWARD HURD.'"

So—(as you see)—Mr. Howard Hurd!—

Nor do I doubt for a moment that he and the others hurd their sufficient reasons. But in any case **the order was placed**

with the London Representative of Norwegian Granite Quarries.

(AND, PRITHEE, MY GOOD FRIEND, WHY NOT?)

—Ah!—as to *that*, Sir, you will traverse the broad land of this United Kingdom, and seek diligently betwixt this and Doomsday, and go up and down the Free Broadstairs that lead to the narrow land of Perdition, and everywhere you will find the convinced Free Trader: but nowhere to that query

THE VALID CONVINCING IMPOSSIBLE REPLY—

that will Bramah-bore its reluctant channel through the Granitic Conviction of his Adamantine Nut!

Perhaps the fellow hails from Sussex and is interested in

HOOPS.

In that case (after informing him) that 'twenty years ago the 'labour of the Horsham district of that county supplied all the 'wooden hoops required by the Coopers in the United Kingdom:'

You whisper in his ear that **to-day** 'owing to the State-aided 'competition of Foreign Countries, Horsham supplies only one-'third of the wooden hoops used in Great Britain,'—the labour of 6000 men employed in the industry having fallen in the interim to 2000.

☞ The F.T. is happier than ever. His, indeed, whoops of glee, if they could materialise in the substance out of which they issue,—Horsham, in fact, might go flourishing on for ever!

Perhaps he rather hails from Kent and is interested in

HOPS.

In that case you invite him to compare our Exports of British Hops to Foreign Countries, in 1902, with our Imports of the same from Foreign Countries:

Exports of British Hops in 1902,	3,462 cwts.	£ 13,350
Imports of Foreign Hops in 1902,	190,414 ,,	£792,811

You ask if he is aware that the acreage under Hops in England has dwindled from

71,789 acres in **1878,**
to **47,938** „ in recent years:
(being a Reduction, namely, of 23,851 acres:)

—which, at 9·18 cwts. an acre, might have given us **218,933 cwts.** of Hops!

You enquire, peradventure, if he is aware that 'Hopping' implies Labour:—

'That from £35 to £40 a year, on the average, is spent on 'the cultivation of an acre of Hops,

'As against £4 to £5 on an acre of arable land, and a few 'shillings on an acre of pasture land,

'And that of that amount from £20 to £25, no less, stand 'for wages.'

In luck at last! The convinced F.T. is enthusiastic on hops. He is hopping *all he can*

LIKE AN INSANE HEN ON AN ANGRY GIRDLE,

in impatient contempt of—the prosy prolixity of your economic absurdity.

Perhaps we are quite wrong.

Perhaps he traces his descent from one Simon a Tanner. In that case he will be a razor on

RAW HIDES & LEATHER.

You suggest, first of all,

Our Imports of Raw Hides.

1890, - - -	£2,514,000
1902, - - -	£2,440,000

And then, (before he has had time to hide his delight,)

Our Imports of Leather.

1890, - - -	£6,375,000
1902, - - -	£8,094,000

And then you murmur in concatenation :

Raw Hides ascending by hundreds of thousands!
Imports of Leather diminishing by millions!

And then you whisk him across the Atlantic (in order to expose)

What the silly Yankees can do!

Imports of Hides and Skins.

Averaging	1891 to 1895,	25 Million Dollars.
,,	1896 ,, 1901,	40 ,, ,,

Imports of Leather and the Manufactures thereof.

Averaging	1891 to 1895,	13 Million Dollars.
,,	1896 ,, 1901, - -	11 ,, ,,

Exports of Leather and the Manufactures thereof.

Averaging	1891 to 1895,	13 Million Dollars.
,,	1896 ,, 1901, - -	23 ,, ,,

Alas! Bah!—You on the Raw Hide of a Rhinoceros more impression had made with a pop gun and a boiled broth pea.

The Simple Simon of Free Trade isn't a Tanner at all and doesn't give a Tanner (or the third of one,)—which may be tuppence of bad coppers,—suppose every Tanyard in the kingdom closed down to-morrow.

Look, above all, for one thing, at the smells that would fail us. And why (dont you know?) should we worry about Inferior Industries—converting dirty hides into raw leather—when no fewer in our midst than twelve merry millions are living in clover on the fat of the bare East Wind!

Baffled on all hands, beaten and broken,—like a spent wave you ebb for recuperation down among the cockle shells.

(Only alas! for one brief breath!)

With Japanese persistence you are up for your country and flinging again.

Perhaps his father was a **Baker** or perhaps his mother was the Miller's daughter.

In that case you administer to him the delight of knowing that

All the Flour Mills in Scotland

have so far succeeded in closing down :

Except 5 in Glasgow,
7 in Edinburgh,
and 1 in Dundee.

If he is disposed to look over his shoulder :

You hand him to the files of the Glasgow Herald of 20th April 1877, in which he will have the antiquarian delight of inspecting at first hand

the conditions of sale, etc., of 12 large mills

which ground 'on an average about 30,000 bolls of wheat per week.'

If he is still inclined to be sceptical :

You hand him over to the annual meeting of the Tradeston Liberal Unionist Association (13.1.1904) what time the President, Mr. Primrose, is giving his inaugural :

> "He," Mr. Primrose, "desired to take advantage of "that opportunity to dissociate himself most emphatically "from the position their member had taken up regarding "the Fiscal Question.
>
> "He was old enough to remember when the trade "with which he was connected was a very prosperous "industry in Glasgow. Within the past 22 or 23 years "there were no fewer than 17 large flour mills in the city. "To-day there were only 5.
>
> "ONE OF THE SADDEST THINGS OF HIS LIFE
>
> "had been to see mill after mill in the city closed down, "and many men who were thrown out of employment "unable to get anything to do in their own line of "business.
>
> "HE COULD GIVE THE NAMES OF QUITE A NUMBER
>
> "who were in the poorhouse simply owing to the falling "off of the industry in which they were born and bred, "and many others had had to be content with the "roughest labour. (Applause.)"

If he suggests that antiquated machinery, perhaps, has been to blame you ferry him across the Clyde and show him in the idle flour mill of Stevenson & Coats, in West St.,

£60,000' worth of modern machinery

lying derelict.

You inform him that

IN IRELAND AND IN ENGLAND,

within the last five and twenty years, crowds upon crowds of little unhappy flour mills have closed down.

And then you yourself do ditto,—with this informative extract:

MILLING TRADE.

"Thirty years ago the British miller used to supply practically the whole of the flour used in the United Kingdom. To-day the British miller supplies barely more than three-quarters of the flour we use. The foreigner supplies the rest. That means that the British milling industry has been practically stationary during these thirty years.

"The following figures will make this plain:—

	Population. Millions.	British-milled Flour. Cwts.	Foreign Flour. Cwts.	Consumption per head. British Flour. Lbs.	Consumption per head. Foreign Flour. Lbs.
1871, -	- 31½	61,940,000	3,977,000	220	14
1881, -	- 35	66,644,000	11,357,000	214	36
1891, -	- 37½	74,673,000	16,723,000	221	49
1901, -	- 41½	69,021,000	22,576,000	186	61
1902, -	- 42	78,555,000	19,386,000	209	51
1903, -	- 42½	78,778,000	20,601,000	207	54

"NOTE.—The figures of foreign flour imports are taken from the Board of Trade returns. Those for British-milled flour are obtained by adding together the Board of Trade returns of wheat imported and wheat home grown and reckoning 70 per cent. of the total as the yield of flour from such wheat."

Alas! alas! all your informative zeal is so much Love's Labour Lost. All the idle millstones (that ever were) in Ireland and England, turning simultaneously, could not grind a baker's spark of honest living sympathetic human interest out of the granitic obsession of his

IMPERTURBABLE THICKHEAD!

Perhaps he is a Welshman, and you attempt him with

TIN.

You take him to the 'Nineteenth Century' for November 1903, and introduce him to an article there,—in the course of which its writer, speaking of the **South Wales Tin Plate Industry,** says :

"**I can call to mind the failure or closing down of**
"**no less than 28 works,**
"**from 1889 to 1902,**
"**resulting in the cessation of work**
"**at 190 mills,**
"**and their sale at break-up values.**
"**No less than**
"**9 Steel Works,**
"**all built within the last 20 years,**
"for the production of steel for the Tin Plate industry, of
"which 7 were in operation when the foreign influx com-
"menced, **ave stopped to-day in South Wales.**
"When to the list we add the numbers of furnaces
"lying idle in the works that are still manufacturing,—
"**It may be stated as an undoubted fact that a**
"**larger proportion of the potential power of steel**
"**production is at present in disuse in South Wales**
"**than in any other iron district in the world.**
"Each furnace (of which each of the idle works con-
"tains from 2 to 7) is assessed for local rating purposes
"at over £120 and represents when in full work a yearly
"wages bill
"**of more than £5,000.**"

You hand him a list of works which, '*among others*,' 'have ceased making Tin Plates :

'Blaina, Nantyglo, Abertillery, Lower Pontypool, Ponthydyrun, Caerleon, Caldicott and Llantrisant :'

—And conclude by informing him :

'That between 1891 and 1901 the numbers of those employed in the British Tin, Tin Plate and Tin Goods Trades

declined by 4,565 persons.'

Alas! the F.T. harveyised bar of convinced pig-headed iron—is steeled even to Tin.

Perhaps, however, the reason is obvious.

Perhaps he is not a Welshman at all. Perhaps he is, in reality, a **Haberdasher.**

In that case, you remind him that whereas our

HABERDASHERY

Exports have down descended from

£6,640,000 in 1872,
to £3,874,000 ,, 1880,
to £2,112,000 ,, 1890,
to £1,773,000 ,, 1902:

Our Imports of Foreign Embroidery

have up climbed from

£ 45,000 in 1880,
to £ 444,000 ,, 1890,
to £1,171,000 ,, 1900,
to £1,156,000 ,, 1902.

Alas and alack-a-day!—Mistaken again! The Free Trader doesn't give a D with a double dashery

IF THE NATIONAL DEBT IN HABERDASHERY

—came into the kingdom to-morrow.

Perhaps, however, he is no more a Haberdasher than he is a Welshman. Perhaps he is a mere clout of an Englishman hailing from Sheffield, say, and losing money in the

CUTLERY & HARDWARE

Trade.

In that case, you remind him that whereas

Our Cutlery and Hardware Exports

went down from

£5,089,000 in 1872,
to £3,520,000 ,, 1880,
to £2,764,000 ,, 1890,
to £2,176,000 ,, 1902:

Our Cutlery and Hardware Imports

went up from

£ 711,000 in 1897,
to £ 901,000 ,, 1900,
to £1,402,000 ,, 1902.

Perhaps, also, further, you remind him, passing, **that we sent to the United States, Hardware and Cutlery,**

In **1853,** to the value of **£1,334,000,**
,, **1890,** ,, ,, **£ 393,000,**
and in **1902,** ,, ,, **£ 119,000.**

While in the same identical (1902) **the Considerate States obligingly reciprocated by returning to us**

Hardware to the value of £505,000!

Alas! alas!—(not but that your story, mind you, isn't, in its way,) no doubt, I admit, profoundly affecting. But as far as any making impression goes on the Sheffieldian Free Trader's hardware helpless hopelessness,—you, in fact, might as well cutler it.

———o———

Perhaps, however,—all the way along, we are hopelessly off the scent.

Perhaps the pride of his manly neck and independent wrist he has never bowed beneath the yoke of cuff or collar.—Perhaps he is **one of the Great Unwashed!**

The surmise suggests

SOAP.

You give him the Imports of that Indispensable Dispensable into the United Kingdom:

1897,	**£187,000**
1898,	**£218,000**
1899,	**£287,000**
1900,	**£245,000**
1901,	**£315,000**
1902,	**£429,000**
1903,	**£499,000**

!—Why, please, '97?

—Because the Imports of Soap and Soap Powder were not separately distinguished before that year.

You ask him to chalk up these figures on the bare back wall of his empty back kitchen the better that he may daily admire how they begin so to say at a fabulous fortune and taper away swiftly into zero!—

Surely! (you murmur,)—the country—to Heavens, can—can manufacture Black Soap,—or in any case Brown!

The convinced Free Trader laughs.

Well he may! All the Imports of Soap, (black, brown, hard and soft combined,) are but a bagatelle mentioned,—a light wave that breaks and whispers of the mighty

Potentiality for its Manufacture

that goes to bed with him nightly in his convinced fathead.

In a tragic final fiscal burst

of paroxysmal despair you clutch at the clouds and in league-long lightning letters emblazon the Heavens with first of all this:

Summary of our Imports and Exports during the last twenty years in

Ten of our Principal Manufacturing Industries:*

namely,

Cotton,
Boot and Shoe,
Woollen and Worsted,
Iron and Steel,
Furniture,
Earthenware,
Glass,
Silk,
Lace,
Linen.

* "These industries have not been 'picked out' by me. They are all the "manufacturing industries contained in the list on p. 362 of the Board of "Trade Report (Cd. 1761) with the exception of 'machine making and ship-"'building,' which does not admit of the application of the method adopted "for all the other manufacturing industries."—J. Holt Schooling.

Imports of Manufactured Goods.

In the ten years,	1883-1892,	£338,000,000
,, ,,	1893-1902,	£493,000,000
	Increase,	£155,000,000

Imports of Raw Materials, etc.

In the ten years,	1883-1892,	£742,000,000
,, ,,	1893-1902,	£649,000,000
	Decrease,	£ 93,000,000

Exports of Manufactured Goods.

In the ten years,	1883-1892,	£1,317,000,000
,, ,,	1893-1902,	£1,209,000,000
	Decrease,	£ 108,000,000

Exports of Raw Materials, etc.

In the ten years,	1883-1892,	£67,000,000
,, ,,	1893-1902,	£80,000,000
	Increase,	£13,000,000

That is to say:

Imports of Manufactured Goods,	Increase, £155,000,000
Imports of Raw Materials, etc.,	Decrease, £ 93,000,000
Exports of Manufactured Goods,	Decrease, £108,000,000
Exports of Raw Materials, etc.,	Increase, £ 13,000,000

And finally these:

FIGURES THAT SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.

DECREASE.

(1.) Exports of some British Manufactures from the United Kingdom.

	1871-1880. £	1892-1901. £	Decrease. £
Sugar, Refined,	11,879,208	5,504,990	6,374,218
Haberdashery & Millinery,	49,104,837	14,887,960	34,216,877
Silk Goods (including Thrown Silk, Twist and Yarn),	29,449,819	18,084,461	11,365,358
Hardware and Cutlery,	39,370,259	20,501,184	18,871,075
Linen Goods (including Yarn),	81,630,379	58,679,767	22,950,612
Woollen Goods (including Yarn),	262,432,316	207,418,893	55,013,423

INCREASE.

(2.) Imports of some Foreign Manufactures into the United Kingdom.

	1871-1880.	1892-1901.	Increase.
	£	£	£
China and Earthenware,	3,707,468	8,047,718	4,340,250
Toys,	4,032,207	10,480,319	6,448,112
Musical Instruments,	5,786,023	11,342,817	5,556,794
Painters' Colours,	6,610,239	10,729,375	4,119,136
Iron and Steel—Wrought or Manufactured (including Machinery),	14,412,003	54,095,811	39,683,808
Paper and Pasteboard,	10,638,572	32,885,845	22,247,273
Lace,	5,555,049	13,565,038	8,010,009
Clocks and Watches,	9,771,446	16,033,891	6,262,445
Chemical Manufactures and Products,	9,999,102	15,806,538	5,807,436
Glass of all kinds,	16,148,318	29,010,383	12,862,065
Leather Goods (including Boots and Gloves),	15,684,729	30,059,424	14,374,695
Cotton Manufactures (including Yarn),	17,705,904	40,528,574	22,822,670
Sugar, Refined	41,728,405	106,308,760	64,580,355
Woollen Goods (including Yarn),	65,703,862	120,742,659	55,038,797
Silk Goods (including Thrown & Spun Silk),	117,239,044	148,759,892	31,520,848

You look around for the effect :— yet a dying flicker of hope illuming the darkness of your despair.

Oh miracle of miracles! The convinced Free Trader is aroused and alive at last.

(What's the fellow doing?)

He is hard at work at the telephone!

Yes! But what's he doing?

☞ Convening

an Ambulance Waggon,

to carry you and your statistical sophistications

to Gartnavel.

XXI.

?

Why

this flinty indifference,

this unfathomable ignorance,

this Rhinoceros-headed obtuseness,

on the part of the convinced Free Trader!

Ah! dear Sir!—

JUDGE NOT THAT YE BE NOT JUDGED!

As a matter of fact, too, you are utterly mistaken. The convinced Free Trader's supposed ignorance is in reality the self-confident calm of the deep illimitable ocean of his unattainable economical knowledge. His supposed obtuseness is in reality

your own dullness!

His intellect bathes in the pure light of an Heavenly Economical Reason of which your blunt intellect has not the ghost of a glimmer. And while you are busy reviling his ignorance and cursing his supposed stupidity, he is equally busy returning good for evil, and praying that God in Gartnavel may open the windows of your blighted misunderstanding to the pure light of

THE LAST WORD OF ECONOMICAL TRUTH.

(His is of the faith that transcends the mere Christian's.) The Christian can, by faith, *remove mountains*. *His* is the faith that creates mountains which neither God, man, nor the Overman, may remove.

Through the darkest, dismalest hour of the most appalling night: through pain, sickness, and tribulation: through Protectionist slander and derisive obloquy: through the Balfourian half-hoggian Retaliationist's temptation to do fiscal evil that fiscal good may come,—tariff torture and the desolation of industrial and economical death,—the *convinced* Free Trader clings like a convinced limpet to the rock of the Duke of Devonshire's salvation:

The Imports into Great Britain are Paid for:
(of Steel, Iron, and all else under Heaven!)
They are not paid for with British Gold:
(Cannot be!)
Therefore they are paid for with British Goods:
(Must be!)

And therefore if one industrial door shuts, by the Grace of God another opens.
(Must open!)

And therefore in vain do the Foreign Fiscal Heathen rage:

And Protectionists, at home, gnash their frenzied teeth in vain:

All things, including Hostile Tariffs, work together for Good to the Elect Few,

(Ourselves and Turkey,)

who believe in Free Trade.—

GOD'S IN HIS INDUSTRIAL HEAVEN!
ALL'S RIGHT WITH G. B.!

☞ —If our Woollen Industry, as you Protectionists say, although I am not prepared to accept your statement, (as you take no account of our enormous home industry,)—neither if your Census Returns are correct, (and I dont allow that they are,) am I prepared to accept your conclusion, (because improved machinery is ever diminishing the number of employees,)

I say, if our Woollen Industry is decreasing,—*so much the better!*

If our Linen Industry, our Silk Industry, our Iron Industry, our Agriculture, etc., etc., are going fast downhill,—**the Great God in Heaven be praised!**

For, then, the Capital and Labour

WHICH IS AT PRESENT MISAPPLIED

in all such industries is certain to be deflected into better-for-the-country-adapted and, therefore, more remunerative channels,—perhaps, no doubt, with a little concomitant loss! (a little unavoidable suffering!)—but the well-being of the greatest number is the Law of Nations, and everything in the end, under Free Trade, redounds to the Greatest Good of the Greatest Number,

AND THE GLORY OF GOD!

All of which, mind you, Mr. Chairman, is not any fumbling attempt at sarcastic impiety,—

As you might very, perhaps, pardonably infer.

That is not merely how the *convinced* Free Trader reasons. It is how the actual fool believes. And all who differ from

him are designing mercenary manufacturers, like myself, who, unable to move with the moving times, unfit to keep their superfluous head above water in the commercial struggle for existence, want to re-line their emptying pockets at the public expense.

—Of enquiry, trial, experiment, research, investigation: of inductively supporting his impeccable Theory, he never dreams even in the darkest hour of midnight. *He has no need for the vulgar imperfection of details.* He has no need for nothing. The elements in his soul are nowhere of Doubt and never for evermore the word within the bounds of his economic dictionary.

The inexhaustible patience of the humble savant who spends half a lifetime in determining the life-history of some simple protophyte—some miserable protozoon, (unheard-of since the world began,) is a *profound joke* to the *convinced* Free Trader.

The conception of a Science as an active never-ending trial by Judge and Jury, in which every student enrols as a counsel for the Prosecution, in which every fact fiction supposition hypothesis and theory runs the gauntlet of a never-ending, fresh probation:

I say,—The everlasting tidal ocean-fresh ebb and flow of dissolving thought criticism re-investigation original research and fresh discovery which renders any science, worthy of the name, a changing phantasmagoria of substituent ideas and temporary theories which have not only replaced an older generation of do but whose highest happiest function it is to work for and welcome their own individual suspension abrogation and substitution:

—All such conceptions are outwith the farthest horizon of the *convinced* Free Trader.

His science is over and done with, finally. Issued in stereotype 60 years ago. No correction addition emendation or explanation needed or possible to the end of all eternity.

(*Other poor scientists,*) after laborious lifetimes passed in profound research, are certain in the end of nothing so much as their own abounding ignorance, in front of the ever-growing magnitude and mystery of existence.

The *convinced* Free Trader turns the rotatory Calabash of Free Trade and in the twinkling of an eye is God-certain-forthwith that every Protectionist Nation in the world is steeped to

the lips in unutterable criminal economical folly, and that all of us in this country who desire to copy, after our own little wisdom, a leaf out of their book are ignorant dangerous imbeciles—or, as I say, designing mercenary knaves like myself.

Alas! poor my countrymen!

—And it is *so little*, after all, that we ask of the blockhead.

When, (out of 16 works in the North of England,) as I am just after telling you,

1700 Iron and Steel Workmen

are, in the space of three years, dismissed from work, *what becomes, or became, or is likely to become of these workmen?*

That is surely a perfectly plain, to-an-infant-comprehensible, enquiry, and, although perhaps irksome a little, by no means transcendentally difficult.

Much less an impossible enquiry!

—*'But what earthly to-do or concern have I with your 1700 workmen?'*

—The deepest to-do (—my *convinced* Free Trade friend,) and concern in life!

(Moreover,) a concern of your own deliberate choosing. You have a *theory!* —A theory, rejected,—I am happy to think, scornfully rejected by hundreds of thousands of your fellow-countrymen,—laughed at and ridiculed by all the rest of the World. But a theory which you affirm is the God's Economical Incontrovertible Truth.—A theory by which you run the business and industry of this United Kingdom. By which, with tooth and claw in the teeth of all opposition, you intend to go on running it. More. A theory by which you run, and to the end of time *intend to run*, the British Empire, even if that Empire, in the running, go bang into smithereens.

Very well, then. Here now are some 1700 poor devils dismissed of the Iron and Steel Trade, by reason of the foreign

invasion of a material which they have been in course of manufacturing all their lives, and which they are in mind to go on manufacturing to the end of their lives, if they be so let.

Now it is of the very kernel and essence of your Incontrovertible Theory that the dismissal of these 1700 workmen by the foreign invasion was a wise and happy economical event, *for the Nation at large*, because eventually the labour of these dismissed workmen

SAVED BY THE FORTUNATE FOREIGN INFLUX FROM UNECONOMIC MISAPPLICATION

will drift, (perhaps with a little concomitant suffering and friction,) (but that, of course, is neither here nor there,) into a more profitable national investment.

Very well, then.

We all *understand*,—we are all perfectly agreed *upon the terms of your argument*. But what now? Here are your 1700 displaced workmen. And there, or here, is your Incontrovertible Theory.

☞ Into *what* more remunerative employment for themselves, *or for the Nation at large*, or for both, *have* they drifted or are they *in process* of drifting?

You see, we cannot afford to have you ride off (with the whole future of the British Empire) on the donkey's back of a mere general statement like you give. We are not permitted to do so in any science that I know of. The greatest fool who is amongst us can make a theory. (I make half a dozen every day of my life.) And the most hopeless idiot, born of woman, can reach the level of a *statement*. But in science, above all things, we insist on statements and theories that conform with the facts,

(NOT ONE FACT MERELY,)

but each fact, every fact, all the facts,

(not past facts merely,)

but past facts, present facts, paulo-post facts, and every future possible fact. And, therefore, rest we never satisfied. Every scientific theory is but the point of origin and inspiration of a

divine perpetual scientific discontent. We are constantly trying testing sounding it against every other fact (and every other theory) that comes under our notice or looms up in our brain.

Nothing escapes.

We do not accept even the Law of Gravity, in the silly absolute fashion which you affect in re. the supposed Law of Free Trade. *We do not believe* that every piece of matter—every stone thrown into the air, at all times and under all conditions, must *necessarily* fall to the earth. Very likely, you know. But we take nothing for granted. Every day we are throwing stones into the air to try. And when some day some man or superman throws a stone (or himself) into the air, that never returns, we will instantly not conclude that he *must* be a born idiot.

Immediately, on the contrary, very likely, we will set about raising a monument to him as the greatest discoverer of Time.

The Science to which I have the honour to belong bases its whole superstructure upon the so-called fundamental Law of the Indestructibility of so-called Matter. But we do not accept even that Law in the uncompromising idiotic sense in which you accept the Incontrovertible Theory of Free Trade. We are continually on the qui vive lest even our supposed basic law should prove after all but a baseless reed. Only the other day, indeed, the story went round that a distinguished chemist thought that he *had* disproved it by experiment. Very likely the chemist or the story was wrong. But, in any case, and that is my point, *we are perfectly prepared to listen respectfully to its explosion to-morrow.*

And so with our so-called facts, even the most elementary. No thoughtful student believes for a moment that the last word has been said about the composition of air, or water, or indeed of any other thing. Reactions that were perfectly simple to us a few years ago have proved to be far more complex than anybody had ever suspected. In other words the progress of our knowledge has been the deepening of our ignorance. * * *

What?

* * * *

'Enormous trouble!'—did you say?

I have no doubt.—Indeed, alas! Science, unfortunately, might so just be defined. But there are hundreds of happy-unhappy scientists, as I am just after saying, who will follow for you, weeks on end, night and day, the portentous fate of a few miserable microbes. And are not in any way *specially* paid for their trouble. I dont, of course, say that these men dont complain. What I say is, **They wouldn't even comprehend the meaning of it.** And you, on the contrary, a well-fed leisured parcel of Professing Free Trade Economists are asked to follow for a few miserable weeks the economical fate of 1700 of your fellow human beings,- (your Rule Britannia own particular unfortunate countrymen!)

* * * *

You say they drift.

Well, Heaven, and we, and very well they, know that.

But how and where—?

There are in this English world so many '*wheres*' into which they *can* drift.—E.g., the pawn, the poorhouse, beggary,—into breaking municipal stones, (or 'cribs',) into the asylum, or the fore-cabin of an emigrant ship. I have even heard of some poor inadvertent devils drifting by mistake into a canal, (or noose behind a stable door,) or seeking, once and for all, a perpetual job at the bottom of a harbour.

And this, is it not?—is none of *your* particular business!

It is enough that you can *prelect* with the desiderated inconsequence and unction,—cite Adam Smith (or other Father Abraham) on the subject, and cast your precious dogma into the pretentious vacuity of magazine diction. You have never heard, *You*, of humble botanists ploughing laborious through the darkest heart of Darkest Africa in the single simple service of *their* science,—of the Voyage of the Beagle, Challenger Expedition, Arctic and Antarctic Expeditions by the round galore. (You dont even know) that even now a British ship is ploughing and sounding the depths of the Pacific Archipelago for the wholesole gratuitous purpose of throwing a little doubtful twilight on the unnecessary origin of atolls.

And *you* grudge an hour or two's run to Newcastle, (or a tour of inspection through your own back-yard,) in order to throw a

little first hand practical light on a subject involving the practical issues of life and death,—the future of Kingdoms and the fate of Empires!

!—Indeed, now, Sir, I beg your pardon.

'*No business of yours to find the money and the time?*'

Well, Sir, I happily have never said that it was.

In that case, friend, keep your money and your time.

But, in that case, kindly keep, also, something else.

Keep, for Heaven's sake, your babbling mouth shut about the *Infallibility* and *Incontrovertibility* of your precious dogma.

———o———

No, friends, Farce, even tragic Farce, is good enough in its own quiet way. But I fancy most of you, like myself, have had enough of this pathetic particular farce,—this overweening preening intervening academic snobbery, as I am justified in calling it, of a handful of Free Trade economists—not an individual of whom has perhaps ever dirtied shoe leather examining practically into a single item of a subject of which they make believe to treat with such glib finality and expectation of authority.

—For the which, to my simple unsophisticated mind there is not a sand grain of excuse.

For, beyond all cavil, the Science of Political Economy, whatever may be thought or said or written to the contrary, is the

dirt-easiest

of all the sciences if the doctrinaire skim-dishes who are paid to profess it had but the common gumption to go about its study in a common-sense way. And that is certainly not by sitting in an academic arm chair devouring academic libraries on the subject, and on the strength of the general acade-mania so begotten prelecting with discrimination and subtlety on the differences of opinion as betwixt a Smith a Ricardo a John Stuart Mill and a List.

I say, Hang your Prelections!

Political Economy that is worth winning is not to be won in that way.

Political Economy is a field study. A living co-ordination of concrete energising actualities to be studied here and now, with lens and scalpel in hand and vasculum on humph, behind your father's counter, in the wholesale Warehouse, on the Corn Market, the Stock Exchange, at the Docks and Railway termini, in Bills of Lading and Bank Books, (in the private sanctum of the Bank Manager,) in the Provincial and London Clearing Houses, in those Banks and Clearing Houses of the poor,—the Public House and the Pawnbroker's: East End slums and West End sinks, (in the Smoking Room of the House of Commons,) Bankruptcy Courts, the books of Trades Unions and Co-operative Stores, in the Returns of my Lord's Factor, the expenses of my Lord's Butler, the disbursements of my Lady's pin-money, and the Balance (if any) at my Lord's Bank and what my Lord or my Lord's Banker may do with that precisely.

* * * *

—Even the simple human uncomparative anatomist in spite of the perfectional nicety of his microscopic detail knows no finality, but is ever cutting into fresh material, and glories like a gloating miser over every chance deflection or morbid variation.

But of all the sciences invented to test human powers Human Physiology is, and must ever so, from the nature of things, remain, the most profoundly trying.

☞ But if some summer day Return Tickets were issued free, on board some turbine flying blood corpuscle to the core of a drunk man's heart, or the heart of a lover's longing, (or the root of a woman's tongue,) or the atrabilious gallery of a Carlyle's liver, or the logical cells of a convinced Free Trader's head,

TO WATCH THEM ALL AT FIRST HAND IN FUNCTION!

What a sensation!

How laboratories and lecture rooms would empty, and physiological libraries go bang with the uncontrollable exhilaration of a first journey to Heaven! —or, if you choose so to think it, to ——!

—Well, but to all who would study, at first hand,

the Anatomy and Physiology of Commerce and Industry

such tickets are available every day of our lives. We are each

of us an active blood corpuscle (or ought to be) in the great Social Organism of which we form a part, with free access to its inmost physiological recesses, or free access to those who have. —In plain and fine, the Physiology of Industry lies flat and bare and permeable to the power of human investigation as the tumbling waters of the Atlantic to the moon. And of that of it that lies more or less under, much to the very willing can be rendered open as easily as the undiscovered windings of a whelk.

There is, as I say, therefore, no earthly excuse for the callow Professorial fools who mal-teach Political Economy from their library shelves, and on the strength of their doctrinaire myopia and incalculable conceit go miles out of their unasked way to try to blanket the first glow of a great Reform movement by a Time-serving exhibition of monumental impertinence.

—Ay-Ay, man, but what has all this to do with Fiscal Reform and the point which is under dispute?

Everything, Sir.

The Free Trade contention is that we need not worry about our declining industries because, as the Foreigner is *bound* to take goods of some description from us, other as remunerative or more remunerative industries are *bound* to take the place of those that are declining.

Well, but what is the economic sense of eternally harping in the abstract, in the pages of book or magazine, regarding the inevitable drift of capital and labour into more remunerative channels, when all the possible—all the existing human industries are so easy to enumerate?

(From a common draper's counter purloined,)

A common-or-garden city Directory

will tell you in five minutes the simple tale.

And although new industries, or new branches of old industries, are from time to time originating, their numbers are from time to time so few that a cat might count them.

And why not? Our primary human desires, in spite of Carlyle's shoeblack, are neither boundless in quantity nor infinite in variety.

We desire to be Fed,

—daintily if you will, (wholesomely for certain :) and round this simple elementary desire group the great industries of **Agriculture, Stock-raising, Dairy and Poultry Farming, Fruit and Market Gardening, Milling, Baking, Brewing, (Jam-boiling and Pickle-preserving,) Fishing,** etc.: and, therefore, **the Manufacture of Agricultural Instruments, Boat-building, Rope Spinning, Net and Sail making,** etc., etc.: **the Great Distributive Agencies,** etc.:

Etc..

We desire to be clothed,

—in finery the fastidious, —in homespun the homely: and round this simple elementary desire circle the great Textile Industries, **Woollens, Cotton, Linen, Silk,**—therefore **Textile Machinery,** and, therefore, **Iron and Steel,** etc.: **Dyeing and Bleaching,** and, therefore, **the Chemical Industries: Tanning and Shoemaking, Hosiery, Haberdashery, Lace-making, Embroidery, Millinery, Tailoring, Jewellery,** etc., etc..

We desire to be Housed,

—in a mansion if we can afford it, —watered, warmed, illumined, and furnished,) in a hut and a hen, at the least,—or, at worst, in a hut: and round that simple primitive need cluster **the Building Industries, (Architecture, Masonry, Bricklaying, Brickmaking, Quarrying, Joinering, Plumbering, Plastering, Painting,** etc.) **Cabinetmaking, Upholstering, Glass and Earthenware, Hardware and Cutlery, Iron-founding, Mining,** etc., etc..

We desire to be instructed,

(unless, of course, we happen to be *conscious* Free Traders,) to be nursed and recovered when we fall sick, to be wisely governed and protected, to be ministered to and comforted as to our spiritual needs and fears, and gratified as to our artistic cravings. At least, some.

In every case, in any case,

We desire to be amused,

when we are children, which endures with many for the natural span) with toys, and, when we are grown up, with more than I take time to tell. And North away here, with so much of the

sea rover in our blood, we desire to take the seagull's wings, at will, about this curious earth, as far as mortal may. And, at last,

We desire to be burned or buried,

in comfort and decency.

Now I do not mean to insinuate that I have, in any way, exhausted the industrial categories, (I haven't even bent my little finger to try,) but I do decidedly mean to affirm that it would be an easy matter so to do: so easy, indeed, that I do wish from the bottom of my boots that all there is to do in my own work were as easy.

Also, I mean to say this, that when I set out upon one side of my mind the paltry circumscription of trades and professions, industries and idlenesses, with which the Political Economist has to deal, and when I think, on the other hand, of the infinite world upon world of inexhaustible detail which a zoologist has to grapple, a humble botanist painfully to master down to the minutest speck of a microscopic hair of an infinitesimal plant,—a laborious mineralogist to classify, or the heaven upon heaven of innumerable orbs into which the sore-tried astronomer has to lift his benumbed brain, I say, I find it very difficult to muster the politeness of patience required to listen respectfully,—I mean without itching for an unattached brick, to economic doctrinaires prate about the more remunerative channels into which precipitated (or precipitable) capital and supplanted specialised labour are *certain* to be deflected.

Heavens! why cant these fellows nominate, once and for all, what at least *they* consider (with their life-long study of Adam Smith and their incomparable general Free Trade economical enlightenment) our English climate and soil and situation and racial character and acquired industrial dexterities best conditioned and adapted for? Or if they lack the attenuated gumption required to specify the future economical direction of industry and commerce in a country like ours have they not, surely, the very humble monkey intelligence that is needed to enquire into the deflections of industry which have been consummated in the country in the past, and are, by hypothesis, consummating now?

God knows they dont lack for illustrations.

When the M'Kinley ad valorem 50 per cent. tariff smashed

The export monumental trade

of Aberdeen to the United States,

Into what more remunerative channel of industry did the capital (already precipitated in the Granite industry) and the capital that would have precipitated in an expansion of that industry, and the displaced specialised monument-carving labour and the embryonic labour that would have determined in that direction, deflect?

I say again, now,—please you mark my point! As I have suggested already, it is barely possible to conceive of an industry better adapted to the environment of Aberdeen than that from which, by supposition, the capital and labour are deflecting. And, therefore, your task is two-fold. First, to nominate the new industry into which the deflecting capital deflects. And, in the second place, to demonstrate, beyond the touch of cavil, that the new deflection is in the end, *for the country*, more remunerative than the old.

Time and again in the humour of private life I lay this proposition in front of my convinced Free Trade friends, and time and again, each, without fail, is seized with paralytic aphasia. (That, of course, I understand) because that is part of my joke. But when you realise that deep at the root of the aphasia lies the unassailable conviction that

It is absolutely none of the Free Trader's business to enquire!

!—Ah, then, at last, *you*, *too*, are stricken dumb.

Pale Passion's flame alike and the fine 'phrensy' of Compassion melt into the douceur of Heaven.

You breathe.

—To the Heaven-piercing Far Olympian Heights of English Economic Thick-headedness, transported.

—I say, you breathe at last, (and know that you breathe,)

THE ETHER OF THE PURE SERENE!

And so, in like manner, when

The Exports of Tin Plates from South Wales

to the United States shrank before the M'Kinley Tariff, in the course of seven or eight years, by a sum of between

Three and four million sterling pounds,

—I say, obsessed, myself, with the Free Trade enthusiasm, I myself have cast around me humbly as an anxious patriotic student in order to ascertain,—(if indeed haply,)—the more remunerative employments into which the displaced workmen drifted and the better-for-the-country-adapted industries into which there-liquefied capital re-crystallised. But alas! yet nowhere yet in the course of my economic excavations I have disentombed the Free Trade Professor who has ever moved the joints of his littleest finger to assist.

☞ For our instruction, happily, other people, who are not Professors, have. And *they* tell us "**that many of the mills** "**were sold at**

"**Break-up Values,**"

and that, on the other hand, "**some of the manufacturers** "**altered their machinery and adapted it to the rolling of** "**roofing sheets,—**

"**In competition with the Midland Districts of England!**"

Also we learn, in the happy by-going, that some of the displaced workmen crossed the Atlantic, and that

"**the rapid development of coal-mining gradually**
"**absorbed the rest.**"

Elsewhere, also, I have somewhere read, (but certainly not in any of Lord Rosebery's speeches) who, (with his Easter villa on the shores of the Mediterranean,) might, with reason, be supposed to be familiar with the fact,—I say, I have heard of

a Great Tinplate Works in Italy,

—"**whose workmen,**" as my author puts it, "**have been forced** "**from this country to an alien more congenial soil.**"

I say, *other* people tell me this. But the *convinced* Free Trader is dumb. *He* tells nothing. He only turns again the

handle of his monkey organ, and re-mumbles for the—the sickeningeth time the amazing epilepsy of his idiotic formula.

Again, when the M'Kinley Tariff gave the coup de grâce to

The Porcelain Trade of Worcester,

I say, I do not find from any record that has leapt to light that the Duke of Devonshire made any the least use of his wealth and leisure to worm out the more remunerative employment, or that he employed any economic Sherlock Holmes on the job, better adapted to the soil and climate and situation and industrial skill and resources of England, into which the displaced workpeople in obedience to the golden law of Free Trade gravitated.

(I cannot say that I am surprised.) I fancy that most of these better adapted more remunerative employments are, in the sequel, as invisible as the angels or many of the Invisible Exports of which we hear so much.

Other, however, people with less of ducal wealth and leisure have taken this happy trouble, and these tell us that the Worcester Porcelain makers

'emigrated in large numbers to the United States!'

Also again when the M'Kinley Tariff crippled

The Plush Industry

in Yorkshire, I do not find in its vast and voluminous literature that the Cobden Club has troubled anywhere to specify the more remunerative industry into which the displaced workers drifted, (even at the expense of a little concomitant suffering.

Other, happily, people there are (who have talked through the ventilating holes of their hats less) and enquired more.

And *they* inform us that the workpeople gravitated wholesale, (also, in like manner, "**into the fore-cabin of the emigrant**" **ship.**"

—"And I am told that when **a great sugar factory** shut "down in one of our seaports, two years ago, the men working in "it could find nothing to do.

"When it re-opened, this year,

"THE SAME MEN CAME BACK FROM STARVATION:

"but such was their physical condition that

"FOR A MONTH THEIR EFFORTS WERE PRACTICALLY "UNPRODUCTIVE."

☞ Clearly, by all appearances, therefore,—all the power and circumstance of evidential logic, these sugar workers must have been engaged, in the interim, in some highly remunerative **and very fattening employment.**

Etc.! Etc.!

XXII.

Suppose however! (for another brief digressive moment,) because it is the best under the circumstances that we really can do,—(suppose we swallow our contemptuous bile) the best we can and apply ourselves with diligence to do what the uncondescending Free Trader fails so ignominiously even to try. To wit, to ascertain, if we can, **the Industries in the country that really show any signs of increasing.** —Which, in effect, of course, is not any more than just an 'a posteriori' way of discovering the how-shall-I-call-them?—the scientific types and economic modes of industry, for the which, (in the belovèd patois of Free Trade,) our Free Trade climate and soil and circumstances and physical and moral British ingenuities are becoming more and better adapted!

Well, with this object in view, in the first place, I go back to the famous 1903 Fiscal Blue Book which Lord Rosebery in a beautiful outburst of Rhetoric wished to Heaven, one of these days, could be introduced into the hands and homes of every working man in the kingdom: and I take the Table given there of

Exports from the United Kingdom of Articles manufactured or partly manufactured in the United Kingdom,

(excluding articles of Food Drink and Tobacco, and Ships,)

To all Foreign Countries:

and, taking the end years, (in order to save my scientific!! time,) I go religiously over every particular in the long list of Exports,—missing, I say, none: selecting, on the contrary, every item that shows the slightest increase, and this is the laborious result of my enthusiasm:

To our utter and ignominious overwhelmment, namely:

	1890.	1902.	Increase.
	£	£	£
Furniture,	252,000	254,000	2,000
Flax and Hemp, dressed and undressed,	173,000	178,000	5,000
Pictures,	246,000	253,000	7,000
Electric Lighting Apparatus,	187,000	195,000	8,000
Stationery,	526,000	539,000	13,000
Drugs,	405,000	449,000	44,000
Implements and Tools,	810,000	860,000	50,000
Coal, products of (except dyes),	1,313,000	1,384,000	71,000
Paper,	511,000	587,000	76,000
Candles,	110,000	191,000	81,000
Books,	540,000	632,000	92,000
Instruments and Apparatus,	167,000	263,000	96,000
Colours,	928,000	1,044,000	116,000
Grease, Tallow, and Animal Fat,	541,000	725,000	184,000
Soap,	209,000	397,000	188,000
Telegraphic Wires & Apparatus,	720,000	1,029,000	309,000
Oils,	1,444,000	1,796,000	352,000
Oil and Floorcloth,	498,000	902,000	404,000
Yarn, Alpaca, Mohair, & other sorts,	1,172,000	1,666,000	494,000
Manure,	1,695,000	2,344,000	649,000
Wool, flocks, noils, waste and combed,	1,775,000	2,798,000	1,023,000
Sewing Machines,	647,000	1,733,000	1,086,000
Parcel Post,	485,000	1,805,000	1,320,000

—THAT THE FREE TRADER IS TRIUMPHANTLY RIGHT!

The most, of course, no doubt, conspicuous thing in my table * * * * * is that which is not in the table anywhere at all,—i.e. to say, the name of a single staple British Manufacture.

☞ But apart from this little trifling overlook, there *are* industrial British Free Trade compensations galore!

———o———

I go further now.

I take up the Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, Cd. 2192, and I turn to pp. 132 to 143, where the value is given in detail of

All the Principal Articles of British and Irish Produce exported from the United Kingdom

To all the World,

and, still comparing 1890 with 1902, I select again

Every item * which shows the slightest Increase:

—With this that brilliant follows for an exhaustive Table of Results:

List of British Exports which have Increased.

1902 compared with 1890.

	Amount of Increase in 1902 over 1890.
	£
Caoutchouc, Manufactures of	2,044
Flax and Hemp, Dressed and Undressed	11,601
Glass, Plate, Flint, Bottles, etc.	32,497
Cordage and Twine	53,214
Musical Instruments	57,103
Pickles, Sauces, Confectionery, Jams, etc.	74,464
Meat: Beef, Mutton, etc.	87,628
Brass of all sorts	112,383
Plate and Plated Ware	125,867
Leather, Unwrought, Boots and Shoes, Saddlery and Harness, etc.	132,098
Seeds of all sorts	146,194
Metals unenumerated and Manufactures thereof	152,421
Candles of all sorts	172,141
Skins and Furs	200,771

* Gross.—Straw Hats show an increase of £75,938: Hats,—Felt and Straw, a decrease of £42,390. Jute Yarn shows an increase of £143,453, Jute Yarn and Manufactures a decrease of £574,146. Cotton Manufactures show an increase of £2,964,575, Cotton Yarn and Manufactures a decrease of £1,972,649.

	£
Biscuits and Bread	206,105
Potatoes *	210,737
Grease, Tallow, and Animal Fat	217,344
Instruments and Apparatus:	
Surgical, Anatomical and Scientific	225,562
Hides, Raw	231,728
Tin, Unwrought	232,295
Implements and Tools:	
Agricultural and Unenumerated	234,262
Clay, Unmanufactured	234,599
Furniture, Cabinet and Upholstery Wares	256,458
Medicines	308,166
Books, Printed	310,552
Stationery, other than Paper	316,631
Electrical Goods and Apparatus	336,284
Painters' Colours and Materials	394,769
Milk, Condensed	432,027
Yarn, Alpaca and Mohair, etc.	492,348
Tobacco and Snuff *	533,778
Corn: Wheat, Wheat Flour, Malt, etc.	541,193
Soap	591,775
Oil and Floor Cloth	682,152
Manures	699,902
Chemical Products †	842,131
Provisions, unenumerated	851,112
Sewing Machines	1,142,725
Wools: Sheep and Lambs', Flocks and Ragwool, Foreign—dressed in the United Kingdom, Noils, Waste, combed or carded and Tops	1,177,213
Machinery: Locomotives, Agricultural, Textile, Mining, etc.	1,201,429
Telegraphic Cables and Apparatus	1,236,436
Apparel and Slops	1,261,522
Spirits	1,531,320
Fish: Herrings, etc.	1,911,325
Parcel Post	2,477,885

* 1892-1902.

† Saltpetre not included prior to 1901.

Coal, Cinders, etc.:—

Coal and Culm, Coke and Cinders, Fuel Manufactured, Products of Coal, Peat, or Shale (except Dyes) * - - - - - **£8,344,395**

Also in this Table, as before, the most conspicuous items are again the items that owe their conspicuity to their absence.

Thus adown we look in vain the list for our great and familiar British staples, Woollens, Cotton,† Iron and Steel, etc.,—but in the large and on the whole, find, once again, **to our bewildering discomfiture** that the convinced Free Trader is right.

As one Industrial door shuts in our face another *does* by the Grace of God open.

Thus if any lugubrious vaticinator avers that our Woollen and Worsted Exports have gone down in twelve years by **£5,200,000**, it is an easy thing to mop up the vaticinator with the crushing reply :—

Slops have gone up by £1,261,000!

This Inductive Industrial parallelo-automatic countervalendum, (or if anybody patly and briefly) wishes so to call it,—**Sloppy Compensation,** becomes, as you might accordingly expect, even more convincingly staggering if you take the trouble to go back a few years.

Thus :

British Exports.

	Woollens and Worsteds.	Slops and Apparel.
1872, - -	£32,300,000	£3,100,000
1880, - -	£17,200,000	£3,200,000
1890, - -	£20,400,000	£5,000,000
1900, - -	£15,600,000	£5,200,000
1902, - -	£15,200,000	£6,300,000

Nothing, (as far as I know it,) in the whole range of Political Economy is or can or could be more delightfully delightful!

* 'Naphtha, Paraffin, Paraffin Oil and Petroleum were included under this heading prior to 1901.'—The 'increase' is, therefore, understated.

† See note on page 276.

Our Exports in value since 1872 of Woollen Goods and Yarn have diminished by one half!

Maybe!—Yes!—But under the divine and bracing manure of Free Trade,—and Oh!—(if you will but condone another Highland fling to my inebriated admiration!)

WHAT FAR-FLUNG FINENESS OF FOREORDINATION!

What delicate equipoise of industrial compensation!—Oh '46! Oh Richard C.! Oh J. B.! Oh Castor and Pollux of the Corn Laws! Oh eloquent shades of the ever-sainted Twin Brilliants of the Free Trade Firmament, how the fond commercial heart runs out of a grateful British skin to hug 'thee'!—

Our Exports of Slops have Doubled!

The Capital and Labour, therefore, **(and National Genius,)** which have been displaced in our declining Woollen Industry *have*, you see, even so, found a more remunerative field for their exercise: really.

Our Export of Tin Plates, (I think some one suggested,) to the World, just now, went down by

£2,028,311!

* * * *

Yes! But—little babes and sucklings shouldn't babble about things that are only half-finished.—What the good Americans take away with one hand a Free Trade Providence restores with the other!

Our Export of Manures went up by £699,902!

☞ —The compensation, may-be, mayn't, of course, just tally to a figure, but then Providence, at no time, has never pretended to be an adept at arithmetic. But the broad facts, at least, are clear and intelligible. The Steel furnaces blown out by the M'Kinley Tariff in South Wales *have*, in the Industrial Struggle for Existence, adapted themselves *successfully*,—(to the Industrial Advantage of Great Britain,) to the:

Turning out of Manures!

What did you say?

Our Exports of Haberdashery and Millinery went down by **£339,000:**

* * * *

Did they really?—Courage!—

Grease and Tallow and Fat went up by £217,344!

Also Silk Yarn and Manufactures by **£1,076,000:**

* * * *

I quite believe!—but dont you know that

Herrings went up by £1,648,972?—

And surely, my friends,—what are we to think of that man's singular gift of unimpassioned imagination? who cannot divine how swift as an opera-hat a silk loom can be concertina'd into a fishing smack. Or cant see,—*cant understand* what an infinitely more for a girl delightful occupation it is to spin

the sleek guts out of a fat Loch Fyne Herring

than to weave a rag of a silk ribbon!

Also our Exports of Hardware and Cutlery went down by **£586,000:**

* * * *

Even if they did. Dont worry!—

Jam and Pickles went up by £74,464!

And those of Earthen and China Ware by **£339,000:**

* * * *

May-be. I dont doubt. But then, dont you know?

Our Export of Unmanufactured Clay went up by £234,599!

and everybody, shure, can see—even, like myself, a fool of a Protectionist—what a delightful saving there is of patriotic trouble in disposing of British clay in the raw in place of manufacturing it into Protectionist British Mugs!

Our Exports of Iron and Steel and their Manufactures have gone down by **£2,361,462**: and of Copper and its Manufactures by **£1,618,000.**

* * * *

Wheesht! man, dinna greet. Dinna ye know that

Tobacco and Snuff went up by £533,778!

There is, I say, no need to provoke your soul into Lamentations.

(—Fill up—meeter, your canny pipe, man, (for Auld Lang Syne,) and tak' a patriotic sneeze!)

!—Selecting my contrasts with bias?

—Ah! Sir, Not so.

These at least, to your loaded innocence, as they may seem, exceptional or incongruous conjunctions are *factual*, and lie unoffendingly juxta-embedded in the theoretic concrete of every ordinary convinced Free Trade skull, like, by implication, pre-adamite cockles and whelks in a limestone rock.

☞ They do but tumble responsive from their native wilds,—as you behold them, to the adventitious tap of my economic hammer.

Our Export of Cotton Yarn and Manufactures went down by all but **£2,000,000**:

* * * *

Yes but—'Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom!' **Look at Candles!** and the sublime effort—the brilliant **(increase of £172,141)** which they made to redeem the situation.

Our Export of Linen Yarn and Manufactures, (I think it was alleged,) went down by **£304,000.**

* * * *

Up with your best linen collar, man, and blow out your starched front: where there is ever hope there is life!

The Export of Pills went up with a rattle of £308,166!

Our Export of Jute Yarn and Manufactures went down by **£541,000.**

* * * *

Thanks to the magnificent progress of Agriculture under Free Trade,

The Export of Potatoes went up by £210,737!

Our Export of Cycles went down (1896-1902) by **£1,137,000.**

* * * *

Suppose they did.

Our Export of Sewing Machines went up with a jump of £1,142,725:

—and any one knows, who has been through a cycle work, that it is just as easy to turn a sewing machine out of one as a cycle!

Our Export of Chemical Products and Preparations went down by **£417,000**:—and of Hats and Umbrellas by **£203,000!**

* * * *

Bah! What of that?

Our Export of Undressed Sheepskins went up by £39,818!

And if we had only taken into serious economic hand the EXPLOITATION AND EXPORTATION OF OUR UNNUMBERED SHEEPSHEADS,—

* * * *

What about Machinery?

* * * *

—Just a moment, friend: our exports, I say, would have gone up by millions.

———o———

All of which, being added one to the other, lucidly implies: that in this old country of ours after all our brilliant and strenuous history, our sublime achievements in art and science,—after Agincourt and Bannockburn, the glory of Waterloo and Trafalgar's splendour, after the spinning jenny and the power loom and the locomotive and a hundred thousand other world-

revolutionising Industrial inventions, after years upon bloody years of Revolution Reform and Reformation, after Drake and Hawkins and Frobisher and Raleigh, after discovering and conquering and colonising half the world and throwing out of the window, like bowl-money, the rest, after our laborious accumulation, generation upon generation, of commercial and industrial possibilities conditions instruments and aptitudes,—not to mention falling heir, in the fulness of time, to a God's El Dorada of unimaginable mineral resources, I say, we awaken in the end to discover

'THAT ALL WE LIKE SO MANY SHEEPHEADS HAVE GONE ASTRAY'!

Some, at the bottom, profound miscalculation there has been in our Political Industrial and Social Economy.

WE HAVE

Misconceived our National Genius,

Misapplied our National Energies,

Misspent our Time,

Ploughed the Seasands with our Endeavours,

And sown the Sahara with our Capital.

Our stupid forefathers sullenly dreamed (in their stupid insular way) that we, as well as the Flemish or indeed any other people on the face of the spinning earth, could perchance weave Woollens.

They were wrong.

Our atmosphere, soil, character, disposition, temper, inherited aptitudes, etc., fundamentally unsuited are and have ever been to the dull mechanics of such a piffling parody of Industry.

Our Excelsior British Natural Genius points up the slopes to Slops!

* * * *

What about——?

* * * *

(Just one impatient moment, friend.—) The sawdust-stuffed thickheads, I say, who were our Gran'dads sank prodigal millions

and squandered, like stupid peacocks and inconsequent sparrows, their best life energies in the foundation and promotion of Silk Weaving,—on the absolute obvious face of it an industry tee-totally unsuited to the climate, geography, geological strata, and general hereditary gumption of Gt. B.

They on the contrary, having wisdom, should have applied themselves diligently to the

Manufacture and mixture of Manures,
The concoction of Drugs,
The stirring of Jam,—

* * * *

What about——?

* * * *

The Preservation of Pickles, the Boiling of Black Soap, * *—!

* * * *

What about Machinery and Shipbuilding?

* * * *

(What about Machinery and Shipbuilding?) H'm! Well as to that, now, if my Rt. Hon. interrupting friend had only had a little patience he would have heard me deal with these also. They indeed I thought were so interesting and important for subjects that I was about to give them a special place of prominence in my Polemic,—but if my enthusiastic friend is so impatient I can with ease, of course, turn aside and deal with them now.

I give you, in that case,

MACHINERY.

Well, Sir, returning again to my statistics, I find,—comparing 1890 with 1902, that our Exports of Machinery and Millwork increased by

£ 2,344,000:*

namely from **£16,411,000**

to **£18,755,000:**

* This includes the two items as given in the table above: Machinery, £1,201,429, and Sewing Machines, £1,142,725.

—also, decidedly, a very most right thoroughly gratifying incrementation!—for the which we are all entitled to be, Free Traders alike, and I am sure I am safe to say the word for Protectionists, profoundly grateful.

But an increase in the Export of Machinery is just one of those *kinds* of increase over which, (if my honourable friend will pardon the insinuation,) the wise will not wax

OVER-HYSTERICAL.

It has its obverse and less fascinating aspect. But this, perhaps, to you by an illustration I will best exhibit.

More already than once I have referred to the Granite Industry of Great Britain: and in one of the excerpts which it was my privilege to give you it was stated:

> 'that large importations of foreign raw granite came
> 'from Norway and Sweden to Aberdeen to be worked
> 'and polished there into the fully manufactured article.'

—Which, of course, all is very pretty and delightful.—International Division of Labour,—Comity of Nations,—Free Trade,—Universal Brotherhood, etc..

But before we had time to finish our cosmopolitan congratulations there rumbled along the outskirts of our hilarity this sinister whisper:

> "that orders *had already been placed* for the most up to
> "date machinery to be erected in Norway for the purpose
> "of dressing and polishing the granite abroad instead of
> "in this country."

Now, of course, the Machinery for this purpose derives from England:

—Why please, *of course?* Ans. Because England being a Free-importing country and her manufacturers able, in consequence, to draw all that they need from the cheapest sources in the Universal World, nobody on earth can possibly compete with them in such a highly finished product as Machinery,—hence precisely, just indeed, our unapproachable pre-eminence in that specialty.—

And in the foreseen sequel, accordingly,—to wit, the swelling exports of our unrivalled machinery,—the convinced Free Trader

is already rubbing his jovial hands with glee. But obviously you need to be a Cornish Quarryman or a Granite Polisher of Aberdeen looking over an intimation like this:

"The heavy engineering work has been attacked of "recent years, and during the last ten years over 2,000,000 "cubic feet have been shipped from Norwegian and "Swedish quarries for dock and harbour works in Gt. "Britain. This competition is steadily increasing and "bids fair to extinguish the home industry in this branch "of the trade as it has done already in the case of curb:"

And figures like these:

Imports into the United States of Aberdeen Granite.

1892, - - -	£112,382
1896, - - -	£ 55,452
1900, - - -	£ 19,081:

in order to reach that happy adequacy of condition which would induce you to abandon yourself unreservedly to the full delirious transport: or shall I call it?—export of delight.

I give you another illustration from the South of Scotland: an illustration in its simple self so un-far-fetched that I think I will give you the little border wild-flower—roots and all, just as I plucked it:

Summer of 1903.

Half-yearly statutory meeting of the Council of the South of Scotland Chamber of Commerce held in the Town Hall, Galashiels.

"The President, in the course of his address, gave "as his opinion that the Chamber should reply to the "Board of Trade that the volume of Trade done with "Russia

"IN WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES

"was extremely small, and with the increased Tariff they "believed the Trade with that country would practically "become non-existent.

"The trade, such as it was at present, was only what "the Russians themselves could not undertake, and would

"only continue until such time as they could manufacture "these goods themselves.

"The Russians, it was stated, were straining every "nerve to establish the Woollen Industry in their own "country.

* * * *

"Mr. James Sanderson Woodlands said that not "only were the Russians establishing the Woollen "Manufacture in this direction but they were meeting "with considerable success

"And were Importing
"The Latest Improved English Machinery."

English Machinery! again, you see! and therefore still more English Export Free Trade Jubilation!—But you need to be a Galashiels Weaver pondering over a table like this:

Exports of Woollen Manufactured Goods.

In ten years,	1883-1892, - -	£196,000,000
„ „	1893-1902, - -	£158,000,000
	Decrease, -	£ 38,000,000

and this:

Population of Galashiels.

1891, - - - -	17,367
1901, - - -	13,615

and this:

Number of Persons Employed in the Galashiels Woollen Industry.

1891, - - - -	4805
1901, - - - -	3351

in order to experience that degree of exhilaration that would enable you to dance a sailor's hornpipe over it.

I fly now further afield.

I give you the self-same story against a national background out of the Statistics of Japan.

Here are figures which give you the

Imports of Spinning Machinery Into Japan.

	Yen.
1892, - - -	355,000
1893, - - -	1,912,000
1894, - - -	2,858,000
1895, - - -	1,896,000
1896, - - -	2,992,000
1897, - - -	**5,402,000**
1898, - - -	3,089,000
1899, - - -	773,000
1900, - - -	810,000
1901, - - -	1,279,000
1902, - - -	701,000

This delightful column, ☞ if you will please to notice well, is a spindle.—It begins small, **bulges out fat,** and then gallops down away like one of Pharaoh's lean kine down into negligibility.

I want you to compare it with this other:

Imports of Cotton Yarn into Japan.

	Yen.
1892, - - -	7,253,000
1893, - - -	7,400,000
1894, - - -	8,089,000
1895, - - -	7,412,000
1896, - - -	**11,586,000**
1897, - - -	9,941,000
1898, - - -	8,962,000
1899, - - -	5,346,000
1900, - - -	7,395,000
1901, - - -	5,239,000
1902, - - -	2,126,000

Nothing could well, you see, lovelier be.

These are in the science of economic wisdom what we call **Teaching Numbers**—

EVERY DIGIT A SCHOOLMASTER!

How, namely, I wonder, would one describe them?—'A broad-based pyramid!'—How would that do?

'(Reaching the full length of its breadth in '96) and trying in vain, thereafter, hard, to stand on a fast-tapering apex, *which has not yet finished its taper!*'

And the philosophy that underlies this invert taper——

Ah,—one moment!

Next—I give you now the:

Exports of Cotton Yarn from Japan.

	Yen.
1892,	8,000
1893,	59,000
1894,	956,000
1895,	1,034,000
1896,	4,029,000
1897,	13,490,000
1898,	20,117,000
1899,	28,521,000
1900,	20,589,000
1901,	21,466,000
1902,	19,902,000

☞ How strike you for digits, these, my friend?—Look-alive-oh lively numbers—'Hey!'—broadening out bravely—(so at least, alas! I fear me)

INTO THE OMINOUS ILLIMITABLE!

But in order to prevent any miscarriage I am going to give you the same story by another translation:

Cotton Spinning in Japan, according to Japanese official figures.

	1892.	1897.	1902.
Number of Cotton Mills,	39	74	80
Capital Invested (£),	910,000	3,641,000	3,446,000
Average number of Spindles running,	403,000	768,000	1,301,000
Yarn Produce (million lbs.)	128	337	465
Average (daily) number of Operatives, males,	6,354	9,933	14,375
Average (daily) number of Operatives, females,	18,878	35,059	57,513

Japanese Imports and Exports of Cotton Yarn (in thousand £).

	Imports.	Exports.
1890,	993	·2
1893,	728	6
1898,	855	2,012
1903,	77	3,142

Now my most convinced most excellent dear Free Trade friends I am going to try very hard to persuade myself that you, forthwith, for what remains of the 20th century are in a position to appreciate the philosophy of the spinning machinery spindle—and the invert import taper—and the ominous illimitability of the expanding Japanese export pyramid!

But as I am particularly anxious that even also the wooden benches on which you sit should have the pleasure of plumbing to the pebbles the hilarious depths of the ordinary English Free Trader's machinery-export-jubilation I propose to myself **the distinction** of setting the detailed jubilee story thereof,

for the first time forth,

in penny Shakespearean numbers:

First of all, then, (to begin with) there is

Stage I.:

—the stage Halcyonic, as one may permit oneself to call it.

At this stage our English Machinery Exports go bounding up:

and we all clap our hornless hands—and ambulate our thick-heads an inch taller into business of a morning. And from the seventh high Heaven of Free Trade the voice of the everlasting fool keeps dropping: 'Didn't you hear me say so?—I say!'

Stage happy II. succeeds.

In the honeymoon course of this happy stage

The markets begin to fail us to which the Machinery goes:

Presto!—

"We had a considerable trade with Mexico up to "three years ago,

"But English Machinery was shipped to a com- "peting Mexican firm, and our trade has now died "out."

John Baynes, Cicely Bridge, Furthergate and Knuzden Brook Mills, Blackburn: Cotton Spinners and Weavers.

"Machinery sent to Russia France Germany and "Spain has caused some of our operatives to be sent "there, and has diminished our exports.

Alfred Butterworth & Son, Glebe Mills, Hollinwood near Oldham: Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers.

"Nearly every mill started abroad with British "machinery requires a certain amount of British work- "people and overlookers to start it and to train up "native labour. Afterwards the production of that "mill reduces proportionately the amount of goods "that would otherwise have been exported from this "country."

A. Mitchell, Jr., & Sons, 167 John Street, Glasgow. Dress Goods and Shirtings Manufacturers.

"When the United States of America commenced "manufacturing largely 30 to 40 years ago and import- "ing machinery and looms from this country which "families in our employ left for the United States and "very few returned. The same process was repeated "with Canada.

"**Within two years of the United States of America "and Canada commencing manufacturing cotton "goods for themselves we had no orders from these "countries.**"

Firm No. ——: Cotton Cloth Finishers.

"**The Export of Textile Machinery has resulted** "in the serious diminution of business in neutral markets "which are trending in the direction of closing their "markets against goods they are beginning to manu- "facture, by means of tariffs."

Percy Glass, Enfield, Cheadle Hulme, Cheshire: Turkish Towel Manufacturers.

"Thirty years ago we had a large business in India, "but that is declining; **India is producing so much "more yarn through the building of mills in Bombay "and elsewhere:**

"**these mills are built and equipped from Lancashire.**"

Malcolm Ross & Sons, Manchester: Merchants.

"**Up to last year Japan used to import a very "large quantity of English yarns,** and of two-fold 60's, "the bulk of which would be made in Bolton. **Last "year, I understand, this trade disappeared; they "did not take one-tenth of what they have previously "been in the habit of doing.** I am now speaking only "of Egyptian yarns, **and I understand the reason why "the trade disappeared is that they are spinning it** "themselves, and I further understand that Japan is a "damp country, more like England, and, therefore, they "can spin those counts in the future, and probably will "be a very great competitor."

John Baynes, Blackburn: Baynes & Dixon, Manchester: Cotton Manufacturers.

Average Annual Exports of Cotton Yarns from United Kingdom to Principal Foreign Countries (in Thousand £).

Country.	1883-1887.	1888-1892.	1893-1897.	1898-1902.	1903.
China,* - - -	543	448	297	242	183
Japan, - - -	682	903	697	507	76
Italy, - -	558	162	35	14	18
France, - - -	805	605	434	285	291
Belgium, - - -	742	661	362	257	259
Turkey, - - -	869	957	706	622	483
Denmark, - -	162	180	184	122	90
Russia, - - -	176	178	110	120	103
Norway and Sweden,	175	191	207	217	136
Holland, - -	1,990	1,660	1,314	918	1,122
Germany, -	1,885	1,657	1,767	1,742	1,821
Austria, - - -	145	168	226	157	129
Egypt, - - -	156	194	171	166	166
United States, - -	57	83	110	284	393
Brazil, - -	48	56	93	62	64

(Nor is there in Stage II. much to wonder at.)

When you sell the Golden eggs, you know,—that of course is happy and well.

But when you begin to sell the Geese that lay the Golden eggs,—that of course also may be happy and well, but at any rate you cannot expect the same demand to continue for the original eggs, unless, which is possible, you happen to be one of the Originals yourself, or (which is much the same thing)—'a c-n-v-nc-d F.T.'

—What would you have us do then?—Stop the Export of Machinery?

Oh no. I have never as yet said that. What I would have you do—is to keep on doing and rejoicing as you are doing, namely, with exceeding joy, as I think you are entitled to do, at the splendid progress of our Machinery Export Industry.

All I am after suggesting merely (and I'm not by any means the first to do so) is that your exceeding joy should be as the

* Including Hong Kong and Macao.

hilarity of one who, sitting on the extreme verge of a branch that grows above a deep and rolling river, rejoices

at the accelerating activity of the saw

which is operating between him and the trunk.

Stage characteristic III. comes next.

In the course of this :

The English-Machinery-equipped countries begin to invade and capture the surrounding markets.

"Only a few years ago Italy was one of Lancashire's "large customers.

"**Instead of Italy being one of our best customers "they are now shipping vast quantities of goods "from that country to the Levant, Greece, Egypt, "Roumania, and South America. Italy has also "secured the principal part of the yarn trade in "the Levant.**"

Baynes & Dixon, Cotton Merchants, Manchester.

"Italy is in a better position rather than we are. "They have no advantage over us in respect of machinery "but their latest development is in the expansion of mills. "They lay down a very small plant up in the valleys "miles away from anywhere. Their plant consists of "2000 ring spindles and looms in proportion. **All this "is the best and newest English machinery.**"

John Baynes, etc., Blackburn.

"**Japan affects our trade in China.** Japan used to "send merely low numbers and coarse yarns to China "but is now using Chinese cotton and some of their own "cotton and exporting to China ; and that has affected "India as well. Their trade in that direction is rapidly "increasing, and they have a great advantage in cheap "labour.

"They use Lancashire Machinery entirely,
"and Lancashire weavers went out to Japan to help
"them to start the trade, but the Japanese were very
"quick in learning, and they got rid of English work-
"men in surprisingly quick time. There are now few
"Lancashire men in Japanese mills."

Malcolm Ross & Sons, Manchester.

Self-illuminating addendum to above:

Imports of Cotton Yarn into China (in Million Lbs.) according to Chinese official figures.

	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.
British,	9·1	7·8	4·1	7·0	4·3	2·2
Indian,	186·6	254·1	131·4	228·9	251·6	250·7
Japanese,	64·6	103·9	62·8	66·4	69·6	110·8
Total from all Countries,	260·5	365·9	198·4	303·0	326·3	365·1

etc..

Stage unexpected IV. (of base ingratitude) is the next to arrive.

☞ Then Brutus-like the Ingrates turn!—

(and into our fat own Free Trade philanthropic sides) —dig deep the daggers we ourselves have given!!

"Whether this is so or not **I am in a position to**
"**prove that large quantities of grey (unbleached)**
"**cotton cloth are being offered for sale by Moscow**
"**manufacturers to the merchants and calico printers**
"**in Manchester.** Some of our customers have purchased
"trial lots. The quantity offered amounts to some
"hundreds of thousands of pieces of over 90 yards each
"The first lot I heard about was 500,000 pieces.

"**I know of one lot of probably 300,000 lbs.**
"**weight of French yarn that has been bought by**
"**Lancashire manufacturers,** and negotiations are now
"taking place which will probably result in further lots
"being sent here. French spinners are also selling in

"this market bundle yarns, counts 16's to 24's. A few "thousands of pieces of unbleached cotton cloth made in "France have been sold to the buyers in Manchester, "and it is more than likely that still larger quantities "will follow later on.

"The next time you are in Manchester you can see "patterns of both the Russian and French calicoes."

Firm No. C ——. Manchester Cotton Merchants.

"**We have ourselves imported a large quantity of "Bombay yarn on account of the very low prices in "Bombay** and the high prices here during the last six "months, **and have sold it to the Lancashire manu- "facturers who have been making it up. There has "been some imported from the United States to "Dundee;** and why and how they have managed it I "cannot imagine. I should have thought that Lancashire "would have competed and made that impossible; but "I have it from one of the largest Dundee manufacturers "and merchants, but as to the quantity I could not tell."

Malcolm Ross & Sons, Manchester.

"**Foreign yarns are imported very largely, especi- "ally in the Yorkshire and adjacent districts.** One "class, No. 1, called noil yarn, spun from silk waste, is "now a German and Italian production; it used to be "made in Yorkshire. No. 2 is a peculiar yarn, a mixture of "cotton and wool, a very special thing made by German, "also French spinners. Then there is No. 6; there has "been offered in Manchester a German spinning of 40s. "ring twist, some nine or twelve months ago. **No. 7 is "an Indian spun cotton yarn in coarse counts, offered "in Manchester in very large quantities. We have "bought and consumed during the very high price "times several thousand weight. Indian yarns have "forced the coarse spinners out of the market; as "also have the low German mixtures and the imita- "tion yarn from Germany for wefts.** Ten years ago

"a German spinner and dyer told me he could spin as "good and as cheap a 32s. pin cop as any Lancashire "spinner, and offered to do it if I would pay the carriage "from Grimsby, although he had quite enough to do at "home then."

T. Middleton & Co., Ltd., Adlington, Lancashire, Manufacturers of Coloured Cotton Woven Goods and Cotton Yarn Dyers.

"Flags in bunting, silk and cotton, etc.—On any "festive occasion the market is flooded by cheap Union "Jacks, and other flags invariably incorrect, of inferior "quality and workmanship, but at prices low enough to "spoil the sale of English-made goods of superior quality "and design. **On the occasion of the Coronation the "contract (amounting to several thousand pounds) "for decorating the streets was given by the City of "Westminster to an Italian firm, who brought all their "material from Italy as well as men to fix, and, not "even having business premises in England, contri- "buted not one penny to the revenue.**"

Firm No. ——. Cotton Manufacturers.

Stage (to be expected) V. comes naturally next.

Unkinder (more audacious) growing still!—

The upstart vermin begin to begin to insist on making their own Machinery.

"Russia is becoming an enormous producer of cotton "cloths, and her factories are like small towns. Russia "has ceased to be of any interest to Lancashire manu- "facturers, because she does not take anything from us. "She commenced to put duties on various articles which "she could produce herself. The first thing she com- "menced to make was plain calico, and at the beginning "she was not sufficiently advanced to be able to supply

"the yarn herself; so the yarn was admitted with only a "comparatively small tariff. As soon as she had sufficient "spinning to produce the yarn required to keep her looms "going, she put an extra duty on the yarn imported, so "that she would compel all the yarn to be spun in her "own country. Next, she subsidised cotton growing in "her own country, and now very considerable quantities "are being grown in the Asiatic portion of Russia, and "since then she has put an extra duty on cotton. **In the "meantime, she was allowing machinery to go in at "a pretty high duty, but nothing to what it is now; "and I believe she has recently raised the duty on "machinery, so that now very little cotton machinery "is being exported from this country to Russia, and "I know that there are large works being started "there to produce machinery."**

Baynes & Dixon, Cotton Merchants, Manchester.

"The M'Kinley tariff stopped the export of "machinery to America and Messrs. Howard & "Bullough accordingly erected works there for the "manufacture of ring spinning machinery."

John Baynes, etc., Blackburn.

" etc..

As a consequence

Stage Penultimate VI.

—arrives like a proposition out of Euclid.

That is to say:

Our Exports of Machinery following the brilliant lead of the Textiles begin also to diminish.

Exports of Textile Machinery (in Thousand £).

	1893-97.	1898-1902.	1903.
To Foreign Countries, - -	4,868	4,700	3,784
To India, - - -	944	927	825
Total to British Possessions.	999	1,076	946

"The export of machinery has, according to wit
"nesses, been an exceedingly important factor in stimu
"lating the development of the cotton industry in foreign
"countries. But, in the opinion of some witnesses, the
"productive power of this country is going ahead of
"the demand, first, because foreign countries are now
"putting up their tariffs and making their own textile
"machinery,— * * *.

"The opinion is expressed that machinists will either
"have to go on as they are doing, putting up mills on
"speculation, or else they will have to shut down."

Stage unhappy VII. is Final

—and brings the bitterest blow of all.

In the end, that is to say, (but oh ye whispering breezes this is not to be gossiped in Gath,)

They make the Machinery better!

"As to the Calico which is sent abroad for finishing
"they tell me that from 80 to 90 per cent. of what is
"sent to Germany for finishing is re-exported (to Great
"Britain). **It is because they have better finishing**
"machinery, and in France they have better taste and
"better colour for their prints."

"**The foreigners, as a rule, have the best machinery,**
"and they have thoroughly educated themselves in all
"branches of the trade, so much so that some foreign
"machines are superior to anything we have in this
"country; **and in self-defence the finishers of this**
"country have been compelled to buy foreign machines
"if they are to produce work as good as the foreigner
"is doing."

Baynes & Dixon, Cotton Merchants, Manchester

Imports of Machinery into Gt. Britain.

1897,*	£2,080,000
1898,*	£2,745,000
1899,*	£3,405,000
1900,	£3,195,000
1901,	£3,612,000
1902,	£4,382,000

!!—So much for the seven Shakspearean stages of a wise man's reflection.

However, I know my Free Trader and his Machinery too well to believe that his familiar lunacy is likely to be tempered by reflections of any kind: and therefore I have reserved to the last a little piece of information that will help to advance him on his path of jubilation with enhanced pleasure.

The Free Trader rejoices from the bottom of his heart at the success and prosperity of his neighbours:—not because, of course, of any special love of his neighbour but because he knows (so he says) that their prosperity redounds to his own.—They become in his delightful phraseology 'better customers.'

The Free Trade, therefore, auricles of his heart will rejoice to know that Free Trade England is not alone in the glory of Increasing Machinery Exports!—

"**GERMAN MACHINERY.**

"**Big Increase of Exports.**

(Press Association Telegram.)

"London, Friday.—The report on the German machinery import and export trade and industry, by Sir W. Warr, His Majesty's Consul-General at Hamburg, shows that **during the past decade the total value of machinery of all descriptions, including locomotive and other steam engines, as well as sewing machines, exported from Germany has increased very nearly threefold, for whilst in 1894 the total exports amounted in value to £3,970,000, their value in 1903 rose to £11,600,000.** The rate of increase in exports during the last three years has not been quite so rapid as in the preceding seven

* Including Steel Rails.

years. The total value of exports in 1901 was £10,035,000, while during last year they amounted to £11,600,000, an increase in three years of £1,565,000."

Machinery Exports.

	U. Kingdom.	Germany.	U.S.A.
1880, - -	£ 9,200,000	£ 2,100,000	£ 800,000
1890, - -	£15,700,000	£ 3,300,000	£ 2,200,000
1900, - -	£18,100,000	£10,700,000	£11,000,000

☞ "In 1880 the machinery exports of Germany and "the U.S.A., taken together, were less than one-third "the value of machinery exported by England. In "1900 they had easily passed England."

My Rt. Hon. friend spoke also, I think, of

SHIPBUILDING.

Well as to that now,—what there is to say of that great industry is easily said.

Ships, as you know, prior to 1899, were not recorded in our Export Statistics. But after that date it is, of course, easy to give the Free Trader his Statistics, and all the encouragement and delight which these are certain to afford him.

Thus of

New Ships and Boats with their Machinery

we exported

In	1899	to the value of	£9,196,000
„	1900	„ „	£8,587,000
„	1901	„ „	£9,149,000
„	1902	„ „	£5,872,000
„	1903	„ „	£4,284,000

!—Yes, but these are our simple Exports. What have you to say about the Great

Shipping Industry in itself?

Ah, well, as to that again,—that, no doubt, Sir, happy to relate, has achieved the most delightful progress. And yet even in this particular ointment which savours so much of amaranth and moly (in the nostrils of the convinced Free Trader,) even here, I say, there are one or two unfortunate Blue Bottles.

☞ As to this, however, I wish to make it plain, beforehand, that I speak with something of reserve and a very large reluctance. Everybody is aware how distressingly painful it is to be under the necessity of withdrawing from a spoiled and surfeiting child a lemon curl of half-sucked sugar candy.

Something of a similar misgiving appertains (in the cerebral locus of my lovingkindness) when I come to find myself in the way of argument obliged to deal with the British Free Trader and the United Kingdom's Shipping.—His pride, his infantile exultation and sugar candied delight in this unparalleled exemplar of the ever-to-be-followed-after virtues of Free Trade are for the time being so touching, so * so sub-celestial in their hedonic accentuation, * —(h'm)—and withal so sincere!—

Not, to be sure, that I have a single word to say that could by any possibility cloud for a moment his happiness. But even to have the appearance *of seeming to be so engaged* fills a naturally sympathetic heart like my own with a great degree of poignancy.

Well as I am just after saying,—There is nothing in all Free Trade England over which the Free Trader weeps (as over the progress of our Shipping Industry) with such hysterical excess of joy. He fairly falls on its belovèd neck, so to say, and hugs it in palpitating pulp to his infatuated triumphant breast.

(Innocent distant miles even,) he journeys out of his unsolicited way, haply to doodle his delight in the mother of Parliaments! and in solemn warning across the stormy gulfs of the Atlantic points with the awful finger of derision to the unhappy

Case per Contra of the United Stars and Stripes!

Listen, e.g., to this wild war-whoop of exulting menace and self-congratulation from the House of Commons:

"Mr. Osmond Williams, amid Opposition cheers "moved :—

"'That, in the opinion of this House, grave injury "'would be caused to the shipping industry, and to other "'industries dependent thereon, by the adoption of the "'changes in the existing fiscal system proposed by the "'right hon. gentleman the member for West Birmingham.'

"**United States as Terrible Example.**

"He said that tariff reformers did not seem to realise "that the shipping trade was the one industry above all "others which had the most to lose by the imposition of "tariffs. Free Trade had given shipbuilders access to "the best and cheapest materials in the world, and tariffs "must impede the task of shipbuilding by adding both "to the cost of material and the wages of the workers. "It had done so in America and had seriously injured an "industry that at one time threatened to rival our own. "**Before Protection the Stars and Stripes were often "seen in the harbours of the world jostling the Union "Jack; but those vessels had been swept from the "face of the waters** as the tariff reformers had been "swept from the benches opposite. (Laughter and "Opposition cheers.) **Ever since America had drifted "into Protection her carrying trade had dwindled; "and if Great Britain followed her example the con- "sequence would be that her crowded harbours would "be silent and neglected, and the Union Jack would "become a rarer and rarer spectacle in the ports of "the world.** (Opposition cheers.)"

Now everybody feels that that, without any doubt, is very crushing. It is only when you turn to the Leading Columns of the Great Scotch Free Trade organ, 'The Glasgow Herald,' that you are able to breathe again in comparative comfort :—

"The desire of the Americans to constitute, or regain, "a great shipbuilding industry is natural, though their "efforts so far have not been very successful. In the old "days of wooden clippers, of course, they were supreme. "Wood was, however, supplanted by iron, and in turn

"iron had to give way to steel. **America is now cer-**
"tainly the largest and reputedly the cheapest pro-
"ducer of steel in the world, yet she has not become a
"great steel shipbuilder. Notwithstanding the colossal
"Steel Trust, the Shipbuilding Trust has gone to pieces.
"It is worth while to recall the fact that New York in
"the middle of last century lost place in the wood
"shipbuilding trade just as later in the century
"London lost place in the iron shipbuilding trade,
"and from the same cause—the demands of the
"workers for an excessive rate of wages. Each city
"lost its shipbuilding trade through a strike. Of
"recent years, however, New York recovered some-
"thing in steel shipbuilding of what it lost in the
"days of wood, but has once again been beaten by
"labour. So vexatious and harassing has the action
"of the shipyard workers in New York become that
"some of the shipbuilders have now closed their
"yards altogether, finding it hopeless to contend
"with the antagonistic forces."

Comment on this latter is superfluous. One can only reverently lay it down again as one found it: and look and listen: and breathe again in lowly wonder that so delicate an economic blossom should be discovered

wasting the unexpected charm of its aromatic fragrance

in the 'Leader' Columns of The Glasgow Herald.—Oct. 23, 1903.

Curious—very—seems it always to me that in discussing this Shipbuilding question the convinced Free Trader, in or out of Parliament, never seems to remember in the world that there are other countries besides the U.S.A.

Curious also, I take it, that he of all people in the world should forget that the U.S.A. is actually (no less) **a mighty continent** and cannot be compared in any respect, therefore, with advantage, to the diminutive and diminishing island on which we sin and suffer!!

—Here is, however, (coming back to the point, and my classic allusion) one of the Free Trade Flies in the unfortunate British Free Trade Shipbuilding ointment:

"Made in Germany.

"The boom in shipbuilding on the Clyde is slightly "hollow. In former times such orders meant correspond "ingly increased work for steel smelters, forgemen, turners, "and machinemen, but while we have the ships to build, "**the orders for the greater portion of the shafting "and reciprocating parts of the engines required for "most of the vessels have been secured by Germany.** "How it is accomplished awaits explanation, but the fact "is beyond dispute that German firms have undertaken "the work at prices which defy competition in Scotland. "We have retained the bulk of the orders for plates, "stern and rudder frames, but Germany has walked off "with contracts which represent a large proportion of "the total work. Somebody has to be wakened up if "Scottish manufacturers' plant and machinery are not to "be left to rust."

Here is another:

"* * He might mention the great foreign company, "the Austrian Lloyd, as indicating that the hon. gentle"man had certain foreign clients.

"Colonel Denny—We have not built a ship for the "Austrian Lloyd for 15 years. (Laughter and Opposition "cheers.)

"Mr Maciver said he remembered the day when the "hon. member used to build them all."

Here is another

"PORT PARAGRAPHS.

"German Shipbuilding Progress.

"The directors of the North German Lloyd, in "their annual report, express their satisfaction that "they were in a position to place their last year's "orders for new steamers exclusively with German "shipyards. Thanks, they add, to the great develop"ment and the extraordinary improvement in their

"plant and equipment which German shipyards are "able to record in consequence of the numerous "orders given to them during the last few years, "they are in a position to supply steamers which, "at equal prices and with equal time required for "delivery, are, at the least, equal to the best products "of the foreign shipbuilding industry."

Here is another:

"Several points in the debate on the French naval "programme deserve attention, but perhaps the most "striking fact which the discussion elicited was the cost "of construction in France and Germany. Germany "builds at a cost of £80 per ton, while France has to "spend £112 per ton. **The British cost of construction** "was not clearly stated, but it is considerably above "the German figure, so that to-day Germany is build- "ing more cheaply than any naval Power."

Here is another:

"Growth of the German Sea-Shipping—Steam Vessels.

	Number.	Nett tons register.	Persons engaged.
"1871, - -	147	81,994	4,736
"1891, - -	896	723,652	22,317
"1900, -	1,293	1,150,159	31,027
"1903, -	1,545	1,622,439	42,984

"Since 1871 the tonnage of German steamships has "increased

"1447 per cent."

Here is another:

"Who could have thought thirty, or even twenty, "years ago that the finest and fastest steamers on "the Atlantic would be the work of German ship- "builders? that the lion's share of the passenger "trade between Europe and America would be Ger- "man? that in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific "German steamers would be cutting seriously into "every branch of our colonial trade? that in our "chief colonial ports they would be preferred, and "with good reason, to our own mail steamers? Any

"Canadian, Australian, South African, or other British "colonist who is much of a traveller by sea will confirm "these observations. They are equally well known to "British tourists and globe-trotters. John Bull on his "travels has of late become painfully conscious of them. "In his patriotic moods they cause him no small concern, "and the doctrines of the Cobden Club are nowhere "spoken of less respectfully than in the smoking-rooms "of ocean steamers when the question of British versus "German shipping comes under discussion."

Here is another:

"**German Combine.**

"There is said to be a fair prospect of the two great "German lines, the Hamburg-American and the North "German Lloyd, amalgamating. From statistics pub "lished at the beginning of the year, the Hamburg "American Line has a fleet of 139 steamers, representing "a total tonnage of 705,206, and the North German Lloyd "a fleet of 116 steamers of a total tonnage of 559,000. "**The Hamburg-American Line, in point of carrying "capacity, was the largest fleet in the world, with** "the exception of the International Mercantile Marine "Company (Morgan Combine)."

"The Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd "have made a specialty of transatlantic business, **and in "1904 they carried 40 per cent. of the passengers "crossing between America and Europe.**"

Here is another:

"**British tonnage entering Antwerp has increased "during the past 14 years some 72 per cent. Ger- "many's increase during the same period has been "no less than 389 per cent. But it is necessary to "add that the proportionate increase in the case "of German ships is very considerable. England's "increase of 72 per cent. represents in actual ton- "nage 1,613,224, whilst her strongest competitor's "389 per cent. represents an increase in tonnage of "1,937,982.**"

Here is another :

"**Trade in the Far East.**

"Statistics as to trade often present curious anomalies, "and the return regarding the port of Bangkok, made by "the British Consul there, is no exception in this respect. "* * * * As regards shipping British vessels only come "third, **no less than 56 per cent. of the vessels entered "at the port coming in under the German flag as "against 15 per cent. under the British.**"

Here is another :

"But look how this business affects the shipping "industry. Mr. Asquith would say that it affects them "to some advantage. Here is this dumping of steel "coming into Newport, and they have the freight. Have "they? Mr. Lysaght has told me, in a letter he has "been good enough to address to me, that he has gone "into the question, **and found that of the steel dumped "into his works 63 per cent. came in foreign vessels.** "(A Voice—'So it does.') I am told that the shipping "trade of Wales has increased enormously in the last few "years, but is that the only thing to look at? **Take this, "and see if it does not contain a warning to every "shipowner in South Wales. In the course of the "last six years the net registered tonnage of foreign "ships entering South Wales ports increased 1,700,000 "tons, and meanwhile the British registered tonnage "decreased 1,000,000 tons.** (Hear, hear.) **The British "is decreasing, the foreign is increasing, and yet all "is well.** (Laughter.)"

Here is another :

"It has to be noted, at the same time, that the "foreigner has been making great strides as a competitor "in the carrying trade. Taking the figures for tonnage "of steam vessels in the foreign trade entered and cleared "at ports in the United Kingdom, we find the following :

	"1870.	1890.	1904.
"British, -	13,341,058	49,023,775	68,187,788
"Foreign, -	1,731,273	12,661,234	34,494,500

"From these figures it will be seen that, while British "ships have a tonnage nearly double the foreign ships, "yet the latter are gaining in an appreciable degree. "**Thus, while in 1870 the proportion per cent. of "British to the total tonnage was 88·5, in 1904 the "proportion was only 66·4.**"

Here is another:

"And despite the statistics of 'A. M. R.' I still hold "that our shipping is on the decline. From 1890 to 1900 "British tonnage entered and cleared in foreign ports "increased 20,000,000, but foreign shipping in the same "period and in the same ports increased 80,000,000 -four "times as much. Into the United Kingdom from 1890 "to 1902 foreign tonnage increased 15,000,000, and our "own tonnage increase was a little more than 12,000,000. "So that 'A. M. R.' can see from these returns that we "are losing both at home and abroad. The only part of "our shipping trade which is satisfactory is that with our "Colonies, which in ten years has doubled."

Here is another:

"**A SHIPPING COUP.**

"**Germany Secures a Monopoly.**

"Advices from Australia bring news of a startling "development in shipping circles in the colony that has "aroused great indignation among British merchants and "shippers there.

"The Germans have succeeded in capturing the "entire trade of German New Guinea, New Britain, and "other islands in the German Archipelago with reserved "rights extending for a large number of years.

"'British shipping,' to quote the Sydney Morning "Herald, 'has been effectually driven out of the trade, "'and it is a foregone conclusion that at an early date "'the long-established services between Australia and "'that part of the Pacific will be abandoned.'

"The whole of the planters in the German possession "of every nationality—British, German, French, Scandi- "navian &c.—have signed an agreement by which they

"bind themselves to ship their products to Australia and "Europe exclusively by the vessels of the Nord Deutscher "Lloyd. Hitherto British vessels have had the bulk of "the trade, and it is supposed that the terms offered by "the Germans have been such as to outweigh sentiment. "The German authorities have avoided the complications "resulting from violation of treaty rights, &c, and by "a tactful policy aided by Government subsidies out-"manœuvred the British. The new agreement comes "into operation on October 1st.

"The German steamers will call at all the smaller "ports for cargo, relieving the planters of the necessity of "maintaining a coasting fleet—a fact which, it is under-"stood, had not a little to do with the concluding of the "contract as completed."

Here is another:

"**German Shipping Combine.**

(From our own Correspondent.)

"Hamburg, January 29.

"The North German Lloyd and the Levant Steam-"ship Companies have combined to inaugurate a cargo "and passenger service from Marseilles, Genoa, and "Naples to Athens, Constantinople, Smyrna, Mitylene, "Odessa, and Batoum.

"There has hitherto been no German service to "Constantinople, Athens, and the Black Sea. With the "object of capturing the Servian and Roumanian trade "the North German Lloyd have also arranged for "steamers to sail between Genoa, Marseilles, and the "Danube."

Here is another:

"A feature of special interest to this country is the "persistent effort of Germany to increase her shipping "interests. At present the effort is being earnestly bent "on South America. Two Hamburg companies have "recently conjoined to form a South American Steam

"Navigation Company, with headquarters in Brazil, to "keep up a regular service of steamers on the Brazilian "coast in connection with the transatlantic lines. This "company is now preparing to work round the whole "east coast of South America as a feeder to the German "lines. The Hamburg-American line is now preparing "to establish direct fast steam navigation between Ger- "many and the River Plate, and is about to build fast "steamers for the purpose. Another Hamburg company "is starting two new services of steamers between Ham- "burg and North Sea ports and between Hamburg and "Norway. There is, of course, rivalry between Bremen "and Hamburg, and Bremen recently started the Roland "Line to compete with two Hamburg lines on the west "coast of South America. This rivalry is keen, and "Bremen is to start a new line at the beginning of next "year in competition with another Hamburg concern for "the Levant trade. In return for these aggressions, as "they consider them, the Hamburg companies are getting "up a new company to run between Bremen and the "United States in competition with the North German "line. But above that, all the large Hamburg companies "have formed a Combine—the Syndicate Steamship "Company—with a fleet of ten steamers to go wherever "cargo may be picked up that might otherwise fall to "one or other of the Bremen companies. And whatever "may be the result of the rivalry between the two ports, "the large extension of German shipping across the "Atlantic at low freights can hardly fail to bring a good "deal of business to Germany, however much shipowners "may suffer in the process."

Here is another:

"Then they were told that shipping was not suffering "from bounties and as an instance of this he referred "to the fact **that the British Steamship service from "London to Zanzibar had been discontinued owing to "the loss on it, and that a German Company which**

"received a bounty had the trade to themselves so "that the loss to this country was £5,000,000 in "trade."

Etc.. Etc.. Etc..

I have two further observations to make.

(1)

When for one reason or another a British manufacturer sets up a Factory in a foreign country, I think you will agree with me, and runs it with foreign hands, we do not congratulate ourselves to the same degree as if he—building the Factory on British soil, had employed British workmen.

Well but now, Sir, much of the boasted British Shipping on which the Free Trader wastes so many poor windy British hysterics is in much the same position as the British-owned foreign Factory which is run by foreign wage-earning hands.

Witness the following:

"**British and Foreign Seamen.**

"When it is claimed triumphantly that Great Britain "still carries the world's merchandise in her ships, the "fact that the foreigner is now taking a largely increased "share in the business requires to be remembered. And, "while foreign shipowners have entered as keen com- "petitors with our shippers, **the foreign seaman is, at "the same time, ousting the British seaman. The "following figures will indicate the extent of this "most regrettable process.** The numbers of British "and foreign seamen engaged in the British home and "foreign trade were as under at the dates given:

"Date.	British Seamen.	Foreign Seamen.
"1870,	200,000	18,000
"1890,	186,147	27,227
"1904,	176,975	39,832"

But according to Mr. Havelock Wilson the case is even worse :

"**A Question of Wages.**

"The figure, as given above, shows that nearly 40,000 "foreign seamen are employed in our mercantile marine, "**but Mr. Havelock Wilson, who represents the British "seaman in Parliament, estimates that the true "number is nearer 60,000, because the foreign sea-"man often claims to be British when he is not.**"

—Even seemingly worser—even still it becomes :

"**THE IMPERIAL FORCES.**

"**British Seamen for British Ships.**

"The position in which this country is placed with "regard to the mercantile marine and the naval reserve "is a most serious one. **Every year sees an increase "in the number of foreigners employed on British "ships, with no corresponding addition to the number "of British seamen.**

"**In 43 years (1860-1903) the number of foreigners "employed increased from 14,280 to 40,396, and, if "Lascars be included, from 14,615 to 81,417. The "proportion of foreigners to every hundred British "seamen rose from 9·08 in 1860 to 22·88 in 1903, "while foreigners and Lascars combined now form "nearly 50 per cent. of the crews on British ships.**

"In the event of a war necessitating the calling out of "the naval reserves, British ships would, under present "conditions, be almost entirely manned by foreigners."

(2)

After all has been said and done, as a humble patriot loving my country in her past and looking to the glory of her future I find it decidedly difficult to congratulate myself unreservedly on the enormous expansion of our shipping industry.

But perhaps an illustration from the past will help me best to explain.

Well, Sir, with the most astonishing ease, when you come to take the trouble to look back into the history of our country, you come to a time when our forefathers made an extremely poor show in the manufacturing line, or, for the matter of that, except in war, in any other.

In, e.g., the 13th and 14th centuries you find that the great manufacturing people of Europe were the Flemish and that our prime function then as an English nation was to hew humbly the commercial wood for their enterprise and draw industrial water for their requirements.

Protected by our island-security from the incessant wars which devastated the Continent, (because when you come to examine it really you find that Protection in one shape or another has been Great Britain's Godsend all through,) our people had become great sheep farmers, and on top of that industrious wool-exporters!—Flattering to reflect isn't it that the great workshop of the world (that was to be) once purveyed the humble role to Flanders which the wool exporters of Australia and the cotton growers of the Southern States discharge to-day to Lancashire and Yorks? The England of then, that is to say, fed with wool the looms of Flanders, and that indeed did to such an extent that "a stoppage of this export from England used to "throw half the population of the Flemish towns out of work,"—much as a shortage of American cotton would do with the factory hands of Lancashire to-day.

☞ But try now please to picture our English Commerce as it existed, for a moment, then :

Raw wool leaving in luggers for the Coast of Flanders our English shores and returning anon in the holds of the same woven into the finest of 'British' Broadcloth!—

How very beautiful!—Especially how very simple!—What a charming cosmopolitan,—so to say, Pre-ordination!—Think also of the Beneficence of the International Intercourse, swift to ripen into the condominium of Millennial Peace!

How jumping-eloquent—

How thumping-enthusiastic

some of our enraptured Free Trade asses would have waxed in the bare contemplation!—

—Flanders by soil situation climate history tradition and the natural genius of its inhabitants specially adapted to weave British Wool into British Broadcloth!—

And Great Britain, Green moist sea-protected pastoral island particularly designed by Providence for the growing of wool to feed the Flemish Looms!

How these fellows would have danced to arrive at the Grand Total of this trans-North-Sea trade in order to seize and divide it by the number of skulls as empty as their own in the country, with the view that they might tell us the Rate per British Ass of the unprecedented Trade!

And at the peroration-end of the glowing period how they would have delighted to tot up the growing tonnage and accumulating sail acreage and masts and bowsprits and stay ropes and flourishing binnacles and barnacles of the invaluable freight-earning British luggers into so and so many hundred thousand million pounds of Invisible Exports!

* * * *

—Happily (for us) our forefathers weren't such abandoned idiots.

They got the comic idea somewhere into their heads that it was just as possible to weave well wool in Britain as in Flanders. And so instead of importing Flemish cloth, woven out of English wool, they imported Flemish weavers instead, and they kept for themselves their wool, and wove it. Well I'm not going to say, perhaps, that they wove it so well, at first, or so cheaply, as did they of Flanders—

But then they weren't such Cheap-John Jacks

as to imagine that they were the End and Be-all of Merrye England. But in any case they wove it so well that ultimately 'manufactured cloth became the basis of the National Wealth,' (in place of wool,)—and yet ever were they anxious to weave one

better,—and so they wove on and wove until in 1660 the export of British wool was forbidden,—(an export-ban which was removed only in 1825,) in order to keep every ounce of British wool for British looms. And yet ever like strong drink the lust of weaving grew until our forefathers insisted

On weaving wool for the English dead

as well as the English living, and I suppose they would have insisted on doing the same for the English angels in Heaven, if there had been any at that time and they had only known how.

Comic idea—wasn't it? (And they, of course, are at liberty to laugh who will,) but I wish I could photograph the grin of our weaver sires and frame it for your mantelshelves—

I can see it myself in the mind's eye as broad as their broadcloth,—

Could they have fore-beknown that their weaver descendants (the weaver politicians and weaver doctrinaires of this illustrious Free Trade generation) were destined to weave our

British Woollen and Worsted Manufactured Exports down
from **£27,182,000** in **1871,**
to **£15,261,000** in **1902:**

And our Woollen Manufactured Imports up
from **£ 4,637,000** in **1871,**
to **£10,751,000** in **1902!**

* * * *

—I say, I can imagine—to a nicety—the deep-going—inspiration of satisfaction with which they would have set about weaving shrouds for the whole of us.

! ! !

But I go back now to my History.

Notwithstanding in the course of time their textile gratifying progress there remained over still an Industrial fly in our forefathers' satisfaction.

That is to say, notwithstanding our English Forebears had by now very well learned how to weave, their astute superiors the Dutch, as we gather, "possessed the sole secret of a process of "pulverising the madder root for use" and this dyeing secret for

centuries they kept a dead one: with this for an odd result that our English woven goods mostly had from the early part of the 14th century still to cross to the Netherlands to be fulled and dyed

How magnificent!—

Ah, Gentlemen, how lightly for a song would I sell (what chance may yet be left of my earthly salvation) to go back even now to that homely epoch haply to hearken to the Asquiths descant, and the Lloyd Georges of the day, with glowing eloquence on the beautiful beneficence of the commercial co-ordination of the International Division of Labour!

On one side Flanders, by soil situation climate historical antecedents and natural knowledge, admirably adapted as no other nation has been, is, or ever will be, for the fulling and dyeing of cloth!

And on the other hand England, pre-equipped and ordained by Heaven for the growing (and now weaving) of wool as no other land ever has is or will be 'en to the end of time!

—To hear them—exulting add the Export value of the English undyed cloth to the Import value of the self-same cloth fulled and dyed:

* * * *

—Really, Sir,—I am not humbugging you. They do it even now.

Listen!

> "Germany takes the grey velvet from our Lancashire
> "mills in free: she stiffens, cuts, or raises the pile dyes
> "them brings the goods back to England and Scotland,
> "and always orders from my town and others being able
> "to sell the same class of velvet and velveteens as our
> "own at a price lower than we can produce."

C. E. Cowper & Co., 27 York St., Manchester: Cotton Velvet and Velveteen Manufacturers.

> "As to the calico which is sent abroad for finishing
> "they tell me that from 80 to 90 per cent. of what is
> "sent to Germany for finishing **is re-exported to (Great**
> "**Britain.)**"

* * * *

To (dream) hearken t' them again divide the grand total by the number of asses including themselves in the Kingdom :

Gloat in penultimate panegyric over crowded humming ports filled with an everlasting delightful salt-sea bustle and strange oaths and week to week amazing cosmopolitan tonnage of freight-earning luggers :

And fairly finally spin on the apex of their empty fatheads at the magnificent growth of the British Lugger-building Industry !

!—Gentlemen, happily for us, our ancestors were blessed with the common salt of common sense. They didn't weary Heaven and worry themselves adding Imports to Exports. They didn't construct glowing panegyrics on the growth of lugger building, and dance sailors' hornpipes over their Invisible Exports. The comic salt of their common sense was too much caught with the visible absurdity of the whole sad business and later on, on the advice of Sir Walter Raleigh, (1608,) they cut it :

That is to say they effectively put a full stop period to the peremptory whole of this beneficent freight-earning Cobden-clubbian International Interchange (and flourishing lugger-building industry) by quietly absolutely

Prohibiting the Export of English White Goods :

while at the same time they enticed or induced or bribed or bought or pressganged over some Flemish dyer to teach them in England how to dye.

* * * *

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, when, therefore, in these modern days anyone breaks in my hearing into F.T. hysterics over the vast and increasing aggregate of our British Imports and Exports, and over our flourishing shipbuilding and ship invisible-export-earning Industries I am naturally forced in my reflection back upon the common sense of my forefathers,—the Makers of England.

In the course of my reading I come across such things as the following :—in the 'Facts and Fictions' of The Glasgow Herald, ('Facts and Figures') the Grey Metropolitan 'Grandmother,' with a not unpleasant irony, calls them :

"In practice it does not matter for this country

"**Our huge shipping trade lives on coal.**

"The best bunker coal (which is British) is cheaper to "our ships than to the ships of any competing nations

"**Coal composes four-fifths of the weight "of our exports.**

Check its export, and outward freight will fall, and it "as the Birmingham leaflet suggests, the 'more and more' "imports of manufactured goods must be checked also, "then inward freights also will fall."

!—Nothing you see (more refreshing) could well be lovelier Indeed I stop (at once) in my reading here. Because better I think than any elaboration of my own this Heraldian Revelation puts the point in a nutshell in front of you of my position.

That is to say, friends,—My advice to you would be:

Whenever you feel the inspiration coming over you to ride the high feather over our huge and ever increasing industry

of Freight Earning,

think of Glasgow and the Glasgow's Herald's inspired writer, and try to remember in the uninspired dusk of your soul that actually

"(British) Coal composes four-fifths of the weight of "our (British) Exports:"

Also moreover that

"The best bunker coal (which is British) is cheaper "to our ships than to the ships of any competing "nations:" ! ! !—

Also try very hard to remember that the one and only British Export Industry that can truly be said to be going up by leaps and bounds is the Coal Export Industry :

And then ponder, as you would ponder lovingly over a wine glass of castor oil before imbibing it, over the following hypological sequence :

Our British Coal Export Industry is going up by leaps and bounds :

Our huge Shipping Industry lives upon coal (v. The Glasgow Herald)—'**coal composing four-fifths of the weight of our 'exports :'**

Therefore (Somebody's Shipping) must be going up like a green bay tree.

———o———

Try to further follow the Heraldian 'Facts'!

Try to think of our huge shipping industry like a vast and voracious cephalopod battening and fattening on concatenations and the incrementations of concatenations like this :

Manufactured Imports into United Kingdom in Leading Lines.

	1890. Million £.	1903. Million £.
Cotton Manufactures,	2·3	5·5
Chemicals and Drugs,	2·8	3·5
Glass Manufactures,	2·0	3·1
Iron and Steel Manufactures,	3·2	9·8
Leather Manufactures,	2·4	3·2
Linen Manufactures,	·4	·8
Musical Instruments,	1·0	1·4
Painters' Colours,	1·0	1·4
Paper and Pasteboard Manufactures,	1·9	4·8
Silk Manufactures,	11·3	12·6
Toys and Games,	·7	1·2
Watches and Clocks,	1·2	1·4
Woollen Manufactures,	9·3	8·7
	£39·5	£57·4

And this:

Value of Imports into the United Kingdom of articles manufactured, or partly manufactured (excluding articles of Food, Drink, and Tobacco).

FROM CERTAIN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

	1890.	1894.	1898.	1902.
	£	£	£	£
Germany, -	9,447,000	10,351,000	12,233,000	16,057,000
Belgium, - -	12,680,000	12,108,000	16,360,000	20,684,000
Holland, - -	15,447,000	16,100,000	15,383,000	19,786,000
France, - -	25,848,000	25,062,000	31,268,000	31,071,000
Russia, - -	2,778,000	2,930,000	3,154,000	3,084,000
Italy, - -	1,950,000	1,778,000	1,803,000	1,903,000
United States, -	10,279,000	10,814,000	17,552,000	20,930,000
	78,429,000	79,143,000	97,753,000	113,515,000

Increase in 12 years (1890-1902), - £35,086,000

Try to think of the insatiable sea-squid earning freights upon this:

British Coal Exports to France in 1900.
8,635,000 tons.

British Imports from France in 1900.

Woollen Manufactures, - - -	£ 4,787,000
Silk Manufactures, - -	£10,468,000
Lace, - - - - -	£ 1,075,000
	£16,330,000

And this:

British Coal Exports to Germany Belgium and Holland in 1900.
9,077,000 tons.

British Imports from Germany Belgium and Holland in 1900.

Woollen Yarn and Manufactures,	£ 5,386,000
Cotton Yarn and Manufactures, -	£ 3,850,000
Silk Manufactures, - - - -	£ 3,384,000
	£12,620,000

Why, Sir, in front of that sort the Falls of Niagara were never in it.

Away, away, man, up to the excelsior mizzen mast-head of your Invisible Export Jubilation and flap out a roaring banner there with this for its proud device!—

Manufactures Imported from Germany and Holland.

1875, - - - - £10,500,000
1902, - - - - £46,900,000

Increase over 340 per cent.

Manufactures Imported from Belgium.

1875, - - - - £ 8,600,000
1902, - - - - £19,000,000

Increase 120 per cent.

Manufactures Imported from France.

1875, - - - - £29,000,000
1902, - - - - £36,700,000

Increase over 26 per cent.

Manufactures Imported from United States.

1875, - - - - £ 2,000,000
1902, - - - - £13,700,000

Increase 585 per cent.

———o———

And before you *re-inform* the exuberant welkin that Britons never never shall be slaves pour to the wild winds out a fresh one embroidered with this:

British Exports to Germany Holland Belgium France U.S.

	1875.	1902.
Raw Material, etc., - -	£ 8,100,000	£21,400,000
Manufactures, - - -	£71,300,000	£57,600,000

Increase in Raw Material, - £13,300,000
Decrease in Manufactures, - £13,700,000

British Imports from Germany Holland Belgium France U.S.

	1875.	1902.
Raw Material, Food, etc., -	£117,700,000	£156,100,000
Manufactures, - - -	£ 50,100,000	£116,500,000

Increase in Manufactures, - £66,400,000

* * * * *

Go to man!—go away! I say! you gaping! idiotic flounder!

Try to grasp, in a word, that in 1900 we imported £88,000,000 **more in Manufactured Goods than we did in 1870**

and exported £33,000,000 more in Coal:

and then pause—and pray for the transitory—loan of the modicum of brains vouchsafed by an indulgent Providence—to a sea whelk,—and with their help and assistance think of our huge Shipping Industry earning freights upon *that*. Of which we are all so triumphant proud!

And calmly when you have done, then

Collocate the whole situation

in the thickest part of your inveterate impervious skull, and rejoice with a hip hip hur', if you must, to the absolute bottom of your best jack-boots,—but dont *(necessarily)* ask me to join with you!

—For I humbly, fortunately or unfortunately, am after all the child of my forebears, blessing God daily that the solid stolid common commercial sense for which they were distinguished has spilled not wholly past *my* skull.

But again and again, after all, Sir, even in this, if you will excuse me, the thought that fills and strikes me specially once again—because you also have noticed the bare-faced 'blagard' bland insinuation, is the unthinkable hypocrisy of your Pharisaic Free Trader who after the solemnest eye-to-Heaven-screwed go-to-prayer-meeting obtestations that Protection is a purely sectional-interest cry—designed to benefit a few manufacturers at the universal expense of every other body,—with the next sanctimonious breath appeals with unashamed charlatanry to the cupidity and self-interest of sections of the community such as mine-owners and ship-owners to hold fast by the status quo because a change forsooth would affect their pockets in an adverse way:—

"Check its export," dont you know? "*and outward*
"*freights will fall* and if, as the Birmingham leaflet
"suggests, the 'more and more' imports of manufactured

"goods must be checked also *then inward freights also* "*will fall.*"

Bah! —To the bottomless pit with that for Political Economy. No, Sir. A man can be an extremely good man in his own way and in an ordinary moral way and yet be an utter blockhead in a hundred scientific respects.

The convinced Free Trader

a demonstrable blockhead

to my mind easily is, but I like to think of him as erring merely through stolid prejudice, or ignorance, or — like the fourteen professors through sheer tenuity of brains.

It is cruel *on the evidence of his own revelation* to have to write the fellow down a knave as well as an ass.

Also in common argumentative fairness I am bound to invite your attention to another point which I have never seen the Free Trader yet in the roses of his raptures recalling:

The historical fact, namely, that as a nation we really attained to the shipping and naval supremacy of the World *under* Protection.

It needs no saying, surely, that we did not always occupy that proud position.

We had as usual to take it by force from some other body.

The Dutch in point of fact anteceded us as the carriers of the world: but Protector Oliver concluded with that splendour which characterised his Cromwellian sense that whatever a Dutchman could do an Englishman could at least *try*, and that wherever the son of a Dutchman had gone or could go, certainly the son of an Englishman could in the end go one better.

And so in 1651 he passed the famous Navigation Acts which this-wise ordained: namely,

"**That no goods from Asia, Africa or America**
"**were to be imported into England or her colonies**
"**except in ships belonging to English subjects, and**

"no goods of any European country were to be im-
"ported except in English vessels or ships belonging
"to the country from which the goods came.

Well, Sir, these were undoubtedly a remarkable Enactment and the most remarkable thing about them is

—That they were finally repealed only the other Day!

—after the Corn Laws,—in 1849,* and therefore well within the lifetime of many whom I now address.

Now it is an indisputable fact that our Shipping Industry grew and flourished *under* these Laws. I am not saying, you see, *because* of them, because some convinced fool of a Free Trader would immediately feel assured (or at least assert that he was) equally that our Shipping Industry had flourished *in spite* of them, and for argument, I suppose, about the one assertion would be as good as the other.

I have also neither any desire nor intention to quote any either book or body. I have my own very private (decided), for instance, opinion—about the sweetness of sugar, and the relish I should have for my tea if my wife put in salt instead

—I say, I ask for nobody's corroborative opinion upon *that*, not even the great Adam Smith's.

And so I fancy in this case, Gentlemen.

The whole affair is just one of those little matters which you must weigh up quietly, each one the best you can, in the homely undisturbed seclusion of your own private judgment, I mean,—*whether such a law was likely to have assisted England or not*

—I, (as I say,) outside the possible pale of any discussion, stand hopeless and helpless—sugar-convinced.

* "At the Restoration the Navigation Laws of 1650 and 1651 were repeated and continued by the Navigation Act (12 Char. II, chap. 18) with the further addition that the master and three fourths of the mariners should also be British subjects.

"In 1826 the statute 4 Geo. IV. chap 41 repealed the Navigation Act, and established a new system of regulations, which were further varied by subsequent statutes, till, under the influence of the free-trade doctrines, new statutes were passed which reversed the ancient policy. It was not, however, till 1854 that the English coasting trade was thrown open to foreign vessels."

I might for your reflection suggest the fact that our shipping grew

from 1,632,112 tons in 1798,
to 2,601,276 „ 1815,
to 6,045,718 „ 1845.

But it is enough for any purpose to remark that Trafalgar which gave us the maritime supremacy of the world was fought in 1805 and that the Corn Laws were abolished in 1846.

Well enough I know, of course, that the convinced Free Trader has a miraculous stretch of imagination: and I dont doubt that in the elastic back of his convinced fathead he nurses the dim conviction that among the inexpressible blessings which we owe to the Repeal of the Corn Laws are to be numbered likewise even the Glory of Waterloo and the Mercy of Trafalgar, although he has not just mustered as yet courage to put it so liberally even to a Radical audience.

Well but what would you have then?

We had Cromwell's Navigation Laws. We flourished *under* them. Our shipping grew. We fought by land and sea and embroidered our banners with a variety of victories and still our shipping grew and grew and wouldn't stand still.

And then, what then?

Ah then came 1846, and the mighty Corn Laws were repealed, and still there was no pause. And 1849 came and went and the great Navigation Laws went overboard,—not as the furnace ashes of the coal that has blazed out its steam power, or as the ladder from the lofty roof is kicked by the little mannikin whom it has helped to the top: I say,—not as these: but as the retarding anchor is left in the mud that is delaying the good ship's progress.

And *as a result* our shipping grew by leaps and bounds.

I notice here a comic historical error that has gained curious currence. It has been stated over and over again that the first sole ocean passages to America by steam were made in 1838,—that is to say, eight years in front of the Repeal of the Corn Laws: and on this for a foundation many people have invented the most incompetent conclusions.

But the whole story is an idiotic blunder. *Steamships were not invented for fully fifty years after that date.* And consequently propulsion by steam, etc., etc., had nothing whatever to do with the post Corn Law progress of British shipping!

The essential factor, the mighty dynamo driving power that wrought the great miracle was the abolition of the futile Law which enacted:

> "That no goods from Asia, Africa and America were "to be imported into England or her colonies except in "ships belonging to English subjects, etc.".

Now I dont quite say that I have met the fool in actual flesh: but if you can imagine a man making a clutch at your buttonhole and insisting by the Tower of Babel that we really owed our enormous British shipping to the repeal of that law, — well I dont, for certain, say that you would buy a shovel at sight and bury that man: but you will be in a finer position to sympathise with the poor afflicted Protectionist as he listens daily to a hundred thousand gaping idiots asseverating over the country that the Abolition of the Corn Laws was *the* cause of Great Britain's present prosperity!

However I come at last to the ironical joke for which I have been preparing.

Cromwell's Law, you see, held us back. (That, of course, isn't the joke.) That's the truth. Here's, e.g., how a Free Trade Historian puts it:

> "Of course these Navigation Acts resulted in collision "with Dutch interests * . We were driven out of neutral "ports * . **But at the same time our shipping trade "gained a great stimulus and our commercial suprem-"acy grew with it.** Of course, however, this protective "measure made the country at large pay a higher price "for this privilege than was necessary and we could "probably (sic) have done better without it. **Nevertheless "these Acts, coupled with the development of our "Indian and American trade resulted in giving us a "position of undoubted commercial supremacy.**

I say Cromwell's Law held our Shipping Industry back, as this delightful paragraph with its 'nevertheless' and 'of courses' hopping like a hen on a hot girdle conclusively proves.

And then Cromwell's obstruction was removed and as a result our shipping overwhelmed the seas.

Well then my joke is,—but I must take you down to Greenock to understand it.

"SHIPPING AFFAIRS.

"Greenock Chamber of Commerce.

"The half-yearly general meeting of the members of Greenock Chamber of Commerce was held yesterday*—Mr. John Denholm chairman. The report of the Chamber directors was submitted and held as read. Inter alia the report contained the following paragraph :—

"Shipping Section.—Questions of the deepest interest to shipowners involving the future prosperity of shipowning in this country have been discussed.

"The Section passed the following resolution :—

> "'That the Section now ask the Chamber to call
> "'upon His Majesty's Government to prohibit the entry
> "'of bounty-fed ships into British ports, or to take
> "'such steps as will effectively counteract shipping
> "'bounties.'

"The Chairman in moving the adoption of the Report said : * * *

"He did not think they were going too far in asking **that the principle admitted by the Brussels Sugar Convention should be extended to shipping.** (Applause.) **Something was needed to be done to tie up the foreigners to their own markets and to limit their action inside the United Kingdom, and their bounties would soon come to an end.** The facts brought before the Subsidies Committee proved very conclusively that the system followed by the French nation had arrived at a stage when

* 14.1.1904.

something would require to be done to preserve the Shipowning Industries of our country. (Applause.) * * *

"This much Mr. Denholm hoped that the British owners would preserve a market for themselves and not join any association that would place the Frenchman in a better position for earning a larger bounty than at present. Surely the first thing to be done was to confine them to their own markets for their outward cargoes and leave the British ships to their own market. (Applause.) * * *

"But it seemed rather absurd and anomalous that at the present moment not only did we leave our markets open to the Foreign bounty-fed ships to come here, but we allowed them to evade the regulations imposed on the British ship whereby they had a considerable advantage in trading to our markets that was manifestly unfair. He knew of a case of a German-owned ship under a charter here that was able to carry from the Continental ports a complete cargo of 2,100 tons, but was able only on the outward voyage under the Board of Trade restrictions to carry 1,850 tons all told, so that that ship enjoyed the advantage of a bounty which really amounted to the extent of 250 tons on the voyage against the British shipowner trading in our own markets."

Also that these extraordinary views are not confined to Greenock merely the following, I think, will make manifest

"An Illustration.

"A shipping firm in London (a London correspondent tells the story) had among their fleet a small vessel which was engaged in the North Sea trade. She was loaded up to 650 tons, at which she gave a bare profit. Presently the Board of Trade officials stepped in. They objected to the load-line. They cut down the carrying capacity to 620 tons. A few more trips were made. They gave a loss, and the vessel was sold to a German firm. As soon as she flew a foreign flag the Board of Trade had nothing more to say. She was promptly loaded up to 700 tons, and with her carrying capacity thus profitably expanded, she competed in her old trade against her previous owners."

"THE LOAD LINE CRUX.

"How British Shipping is Handicapped.

"Views of Glasgow Owners.

"A very old and vexed question has been re-opened by the detention of the German steamer Echo, of Dantzic, at North Shields, for infringement of the British load-line regulations.

"It is a question that British shipowners have been hammering at for years, and among the Glasgow shipowners generally there is a consensus of opinion that in this matter they are placed at a disadvantage as compared with foreign competitors.

"With regard to the general principle, **Col. J. Smith Park, of the Allan Line,** informed one of our representatives yesterday that what British shipowners feel is that it is an undoubted hardship and utterly unreasonable that not only should British vessels be bound by the load-line requirements when loading between foreign ports, but that they should be handicapped by such in British ports to a greater extent than their foreign rivals.

"It has also been felt as a grievance that the Board of Trade, although having the power to interfere with foreign vessels in British ports when overloaded according to the basis of the British load-line, should have done so little in that way. **It has been a matter of frequent experience that British ships have been sold to foreigners, and that thereafter these very same vessels have been loaded to a greater depth than would have been allowed had they remained British.**

"The grievance as to the distinction that is made between British and foreign ships, he added, is not confined to the question of the load-line. **For example, the Merchant Shipping Act, sections 452 to 456, lays down stringent regulations regarding the loading of grain on board British ships, whether these ships be loading for this country or for other countries.**

"**Under these regulations British ships arriving in this country with grain from foreign ports are liable to very serious penalties if their grain be not laden in accordance with the requirements of the Act, but foreign ships arriving grain-laden in British ports, even although they were loaded in precisely the same conditions under which a British ship would be challenged and fined, would incur no penalty whatever.**

"This disability is a very serious one in some trades, as the precautions that the British authorities require British ships to comply with will represent sometimes several hundreds of pounds sterling on a single voyage in fact, may mean the difference between a profit and a loss.

"The time has come, Colonel Park declared, when the policy should be followed of putting no disability on British ships that cannot and will not be enforced against foreign ships trading to or from British ports. As to threats of retaliation, we don't need to have any regard to them whatever. Other countries never hesitate to put in force their regulations against British ships when these are different from the British requirements.

"For example, he said, in the United States we have to fulfil many requirements of the United States authorities in supplement of those of the British authorities before they will grant a passenger certificate, and they lay down their own requirements as to shipment of cattle, grain, and so on, quite regardless of the susceptibilities of the British shipowner."

* * * *

Now, Sir, I do think that the point by now of my little joke begins to effulge upon you.

Our great and mighty shipping industry, which to the great and mighty principle and practice of Free Trade owes—and to that alone, by the irrefragable proof of

inexorable undeniability

its abounding prosperity, its unprecedented magnitude,—its initial actual existence,—and which is one, therefore, of the mightiest mainstay modern arguments for its eternal British glorification and perpetuation, is forging ahead through every rotten form of foreign protectionist opposition and rivalry in such magnificent irresistible fashion that our stupid shipowners who should be up to the drowning ears in humble gratitude—are not even aware of the astounding fact.

☞ Or they are so much alarmed at the possible consequences of their superabounding unassailability and daily accentuating

prodigiosity that on their bended knees they are 'screetching' aloud to the unavailing skies for the retarding ballast of a little protection.

(Well but, of course, that isn't the joke.)

That's only the first grey streak of its immortal comicality.

The divine effulgence of its Sirianic splendour can only hope to burst full on your bewildered intelligibility

after you have imbibed the following:

Leading Article,—Glasgow Daily Record and Mail.

"THE LOAD LINE.

"That British shipowners are seriously handicapped by the absence of some international understanding on the load-line question admits of no denial. **As things are we afford ample facilities to our competitors while restricting our own commerce and imposing detrimental burdens on our trade. This is a state of things that cannot be allowed to continue.** We are not concerned so much with what ought to be a standard 'safety line' **as with the notorious element of preference** which the system that we have instituted gives within British waters to other Governments.

"**Foreign ships entering our ports should be subject to like conditions with British ships. Equality of treatment is demanded by every sense of reason and justice.** There is no danger of the Free Trade principle being violated by a departure of this kind; **but foreigners cannot expect that we shall go on yielding them a substantial preference in our harbour regulations.**

"Years have passed since this load-line issue became contentious. The North Shields incident, which has brought the matter into prominence just now, merits close attention, and we hope it will not pass until an attempt has been made to redress a grievance which is capable of such redress by the Board of Trade even under existing regulations, though, as stated above, a final and satisfactory adjustment is only possible under international

agreement. As Colonel Park, of the Allan Line, declares in an interview which we publish with him, the time has come when the policy should be followed of putting no disability on British ships that cannot and will not be enforced against foreign ships trading to or from British ports. Other ports enforce their regulations against our vessels. Why should we not enforce our regulations against theirs? The arbitrary load-line is of great use; but British trade has a primary claim on British administration and it is a simple requirement that it should not suffer because of any favouritism towards the outsider."

From a Leading Article,- The Glasgow Herald.
(24th July, 1903.)

"After an exhaustive debate at the last meeting of the Chamber of Shipping, a resolution was unanimously adopted calling on the Government to enforce the Board of Trade regulations against foreign ships equally with British ships. The Clyde and Mersey Associations have agreed to similar motions, and only the other day the Greenock Chamber of Commerce and Shipping followed suit. It has been reported that the Board of Trade are averse to the enforcing of their rules on foreign ships lest retaliatory measures should be taken against British ships. One would like to know what Mr. Gerald Balfour has to say on this point, but in any case the position would be essentially weak. If the official regulations are sound and just, they should be enforced on all ships British and foreign—without regard to ulterior consequences. The present practice is unfair to our own ships, which are compelled, rightly or wrongly, to submit to certain restrictions from which the rival vessels of foreign nations are completely free. There is no necessity now-a-days to fight over again the principles which lie at the root of the load-line or any of the other kindred rules. These have been settled long ago and generally accepted. The time, however, appears to have come when attempts should be made to bring foreign ships into line with our own, so that they may no longer, by reason of their advantageous position, carry off an undue share of the ocean carrying trade."

Now, dear Gentlemen, time and again when I refer to the common or garden convinced Free Trader as an empty-headed ignorant negligible nincompoop you are disposed in your supposed-to-be generous way to make a little allowance for my supposed-to-be counter fanaticism. You think that I am indulging (out of a little fun) in a little private fandango of pyrotechnical exaggeration: and that I only half intend what I mean.

But here, you see, is

The Damning Evidence

in black and white laid flagrant in front of you.

Here are two papers—two well-known—well-established—widely-circulating morning respectable Scottish journals: rejoicing in the fervent rabidity of their frenzied Free-tradeism and daily instructing the citizens of the second city of the empire on the unparalleled virtues of uncompromising—Free Fatheadedness.

And here also are two ships,—because I wish to put it before you very mildly and simply,—sister vessels, built i' the same yard for the like sum of money, launched the same day, parting the briny with the same bow cutter, running at the same top speed and burning for that top speed the same amount of coal,—captained by twins, and alike in every other mortal maritime respect and capacity—even to the sea-green stripes on their pea-soup funnels.

———o———

But there is this for a profound difference between them.

———o———

The one is owned by a British firm and the other is owned by a Foreign!

———o———

Also these twin ships, as I speak, are steaming gaily in on the same tide, from the same destination, into the self-same port, with the like same cargo aboard,—and in a little, if you wait, you will see them thirl up at the self-same second to the same-self quay head.

———o———

But there is this between them for another profound difference.

The Foreign ship is overladen and the British ship is under.

Why?

Well, you see, the British ship, being British, has had to keep in mind the British Board of Trade Regulations, and the Foreign ship, being foreign, has been at Free Trade liberty to laugh at them: and has. As a consequence the Foreign ship has under-spoofed the British, carried off the cream of the cargo and left the skim milk for the British.

And now, for the first time in the history of the world, this curious point of logic arises.—Why shouldn't she?

Notice if you please, to begin with, the cardinal, prime, salient, and decisive point. We live in a free absolute and thoroughly delightful country! *The vessel doesn't belong to you.* She is a little bit of floating foreign territory adrift for a little from the parent fatherland.—It is true she is a-swim in your harbour water and abrades with a bump occasionally the piles of your pierhead. But she has paid to you in full the exigible harbour dues. And therefore, indubitably,—Quits is the receipt.

You say she is overloaded. Perhaps she is. *But that is none of your business.*

The more of her 's under, the less of your valuable space she occupies above and the more harbour water is available for the rest of your patriotic ships.

'Perhaps she will sink on the outgoing voyage.'

Very likely she will. But at least you wont go to Davy Jones's locker with her.

Consequently, in brief, attend to your own business.

I, if you please, am a freight buyer and, to boot, a free and enlightened citizen of this enlightened prosperous Free Trade country.

Here are two rival Freight Factories. And I claim that I have a free absolute unquestioned right to buy my freight in the cheapest market. * * * * —What do you say?

'I say, Sir, that according to the Board of Trade Regulations * * .'

—Damn your Board of Trade Regulations. I didnt make 'em. I tell you I am a British Thorough Free Trader, and an ardent convinced one at that, **and I claim the protection of my Liberal birthright.**

Well, as I say, at this point, these brilliant two Free Trade Glasgow morning respectable journals arrive upon the scene and with the most astounding impudence declare and even swear:

That I have no right to do anything of the kind!

"**Foreign ships**" they iterate with solemn, unanimous, —patriotic enthusiasm, "**entering our ports should be "subject to like conditions with British ships.**

"**Equality of treatment is demanded by every "sense of reason and justice.**

"**Foreigners cannot expect that we shall go "on yielding them a substantial preference in our "harbour regulations.**"

Well but, my dear Sir, I forgot to finish my story.

In the holds of my twin ships, (I forgot to tell you,) were a number of articles of foreign manufacture:

Baskets, beads, boots and shoes, brooms and brushes, buttons and studs, candles, carriages, motors, bicycles, carts, china and earthenware, clocks, cottons, cutlery, electrical apparatus, embroidery and needlework, fancy goods, floor-cloth, gloves, hardware, hats and bonnets, implements and tools, jute linen leather and iron and steel manufactures,

machinery, matches, musical instruments, paper, perfumery, silks, woollens, soap, stationery, toys

and tubs:

And in a few moments all these foreign entities and many more are lying on the British wharf. And in another few moments are scattered up and down the country lying alongside of British ditto in a hundred thousand windows warehouses and stores.

Now all of these articles which I have mentioned, because that is the idea, were made under conditions abroad which unreservedly laugh at the Board of Trade British Load-line and make fun of British Trade Union cargo restrictions and as an easy consequence they undersell the British made do.

But, as I told you before, I am a tub-thumper: and a free and enlightened citizen, to boot, as I have explained, of this free and enlightened Free Trade empire. And being an ardent British Liberal Free Trader I claim the absolute unquestioned right to buy my tub in the cheapest market.

Well but just at this interesting crisis again these brilliant two Free Trade Glasgow morning respectable newspapers arrive upon the scene and with the most passionate effrontery proclaim:

That I have every right in the world to do so!

Not merely so, but they avow that England's industrial glory is for ever gone to the industrial dogs the moment I dont do so. And, in particular brief,

They are prepared to cut the political gizzard of any public fool who thinks otherwise.

> "**Foreign tubs**" they go on with patriotic enthusiastic conviction "entering our ports **should not be subject** to "like conditions with British tubs.

> "**Inequality of treatment** is demanded by every "sense of reason and justice.

"**Foreigners cannot but expect** that we shall go on "yielding them a substantial preference in our Trade "Union regulations."

———o———

Some very stupid, no doubt, people have suggested with bated trepidation the possibility of Retaliation.

Bah !

says the Herald.

"It has been reported that the Board of Trade are "averse to the enforcing of their rules on foreign tubs lest "retaliatory measures should be taken against British tubs.

"If the official regulations are sound and just they "should be enforced on all tubs—British and foreign, "without regard to ulterior consequences. The present "practice is unfair to our own tubs which are compelled "rightly or wrongly to submit to certain restrictions from "which the rival tubs of foreign nations are completely "free.

"The time appears to have come when attempts "should be made to bring foreign tubs into line with our "own so that they may no longer by reason of their "advantageous position carry off an undue share of the "tub-making trade."

* * * *

Now the Glasgow impenetrable psychological curiosity is that The Glasgow Daily Herald and the Glasgow Daily Record and Mail can see all this and say all this (with such eloquence)

when the tubs are in the water

—lying at the side of the quay,

And as soon as the tubs are out of the water

lying high and dry on the quay

can un-see or (at least) unsay it all.

* * * *

And in the eyes of the intelligence of the West of Scotland all the super-antiquated while for the bally fanatical life of them

These blind Newspaper Free Importation Mugs
cant recognise what utterly unmitigated

* * * !!!

I pass to the

BURNING QUESTION,

now, of our **Export of Coal.**

In the List of our Expanding Exports which I gave you a moment ago you could not fail to observe that every other Expanding Industry (including even Jam and Pickles and Slops) had to conceal its insignificant presence in front of

The Majestic Increase in our Export of Coal!

Thus between 1890 and 1902 our Export of British Coal increased

from £19,020,000
to £27,581,000!

Being an increase in 12 years of £8,561,000!

But here, if you like, are figures that give you the rate of progress from further back:

Coal Export (inc. Coke, Cinders and Patent Fuel.)

1870. - - -	£ 5,638,000
1880. - - -	£ 8,373,000
1885. - - -	£10,633,000
1890. - - -	£19,020,000
1895. - - -	£15,434,000
1896. - - -	£15,156,000
1897. - - -	£16,655,000
1898. - - -	£18,136,000
1899. - - -	£23,094,000
1900. - - -	£38,620,000
1901. - - -	£30,335,000
1902. - - -	£27,581,000

Looking back from 1902, therefore, our Exports of Coal have increased

since **1880** by **£19,208,000,**
and since **1870** by **£21,943,000!**

More suggestive, however, from the National Economy point of view are the

Quantities of Coal Exported:

	Tons.
1865,	9,283,000
1870,	11,702,000
1875,	14,544,000
1880,	18,719,000
1885,	23,770,000
1890,	30,132,000
1895,	33,100,000
1900,	46,097,000
1902,	44,897,000

Looking back from 1902, therefore, our Exports of Coal have increased

since **1890** by **14,765,000 tons,**
since **1880** by **26,178,000 tons,**
and since **1870** by **33,195,000 tons!**

Even, however, these colossal figures to the best of us communicate but a feeble imaginative meaning.

This helps:

'**It was stated at a meeting of the Cardiff Chamber of 'Commerce that if the coal annually exported from the dis-'trict could be concentrated into one train,**

'**such a train would be 7,000 miles long.**

'**If the engine were at Cardiff the brake-van would be near 'Tierra del Fuego.'**

The next thing that I hope will interest you as it interests me is as to

The Distribution of this enormous Export!

How much of it goes to Foreign countries? And how much of it to our Colonies?

Average Annual Coal Exports.

(Quinquennial Periods.)

	To Foreign Countries.	To British Possessions.
1866-1870,	£ 4,600,000	£ 600,000
1871-1875,	£10,700,000	£1,000,000
1876-1880,	£ 7,500,000	£ 900,000
1881-1885,	£ 9,500,000	£1,500,000
1886-1890,	£12,300,000	£1,700,000
1891-1895,	£16,300,000	£1,700,000
1896-1900,	£22,200,000	£1,800,000
1901-1902,	£27,800,000	£2,200,000

Then as to Foreign Countries:

Which of these, I wonder, are our best Customers?

Export of Coal, Coke and Patent Fuel to the following countries in the year 1900.

	Tons.	Value.
To France,	8,635,030	£6,993,387
Italy,	5,336,157	£4,535,846
Germany,	5,985,161	£4,267,172
Sweden,	3,048,458	£2,435,645
Russia	3,229,294	£2,884,201
Spain,	2,619,681	£2,430,895
Denmark,	2,125,493	£1,681,728
Holland,	1,901,550	£1,293,346
Norway,	1,436,958	£1,102,444
Belgium,	1,191,649	£ 808,121
Portugal,	787,401	£ 723,071

* * * *

— Out of which by a process of analytical juxtaposition and subtraction the following effects emerge:

(1)

	Tons.
Total Export of Coal in 1900,	46,097,000
Export to the European Countries named,	35,832,000
Export to the Rest of the World,	10,265,000

(2)

	Tons.
Export of British Coal in 1900 to the European Countries named,	35,832,000
Export to France, Italy and Germany,	19,956,000
Export to the other European Countries named,	15,876,000

(3)

	Tons.
Total Export of British Coal in 1900,	46,000,000
Export to France, Germany and Italy,	20,000,000
Export to the Rest of the World,	26,000,000

* * * *

☞ (—Which, I think, will render our Distributive Ideas—at least clear enough to proceed!)

———o———

The next elucidation that suggests itself is:

Has our British Export of Coal to Europe been on the boom or upon the diminish?

Statement showing Total Quantity of Coal, Coke and Patent Fuel exported from the United Kingdom to the undermentioned countries:

		Tons.
Russia,	1890,	1,493,189
	1902,	2,356,905
	Increase,	863,716
Sweden,	1890,	1,546,621
	1902,	2,907,750
	Increase,	1,361,129
Norway,	1890,	768,166
	1902,	1,425,738
	Increase,	657,572
Denmark,	1890,	1,352,596
	1902,	2,206,307
	Increase,	853,711

		Tons.
Germany,	1890,	3,350,713
	1902,	5,835,644
	Increase,	2,484,931
France,	1890,	5,098,250
	1902,	7,600,111
	Increase,	2,501,861
Italy,	1890,	3,912,209
	1902,	5,994,910
	Increase,	2,082,701
Spain,	1890,	1,599,837
	1902,	2,220,465
	Increase,	620,628

'Would you mind tabulating these increases?'

Surely.

British Coal Export Increases to the Undermentioned.

(1902 compared with 1890.)

	Tons.
France,	2,501,861
Germany,	2,484,931
Italy,	2,082,701
Sweden,	1,361,129
Russia,	863,716
Denmark,	853,711
Norway,	657,572
Spain,	620,628
Total,	11,426,249

Increase for France, Germany and Italy, 7,069,493 tons.
Increase for Sweden, Russia, etc., 4,356,756 tons.

'(Which) Increments stand in what relation to the Totals?'

Total Quantity of Coal, Coke, and Patent Fuel exported from the United Kingdom to France, Germany, and Italy:

In 1890,	12,361,172 tons.
In 1902,	12,361,172 + 7,069,493 tons.

Total Quantity of Coal, Coke, and Patent Fuel exported from the United Kingdom to Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Spain:

In 1890,	6,760,409 tons.
In 1902,	6,760,409 tons + 4,356,756 tons.

'(Which Particular Increments) stand in what relation to the Universal Increment?'

Total Quantity of Coal, Coke, and Patent Fuel exported from the United Kingdom to the World:

	Tons.
In 1890,	30,142,839
In 1902,	44,897,948
Total Increase,	14,755,109

	Tons.
Increase for France, Germany, and Italy,	7,069,493
Increase for Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Spain,	4,356,756
Increase for the rest of the World,	3,328,860
Total Increase,	14,755,109

The Next Lucendum

that stands in need of summer sunlight is:

Have our Manufactured Exports to European Countries increased in a corresponding ratio?

Or a superior?

Value of Exports from the United Kingdom of Articles manufactured or partly manufactured in the United Kingdom (except articles of Food Drink Tobacco and Ships) to Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Russia, and Italy.

1890,	£54,540,000
1902,	£50,369,000
Diminution,	**£ 4,171,000**

'So!—

'(And your intention probably to infer thereby is:

'That while our manufactured exports to these countries are 'diminishing, our exports of coal are increasing?'

Perfectly!

'—That is to say: that our progressive exports of coal are 'tending to obscure our manufacturing retrogression? Is that 'the bursting idea?'

Again,—Perfectly! (I am already grown delightful.) Now!! —Now, Sir, you begin to understand!

'But isn't this obscuration a very negligible affair?'

(Why that's my dainty——! As to that, Sir, you must judge for yourself.

Total British Exports to Foreign Countries.

(Excluding in all cases Coal and New Ships.)

Years of highest trade.	1872. Mill. £	1882. Mill. £	1890. Mill. £	1900. Mill. £	1902. Mill. £
To United States,	40·6	31·0	32 0	19·7	23·0
To Asia, Africa and South America,	45·0	39·5	49·0	49·0	46·0
To all Europe,	100·8	78·2	78·2	84·5	75·7
Total,	186·4	148·7	159·2	153·2	144·7

Total Export Decline in Thirty Years.

To United States,	£17,600,000
To all Europe,	£25,100,000
To United States and Europe,	£42,700,000
To all Foreign Countries,	£41,700,000

'But very likely our Colonies have behaved in the same scurvy way?'

British Exports to British Colonies and Possessions.

(Minus Coal and Ships.)

1872, - - -	£ 59,000,000
1882, - - -	£ 83,000,000
1890, - - -	£ 85,000,000
1900, - - -	£ 90,000,000
1902, - - -	£105,000,000

Total Export Increase in Thirty Years.

£46,000,000.

'Astonishing!—But these alarming (very likely) highly pre-'judiced years have been by some deft Protectionist chosen—on 'our yowping nerves merely to scrunt.'

COAL AND COMMERCE.*

Table of Exports, 1866-1902.

(Averages of Quinquennial Periods.)

I. To Foreign Countries.

Period.	Average Annual Exports.	Average Annual Coal Exports.	Average Annual Exports deducting Coal.
	£	£	£
1866-1870, -	137,200,000	4,600,000	132,600,000
1871-1875, -	175,200,000	10,700,000	164,500,000
1876-1880, -	134,000,000	7,500,000	126,500,000
1881-1885, -	151,000,000	9,500,000	141,500,000
1886-1890, -	155,100,000	12,300,000	142,800,000
1891-1895, -	151,800,000	16,300,000	135,500,000
1896-1900,† -	163,300,000	22,200,000	141,000,000
1901-1902,† -	168,200,000	27,800,000	140,400,000

Foreign Trade (excluding Coal) in 1901-2.

£ 2,400,000 a year Less than annual average 1886-1890.
£ 1,100,000 a year Less than annual average 1881-1885.
£24,100,000 a year Less than annual average 1871-1875.

NOTE.—It is also to be remembered that items like herrings, clay, rags, etc., figure in recent returns to the extent of £3,000,000 a year more than in the former generation. Deducting such articles, as well as coal, British manufactured exports to all foreign countries have been stagnant since 1866-1870.

* 'Imperial Reciprocity.'—The Daily Telegraph.

† Excluding new ships not returned for earlier periods.

II. To British Possessions.

Period.	Average Annual Exports.	Average Annual Coal Exports.	Average Annual Exports deducting Coal.
	£	£	£
1866-1870,	50,600,000	600,000	50,000,000
1871-1875,	64,300,000	1,000,000	63,300,000
1876-1880,	67,400,000	900,000	66,500,000
1881-1885,	81,300,000	1,500,000	79,800,000
1886-1890,	81,200,000	1,700,000	79,500,000
1890-1895,	75,000,000	1,700,000	73,300,000
1896-1900,*	85,500,000	1,800,000	83,700,000
1901-1902,*	106,000,000	2,200,000	103,800,000

Imperial Trade (excluding Coal) in 1901-2.

£20,100,000 a year More than average for 1896-1900.
£24,300,000 a year More than average for 1886-1890.
£40,500,000 a year More than average for 1871-1875.
£53,800,000 a year More than average for 1866-1870.

NOTE.—It is contended in respect of foreign trade that the period 1871-5 was one of inflated prices, and is not a fair basis of comparison. Prices were equally inflated in those years for trade under the flag. Nevertheless, while exports to foreign countries have declined 15 per cent. upon the basis of values in 1871-5, exports to British possessions have increased 64 per cent. upon the same basis.

I hope, Sir, that you are now satisfied.

'Never mind that, friend. Tell me rather what is the nett 'then, thereby, pray, argumentative result which you intend to 'have demonstrated? You wish me to accept, say:—That the 'foreigner is taking less and less of our manufactured goods and 'that more and more of our coal is sailing over-sea to feed his 'rival furnaces?'

Quite.—(And that the meanwhile colonies, stepping in, have saved us from sinking.)

'And by what mystic means do these foreign purchasers con-'trive to make this interesting natural selection?'

* Excluding new ships not returned for earlier periods.

They do it quite simply. Their governments put up a heavy tariff against British manufactures,

£ 8 17 10 per cwt. on Manufactured Cottons,
£11 8 8 ,, ,, against Woollen and Worsted Manufactures,

etc., so that their people cannot purchase these in any quantity: and they let coal in free, so that their people can.

'But if what you say be true a foreign minstrel can therefore 'sit in the Wilhelmstrasse,—or at the Quai D'Orsay, or on a 'three legged stool in the White House, and with his fingers on 'the Tariff Keyboard play ducks and drakes, or any other proper 'tune he likes, with our industrial affairs.'

Most heartily, Sir: and laugh up his sleeve (till he rip up his shirt!)—at our Greenhorn Innocence!—into the delightful bargain.

'I thought we were a Free country and could do as we 'pleased with our Industrial affairs.'

No, Sir. We are only a Free Trade country, and have to do as other people please.

'And what have the distinguished enthusiastic Free Traders, 'on this side the water, to say to all this?'

They laugh very heartily and say: **that nothing could be more delightfully better.**

'That's a joke.'

It isn't.

'You mean to say: That Free Traders laugh that our Fac- 'tories close down and their operatives disappear into the bowels 'of the British earth and dig coal.'

Both laugh and cheer!

"Let them take the great industry of Coal!

"That had increased in 30 years something like 80 per "cent.

"The number of persons employed in hewing coal, "bringing it to the surface, and in handling it in the "mines, had increased

"from 315,000
"to 650,000.

"(Cheers.)"

'Who speaks in that way?'

Mr. Asquith,

vaunting the merits of Free Trade

at Wednesbury!

'Why does he so rejoice?'

Well, you see, we are a great coal country under ground: and a very rainy one above ground. By soil and climate, therefore, no nation was ever better adapted for going under and raising coal, and by all the principles of national economy **it is our duty to develop to the utmost our national aptitudes.**

The fact that our coal industry, therefore, is increasing in such alarming proportions is an unanswerable proof **that we are moving rapidly along the national path of Free Trade virtue.**

'But we are surely equally well adapted for weaving wool.'

We are not.

'How so?'

Because here from the continent are cheaper woollens coming into Great Britain which undersell ours.

'But these woollens were produced under totally different 'conditions. By men,—by children working 16 hours a day,— 'suppose.'

No matter, suppose they were produced by cockles or caterpillars working 60 hours a day. There is but one commercial extant modern national duty,—Buy in the cheapest market *and ask no questions*. (And if fools are blind enough not to recognise their own interest) happy the political economy—and three times happy the foreign tariff that compels them to.

'You mean, in brief, that we are to stop weaving woollens?'

At once! Scrap your machinery, fuse it, burn it, bury it. But in any case, out of my sight, off down—slap slick to the lower regions, and not another cheep.—Dont you see, man, you will be warmer for one compensation! (spared the expense of a gamp) and arrive at your future (permanent) terminus by a shorter pathway?

'But isn't the transition from a manufactured export like 'woollens to the export of a raw material like coal a descensus '(if I may politely so say)—to wit, a degradation of British 'Industry?'

Certainly not. That, Sir, is a very common but a very stupid fallacy. **Coal is one of our most highly manufactured articles.**

'Who affirms so?'

Everybody.

"THE COAL TAX.

"The Miners' Deputation.

"Yesterday afternoon a large and influential deputation of miners from all the coal districts of Great Britain waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the Treasury, for the purpose of urging the removal of the tax on exported coal. Mr. Fenwick, M.P., introduced the deputation.

"Objections to the Tax.

"Mr. Fenwick reminded the Chancellor that from the first the miners had offered a strenuous opposition to the tax, believing that its operation was injurious to the interests of the mining industry, and particularly to the export part of the industry, inasmuch as it tended to check the development of the trade and restrict the opportunities for employment in the coalfields. **The commercial interests of the country depended in no small degree upon the export of its manufactured products, and they looked upon coal when brought to the surface**

"as a highly manufactured article.

(Hear, hear.)"

'But Mr. Fenwick isn't everybody.'

Perhaps not. But you will admit that—that Mr. Asquith is.

Mr. Asquith at Wednesbury.

"And, according to the best authorities, if they took the "price of coal at the pit's mouth and analysed the various "figures which had contributed to it, they would find "that of the total sum charged to the persons who "bought it at least 80 per cent. must be set down to the "wages of labour."

"In later pronouncements, however, Mr. Chamberlain "changed his scheme of attack. He said we were ex- "porting raw material which required little labour—

"**a singular misstatement**

"considering that value for value

"**coal contains more labour than most**
"**manufactures,**

"ordinary coal containing 60 per cent. and Welsh coal
"80 per cent."

'Who speaks in that way?'

One of the Immortals!

'But if that be so what is to be said of Pig Iron?'

Pig Iron is an article—not nearly so 'manufactured' as coal.

'Why?'

Because of its value to Labour 23 per cent. only is due.

'But 60 per cent. of the Pig's value is derived from coal—and 'iron ore—and limestone: each of which?—coal by your present 'showing,—occludes about 60 per cent. of labour.'

That kind of (very far-fetched falutin) doesn't count in the new Economy.

'What about Steel?'

* * *

'D'ye hear? What, I say, about steel ships? These are 'industrial articles, surely, the most highly leviathan manufac- 'tured possible modern extant.'

On the contrary, they're not. *They aren't half as 'manufactured' as coal.*—Not indeed anything so much as a patch on't.

'How do you make out that?"

Because in the case of ships the outlay of their total value upon wages amounts to from 33 to 40 per cent. only.

'Well, but even if I grant you your absurdity, isn't the 'ground source of *this highly manufactured article* going to peter 'out one of these days?'

What makes you think that?

'I am under no obligation to *think* it. Every sad even and 'sorrowful morning the lightning unhappy startling terrifying '*fact* is clap thundered in and down upon me from a hundred 'patent house-tops.'

Glasgow Herald—Leader.

"By the miners and mine owners of the West of Scotland

only cold comfort

will be derived from the Home Office figures published to-day on the output of coal. While increases in the quantities took place over the East of Scotland there was

a considerable decrease over the West of Scotland.

Unfortunately, too, this downward tendency has been proceeding for some years

at a progressive ratio.

"Seeing that this involves a steady decrease in the number of persons employed at the mines of the West of Scotland, it is well to look the matter straight in the face and to inquire into the cause of the retrograde movement. **According to the Report of the Royal Commission issued in 1903 there was reason to fear that several of the thick seams of Lanarkshire were being gradually worked out—**

"**And it would now appear that the process of exhaustion is becoming painfully evident.**"

(The Glasgow Herald's opinion, my dear friend,) about anything under the sun—in these days counts for *nothing*. If indeed, haply, the galloping coal seams, (to give you but a single illustration,) of unhappy Lanarkshire are vanishing into annihilation in this way why this same Glasgow impassioned patriotic Herald's blasted appeal for the repeal of the preservative coal tax?

Glasgow Evening News—Leader.

"A NATIONAL ASSET.

"There has probably been no time since the great development of British prosperity, which took its rise in the exploitation of our coalfields, when it was not realised by all the more thoughtful minds that in this matter we are living on our capital, and that that capital, though enormous, is not unlimited. Nevertheless, we have continued to afford a singular illustration of the haphazard ways in which humanity manages its most important concerns

by taking absolutely no precautions against eventual impoverishment, or even against what is much more immediately probable, a serious straitening of our resources. Of late years, it is true, we have been forced to consider our situation more seriously, chiefly on account of the growing realisation that in one important branch of our coal-mining industry we are, if not yet actually within sight of the end, at least approaching that limit with alarming rapidity. The supply of smokeless steam coal, upon which the success of our Navy in time of war largely depends, is practically confined in Europe to a few collieries in South Wales, and yet, with their ultimate exhaustion facing us as a prospect of the not very distant future (as time is measured by nations), we not only take no steps to conserve our remaining supply, but allow it to be depleted by the very Powers against whom our Navy exists to contend.

"One would suppose that in existing circumstances there would be universal agreement that our still remaining store of smokeless coal should be jealously conserved for the use of the Navy alone. But we find that out of the total quantity, some 13 million tons, produced by the twenty-four collieries on the list of the Admiralty in 1902-3, only about a million tons went to our own Navy. How much actually goes to foreign Navies we cannot at the moment say."

The Glasgow Evening News, my dear Sir, is a Tariff Reform paper: and its haver upon anything, therefore! is not worth—Parsley and Potatoes.

Professor W. Boyd Dawkins.

"The supply of smokeless steam coal for our Navy, now and in the future, is a question of the deepest import to all who care for the British Empire. If we can be sure that it is ample there is no special anxiety from the naval point of view. If there be any doubts every precaution should be taken to ensure a future supply. If it is not ample both for present and future requirements we are within appreciable distance of a grave national danger. In the following pages evidence will be brought forward that the smokeless steam coal which still remains in

our coalfields, instead of being ample, is comparatively small in amount: that it is being wasted: that it is supplied to foreign Navies in large quantities: and that the time is not far distant when our ships, if they continue to use coal at all, will have to use an inferior quality; unless steps be taken in the general interests of the empire to husband our resources. If through ignorance or apathy or self-interest action be delayed, our command of the sea on which the whole empire depends will, pro tanto, be in peril. If the question be taken up now we may save for national use in the future the last fragments of this valuable fuel."

* * * *

"It is clear from the evidence which the coal commission has published 'that the best Welsh Steam Coal (Admiralty) is being exhausted at an extraordinarily rapid rate.'

"And that 'the coalfield has now to depend more and more upon its second and third class seams.'

"I am informed by a competent authority engaged in the trade that the quality now supplied to the admiralty is not so good as it was ten years ago."

Yes, yes, but even if that cock and bull story were true the fabula refers to the negligible Welsh coalfields only:—and even only of these to an insignificant portion.

———o———

Professor Edward Hull, F.R.S.
Late Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland.

"The above classification may be taken as a criterion of resource: the 'retrogressive' areas [South Staffordshire, Flintshire and Coalbrook dale (Salop.)] are fast approaching exhaustion: but of those on the 'progressive' list, some, by the magnitude of their annual output as compared with their storage are also fast reducing their length of 'life': **and of these the 'Great Northern' coalfield, the seat of which is at Newcastle-on-Tyne,** and which is historically the most interesting of all the coal-producing areas of the British Isles

is surely and rapidly exhausting its strength."

A paltry negligible tiny mere insignificant drop in the great unfathomable inexhaustible Atlantic British bucket! If the Great Northern panned out to-morrow.—The flea-bite would never be missed.

EXTENT OF OUR COAL.

Mr. T. F. Brown

(declares:)

"That whilst there is sufficient probably to maintain a rate of working exceeding our present annual output for 300 years or thereabouts

"**We are now rapidly exhausting the cream and cheapest of these resources**

"**And in fifty years or thereabouts the greater part of the most valuable of our coal supplies will have been exhausted except only such as can be worked at a greatly increased cost, which cost after half a century will rapidly increase.**"

(You might as well give me a declaration from the Khan of Turkestan.)—I have never heard of the man.

HOW LONG WILL OUR COAL LAST?

Professor James Geikie

(answering this question says:)

"**It is probable that many of our cheaply worked coals will be exhausted in 50 years, but coals are being economically worked now at depths much exceeding 2,000 feet. Nevertheless, we appear to be within measurable distance of the time when our resources will be strained to the utmost to maintain our commercial supremacy. We shall be passed by other nations in the race when their coal resources can be more economically exploited than our own. Our coal supplies are not practically inexhaustible.**"

Yes, but what can you expect one British Professor, (or even two,) to know about British Coal when it took fourteen of them to know nothing about British Economy!

"BRITAIN'S COAL.

"ROYAL COMMISSION'S REPORT.

"Duration of Resources.

"Dealing with the second subject of the inquiry, the probable duration of our coal resources, the Commission states that this question turns chiefly upon the maintenance or variation of the annual output which is at present

about 230,000,000 tons.

For the past 30 years the average increase in the output has been

$2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum

and that of Exports including bunkers

$4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

It is the general opinion of the district commissioners that owing to physical considerations it is highly improbable that the present rate of the increase of the output of coal can long continue, indeed they think that some districts have already attained their maximum output, and in view of this opinion and of exhaustion of shallower collieries the Commission look forward to a time,

not far distant,
when the rate of increase of the output will be slower,
to be followed by a period of stationary output,
and then a gradual decline."

Ay, Ay, but before I can accept the opinion of a Coal Commission of sixteen men : consisting of

5 Coal Owners
2 Railway Directors
2 Coal Exporters
2 Miners' Agents
3 Professors and 2 Geological Survey Directors

I should want a Royal Commission to have sat upon the Commission.

'You dont mean to insinuate that the Commission adopted 'an unduly National attitude?'

"The Coal Commission.

"The testimony of interested persons before the Royal Commission on Coal Supplies diminishes the value of the final report. There are many opinions, but few verifiable conclusions. The Commission, there is reason to fear, has been influenced by the conflict of private interests at the moment, and has not paid sufficient attention to scientific treatment of the broader national questions involved."

! ! !

But even, Sir,—if you will permit me to vary the issue by a point,) even if it be granted that our coal resources *will* peter out one of these days what would you better do with your coal than export it wholesale?

"Is it not a reasonable inference to draw that the "coal which we now possess stored in the earth "

'Who is speaking?'

A writer in the Nineteenth Century.

"will in the near future be superseded by some vastly "improved method of generating force?

"To think otherwise is a slur upon the inventive "genius of our age.

"May we not look with confidence to the future "relying upon the infinite possibilities of

"Electricity,

"Gas,

'Which gas?'

The particular sort is not specified.

"Water, etc.,

"as motive powers any of which may replace coal as "force producing agents, or at any rate considerably "reduce its consumption?"

"We were exporting raw material—£[illegible],000,000 of "coal.

"**Of course what better could we do with a form of wealth of which we had abundance**

"**for at least another century,**

"**and which might turn to withered leaves if another "fuel or force was discovered to replace it?**"

'Who is opining?'

One of the Immortals.

'And is that the whole pith and mighty substance of the 'Free Trade argument?'

Oh, no. The most telling Free Trade argument is yet to come.

Mr. Morley at Dumfries.

"I think before 1846 there was a very heavy duty "upon coal.

"Now what I want our Protectionist friends to "answer is:

"**This question:—**

"Are you in favour of restoring the old state of "things?

"**Are you in favour of putting a very heavy "export duty upon coal * *?**

"**I would like to see a candidate going to "Glasgow or Lanarkshire and telling them that he "is in favour of resorting to those old devices.†**

"**(Laughter.)**"

Conclusive and very crushing!!! isn't it? A regular-triumphant-knock-me-out unanswerable staggerer!

And this, remember you, is

Modern Politics!
Liberal Policy!
Free Trade Argument!—

'Yes, but what is your reply?'

---

† Mr. Morley in his speech brackets coal with machinery.

Well, if I had Mr. Morley's tympanic membrane within earshot I should probably say:

'Dear Mr. Morley,

'I wont of course say! I can answer only for myself. But if you dont please mind, I belong both to Lanarkshire and Glasgow, have stood on a few platforms there and hope, God willing, if only to save my country's weal from disastrous Free Trade fanaticism like your own, to stand on many a more. But so far from the idea of doubt or hesitation entering into my Glasgow noddle (or the conception of fear) to get up on a Glasgow or Lanarkshire platform and defend the imposition of a very heavy export duty upon coal,—

'Why, Sir, on the contrary, I am every day that I live thunderstricken at the blazing cowardice of the unpatriotic scullion who couldn't or wouldn't.'

* * * *

—If Mr. Morley continued to give ear—(which is barely likely) I should probably be tempted to no doubt further say:

'Dear Mr. Morley,

'If you please!

'You have had a fairly large and variegated experience of Newcastle. Some of which was pleasant. Very well then, now, run, please, and post haste do this:

'Gather together into the largest extant hall you can get, or biggest square which Newcastle affords, all the miners (and their wives and weans) and the coalmasters of Northumberland and Durham,—and you take the chair. And in your own distinguished presence I will undertake—

'Well!—

'I will undertake not merely to address that great Free Trade audience:—not merely to elicit from it sheets of resounding applause,—any fool of a Free Trader (even Mr. Asquith) could do that:—but I will actually undertake to convince them into passing a Resolution—Ah!—well! I was almost going to say in favour of "a very heavy export duty upon coal." But if I were to put it out in that bald way you would very likely set me down for a simple war-whoop.

'And therefore I will modestly confine myself to saying that I will get myself a hearing upon this subject which will completely flabbergast—the whichever I may be permitted respectfully to call it:

'**Your economic** (to my mind) **ignorant imbecility!**
'**Or your white-livered unpatriotic** (as in the coldest blood I do most calmly call it) **contemptibility!**'

'A very idle and safe cock-a-doodle!'
A what?
'I say that it could not be done.'

* * * *

! ! ! !

SPEECH

TO THE

NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM

MINERS,

(In reply to the challenge of Mr. Morley,)

IN SUPPORT OF A

RESOLUTION

TO DOUBLE THE COAL TAX.

'Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

'I cannot begin my brief speech to-night in favour of the resolution which appears in my name without first of all thanking the Rt. Hon. and learned gentleman, who occupies the chair, for the high political courage and kindness which he has shown in affording me the opportunity of foregathering with this great and enthusiastic Free Trade audience.

'I am no orator as Brutus was. But a plain blunt Scot who love my country with all my heart and want to put an end to the vast export of British irreplaceable coal by which so many of you make your humble, disagreeable, dark, dangerous, and diseasey living. (Murmurs.)

'I know very well that you are greatly concerned about your living. (Loud applause.) You have Heaven's right to be. You have your wives, you have your weans—the best of all God's gifts to mortal earth,—and many of you also have your mothers,—you have these to support. I know very well, at first hand, what all that to you is likely to mean, and I am certain I am just as anxious about your living as you could possibly wish a stranger like myself to be.

'Perhaps, in a sense, I am more.

'In any case, I am in Politics what they call, nowadays, (and a great many fine people can do it with a really superior sneer,) a Labourist,—that is to say, a type of Politician that the Rt. Hon. Chairman *might have been*, but wasn't—perhaps owing to his rigid worship of the Great Gospel of Free Trade, perhaps owing to his great learning, perhaps, (as I myself am inclined to think,) owing to the little wisdom that is oftentimes great learning's great accompaniment,—

'And (being, *and having been* as I say,) I have come to know by sad experience that they who seek to help Labour are often more concerned about Labour conditions than those whom they seek to help. And only too sorry certain I am of this, that your trade is no whatever exception to the rule!

'However, I have not come from Glasgow to Newcastle to-night to upbraid. I come rather to express with you a profound and life-long sympathy,—the deeper, I dare say, that all my life from birth upwards has been spent in a mining district.

For I think I may truly say that since ever God endowed me with the power of reflection I have never yet been able to understand how, (without any asking or merit on my part,) my country should have delegated so swiftly to me the pleasant lot and privilege of moving about in happy rain and sunshine, whithersoever at will, breathing fresh air, free from laborious manual toil and altogether free from any pressing anxiety and danger, while you poor devils, fathoms deep beyond the reach of God's sunlight, should have been compelled from boyhood upwards (first of all to earn your childhood's bread) and then your children's bread by the sweat of your brow in dirty, fetid, unhealthy burrows, at the constant risk of being maimed for life or of being blown burned crushed or choked into leaving your bairns fatherless, (and your mothers childless,) by some peremptory (avoidable) call to the other world, and in the certain assurance, come whatever may, of falling an easy victim to some premature miner's disease.

'I gather, e.g., that in the year 1901 no fewer than

1,131 were killed,

as the result of accidents in mining,

and 4,261 injured.

'Now, (at 5000 souls,) judging as near as I can, I reckon the number of delegates I have now the honour of addressing, so that out of the mining population of the United Kingdom, in five short years from now,

THE WHOLE OF THIS CONVINCED AND BRILLIANT FREE TRADE AUDIENCE

will have been blown in mixed allotments far removed from the sound and sight of sun and sea into that happier world, where, I suppose, even Free Trade ceases from troubling and Protectionists are at rest.

———"———

'I recognise, also, with perfect clearness that you do this dark and dangerous work for me,—in order that I may live in the fresh country air in a pleasant villa looking out upon a fair garden and lovely landscape, running briskly daily in of a morning from tea and toast before a bright parlour fire aglow with

the fiery sweat of your brow, with help of an engine consuming also, with the fury of some ravening ogre, the hard-won labour of your grimy hands, to business warmed up also to summer benignity with some of the fragments which have blown your mates out of existence,—and the fine dust of which, in any case, is now lying peacefully imbedded in your black lungs, waiting!

'I say I recognise with perfect clarity that you do all this for me, and, as I have said, I have never as yet understood clearly the logical *why*: but, as I say, I am but a plain blunt Scotsman, a stranger to the deep learning of the Rt. Hon. Chairman to whom these social anomalies appear as natural and beneficent, as far as I am entitled to judge (and I claim that I am entitled to judge) by his political career, as Free Trade or any other of the infrangible Laws of God.

———o———

'I recognise, also, that a great part of your dirty and dangerous work is absolutely gratuitous—wholly and solely unnecessary.

'Your very methods of working, they tell me, are extraordinarily wasteful. I am just after reading, e.g., the other day that "in some collieries no less than 25 per cent. of the best steam coal is thrown away as 'small coal' into the empty spaces in the mine where it is used in the place of rubbish to support the roof."

'Of this underground waste of coal I know, of course, only by hearsay. But every day of my life I am witness to

THE STUPENDOUS WASTE THAT GOES ON ABOVE GROUND.

I see rival unnecessary trains running half empty over rival unnecessary railways, starting from the self-same town, at the point blank self-same minute, to reach the self-same destination. I see rival unnecessary vanities in the shape of pleasure steam craft, rival unnecessary river steamers, rival unnecessary fleets of ocean steamships filled as to the hold with frequent ballast, rival unnecessary battleships and cruisers vexing the unoffending ocean with unnecessary voyages. Also I behold around me with my daily eyes, rival unnecessary factories (and hundreds upon hundreds exist, I know, outwith the range of my vision,) fouling the indispensable daily breath of our lives with the imperfect combustion of hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of tons of

unnecessary fuel. Others go further and tell me that even of the fuel that is wholly and fruitfully consumed three or four fifths might with a little more up-to-dateness and wisdom easily be saved.

'Now I very decidedly feel that I do not wish myself,—that is to say, off my own free-will bat,—to take part in so thriftless an occupation, and if circumstances and society compelled me to, I am fiercely certain that I should feel a furious grudge against somebody or something or other,—conscious as I could not help more and more being and becoming that I had been doomed for life to play the dirty Sisyphus to a prodigality of waste which for a moment of time would not be tolerated in any properly organised commonsensible state!

'Also decidedly I feel that I do not wish any or many of my children so to be occupied.

'And I believe also, friends, I know enough of our common mother nature to justify me in hoping that neither, to say truth, are *you yourselves* particularly enamoured of your dismal profession. Nor are particularly anxious in your heart of hearts that your children and children's children should follow in the grimy footsteps of their fathers.

'Well I am here to-night, therefore, in no spirit of antagonism to your interests, as many among you may have thought, but in reality to further as far as I can what I believe to be your secret desires.

'I am here, that is to say, to ask you to pass with harmonic unanimity a Resolution in favour not of *Removing*, as so many of the fools who are your leaders urge, but of forthwith

Doubling our present export duty on coal

—(sporadic hisses)—in order, if haply, to diminish our export of that commodity and therefore to relieve you of the dirty necessity of digging it. (Renewed Hisses and a Voice: 'He wants to take away our bread.")

'!—My Rt. Hon. interrupting friend must have a little patience. If he will do me the great honour to follow my remarks with

undivided attention he will find in the sequel that he has quite miscalculated my intentions.

'But, in any case, in my favour, you must not forget that it is one of the cardinal principles—this very Restriction of Output in the policy of your own Trade Unions, a Restriction which is carried even to the extent of flatly refusing sometimes to dig any coal at all.—I am just after reading, in fact, the other day that at a mass meeting of miners at West Calder, it was decided by an overwhelming majority to adopt a four days a week policy.

'So that you see I am merely aiming at an extension of one of your own guiding principles.

'The only difference betwixt me and you is that you espouse this principle and apply it to the furtherance of what you believe to be your own special interests. And I have adopted and support my policy in pursuance of what I believe to be in the highest interests of the nation at large, *including yourselves.*

'However, Gentlemen, I do not propose to-night to rest my plea in favour of my resolution on any *national* grounds merely, but, on the contrary, speaking as I do before a special audience of Free Trade miners I propose to debate the matter solely from the special point of view of your particular Free Trade interests, and I flatter myself that I shall have no difficulty in pressing home the conviction upon your minds that by the adoption of the terms of my Resolution your specific interests will be adequately safeguarded. (Hear, Hear, Laughter and Question.)

'Now, as far as I can see, there are but two alternatives possible. First: that the increased tax will not diminish the export of coal. And the second: that it will.

'But, obviously, if the export tax fails to diminish the export of coal it will not in any way diminish your employment. And the only question that remains for consideration is—as to whether, by forcing our coal exporters to take less for their coal abroad, the tax would in the end react upon your wages and diminish them. (Hear, Hear.)

'But that is a supposition that needs only be *mentioned*—to

be dismissed as ludicrous. (Prolonged ironical laughter and cheers.)

'Why these derisive cheers? (Renewed disturbance.)

'I have presumed that all of you present here, from the Rt. Hon. Chairman to the humblest pit-boy, were *convinced* Free Traders. (Several voices,—"So we are.")

'I thank you!—

'Well, but, friends, if you are all *convinced* Free Traders then it follows, for certain, that all your economical ideas are beautifully clear, unalterably fixed, lucidly logical, and absolutely incontrovertible. (Hear, Hear, and a Voice,—"Now the fellow is speaking sense.")

'You repudiate with a scorn that beggars the orthodox dictionaries the idea of imposing a tax upon American flour or Russian wheat, or German machinery.

'(A hundred voices,—"Certainly!")

'Why?

'(Voice,—"Because it would increase the price of bread and the cost of manufacture.")

'Perfectly. I was certain that we understood one another thoroughly. In other words, it is your belief that if these taxes were imposed by the British Government the British consumer through the nose would have to pay these same.

'(Voice,—"There is nothing more certain under the sun.")

'Again, I thought so!

'Now please listen to me. I have a copy beside me here of the Tariffs levied by the Great Powers on their respective Imports, and looking at those of France I find that the French Government levies on Butter and Margarine a tax ranging from 8/2 to 10/2 per cwt. and on Cheese, a tax ranging from 4/10½ to 6/1 per cwt.:—

'Do the French consumers pay these impositions?

'(A hundred voices,—"Certainly.")

'I find on looking farther into the list that the French Government imposes upon Coal Cinders and Patent Fuel a tax which ranges from a penny farthing up to 11½d. a ton:—

'Do the French people also pay this imposition upon coal?

'(Murmurs.)

'I say,—Do the French people also pay this tax of 11½d. a ton on coal?

'Why do you hesitate? There cannot surely be the shadow of a doubt in regard to a fiscal proposition so ridiculously elementary.

'*Of course*, the French people pay that tax.

'But now I think you will grant me this: (but lest there be any dubiety in the matter I beg you to follow every step that I take with the most logical precision:) I think you will grant me that, the French people having to pay this coal tax, it will not matter to them a skin-grape in what particular way, or by what particular means, the French Government takes payment of the imposition.

'That is to say, it will not matter at what particular French port or ports the coal tax is levied, nor whether payment is exacted six hours (or days) after the cargo has been landed, or upon the very nail of discharge, or before the coal has left the hold of the importing ship, or, if you like, before the ship has been admitted to port.

'Nor will it matter if the French Government goes further and insists on the coal duty being adjusted on the high seas, and sends out a Revenue cutter for the purpose—empowered to grant, say, a permit for the subsequent discharge of the coal, duty-free, at any French port.

'But in that case it will matter nothing at what particular point on the broad high seas the French Revenue cutter overhauls the coal-cargoed lugger, whether, e.g., without the three mile British limit or within: that is to say, whether in mid North Sea or riding off the tail of Newcastle bank,—(if indeed, haply, Newcastle has a bank,) and that bank has a tail, or lying thirled up alongside Newcastle quay. But obviously in that case it will not matter a lost hairpin as to the ultimate incidence of the tax if the French Coal Tax is levied while yet the coal is swinging from the British truck into the hold of the loading lugger. Nor indeed whether the French Government appropriates the coal tax directly or delegates to an external agent who might of course be a Frenchman (or he might be a Britisher) its power of imposition. But in that case it will matter nothing

if the British agent so empowered is the British Government; nor also, likewise, if the British Government when it lifts the delegated tax receives the polite permission of the French Government to put it in the pocket of the British Exchequer,

and keep it there!–

* * * *

'I thank you, Gentlemen, for these happy grins.

'I suppose I am at liberty to infer thereby that some of you are disposed to imagine that you are listening, perhaps, to the prolongation of some tedious joke.

'But if that be so, you never made a greater mistake.

'I quite understand, no doubt, that some of you, passing rich perhaps in the poverty of a gutta-percha imagination, may have experienced a certain difficulty in keeping up in the wake of my navigation, but the validity of my logic is not in any way impaired by the accidental length of the sea voyage from Brest to Newcastle.

'Look see!

'—With the dip of the tip of this little finger the English Channel is no more. The English frontier lines up with that of France (as Germany's now does) and on the dividing invisible line rises a mighty Customs House,—(one moiety—English, facing England,) and the other half French, fronting France) **through whose portals passes the whole of the Import and Export traffic between the two countries.**

'And behold even as we commune together the gates fling ajar, and already a ton of English coals is passing through to be consumed in France. And, as it passes, a toll of one shilling sterling is levied on the ton of coals.

'!—Now I think that everything up to this imaginative point is perfect. That is to say, that we are all perfectly agreed.

'But at this point a curious divergence discloses itself.

'The convinced Free Traders allege:

THAT THE PAYMENT OF THIS IMPOST DEPENDS!

That is to say,—if the impost is levied in that moiety of the Customs House which is British then the tax is paid by the

British Coal Trade without doubt: but if the tax is levied at the French gateway the impost is paid by the French coal consumer.

'But behold no sooner has the Free Trader re-endorsed this affirmation than a strange event has happened:

'Namely, the partition walls which separate the English moiety from the French of the Customs House submerge and disappear:—(overnight) the French and British Governments having convened that they shall run the Customs House show as a joint-stock affair, that is to say,—with a single set of officials, like as any, in fact, joint railway station is daily run.

'Accordingly the French Import-impost of 11¾d. a ton and the British Export-impost of 1/- a ton are lumped, and the official Joint Receiver levies on every ton of British coal that passes through the Customs House to be consumed in France,—1/11¾d.

'The convinced Free Trader has not the slightest doubt whatever.

'Of this joint total tax, 11¾d. is paid by the French consumer.

'Why?

'Because it is levied by the instructions of the French Government.

'—And the 1/- is paid by the British Coal Exporters.

'Why?

'Because the one shilling is levied by the British Government and goes into the pocket of the British Exchequer.

'But behold! even while the Free Trader is already preening his tail feathers in the benignant sunshine of his indubitable cock-certainty a strikinger incident has occurred.

'Suddenly the Entente Cordiale has become an offensive and defensive alliance and for a sufficiency of reasons rendered the French Government concedes in private to the British Government the whole of the Revenue derived from the conjoined coal imposts, while at the same time the two Governments simultaneously do this:

'The French Government announces to the consternation of France the addition of one shilling to the existing import duty on coal, and the British Government to the bonfire delight of the

British Coal Trade proclaims the remission of its nefarious 1/- export duty on coal.

'Query!—Who now pays the impost of 1/11½ on Newcastle coal going into France?

'The nett imposture remains as before,—The French Government imposes it,—The Joint Stock officials levy it,—And the British Exchequer pockets it.

'Now, of course, I dont just like to be quite positive. But if any friendly convinced Free Trader out of the depth of his economical knowledge and the precision of his irrefragable logic thinks he is master still of the mystic incidence of taxation I beg to solicit his attention for one moment more.

'The French and British Governments are just after changing their unstable minds. They have returned to the original double-tax idea and have proclaimed the fact. They preserve, however, the total assessment at 1/11½ as before: and as before pool the proceeds, but for a due sufficiency of imperial reasons rendered they delegate to the Receiver General plenipotentiary power to change and vary at his own irresponsible unlimited discretion the proportions of the total impost assignable to British Export and French Import taxes and to credit the respective Exchequers with his respective assignations:—which might, accordingly, under these circumstances, differ not only with every consignment but within the limits of mathematical possibility with every ton of every single consignment.

'Further, by a singular but not incomprehensible co-incidence, (my fame as an economist) (and unbounded enthusiasm for the Entente) having been bruited abroad, the combined Governments appoint my honourable self to the plenipotentiary post of Receiver General.

'Now this great (but not undeserved) distinction would have this for a curious effect:

'Owing to the incurable procrastination which is part of the flower of my nature I would for indubitable certain leave for consideration over so irksome an allocation for long weeks and months (and as far as possible)—years after the Newcastle coals had been bought and sold and paid for—(wholesale and retail) many times over,—and their ashes lay upon the vineyards of France.

'Immediately, therefore, under these circumstances, my convinced Free Trade friends would find themselves in the happy unexampled situation of having hourly predicted with unerring precision, and carried through and accomplished to the decimalest fraction of a common farthing, an incidence of international Export and Import taxation in absolute agreement and conformity with an innumerable series of arbitrary reversible decisions which the responsible irresponsible Decider had not as yet even thought of deciding, or had decided only in so far as to have determined that the decisions, once he had taken them, would be subject, thereafter, to a prolonged undecided series of indecisions before perhaps Death (in charity) supervened with the final decision.

* * * *

'Alas and again, however, from the blank and muddled looks which I see phosphorescing on the window panes of some of your vacancies I seem to gather that many of you are under the impression still that I am engaged in quizzing you.

'But nothing is really further from my understanding.

'—I beg pardon!'

The Chairman speaks!

* * * '—Ah, many thanks!

'—The Rt. Hon. Chairman has just been reminding me that I have omitted from my arithmetic a very obvious and salient consideration. I have forgotten the fact, he says, in my original formulation that the French Import tax of 11¾d. attaches irrespectively to every ton of coals entering France whereas the British Export Impost of 1/- fell as a burden upon British coal only, and that in consequence the assessment on German coal entering France would have been 11¾d. only: as against 1/11¾ on British coal.

'Well now, friends, that, to be certain, is a most decided

and indeed tremendous distinction

and I am delighted to think that the Rt. Hon. Chairman should

have recognised it so clearly and given expression to it so opportunely.

'But does this heavy charge of stupid forgetfulness hang at my unpardonable door really, or crushing falls it rather upon the doorstep of the Rt. Hon. Chairman and his convinced side of the House?

'Consider!

'Mr. Chamberlain proposed the other day that all corn which arrived into this country from the Colonies should be admitted free of duty, and that a duty upon all corn which came in from foreign countries should be imposed of 2 - a quarter. And on the strength of this simple Statesmanlike proposal the country has been stormed and stumped from John o' Groat's House to Land's End by the Rt. Hon. Chairman and his convinced Hon. and Rt. Honourable Free Food Friends

with the constant immutable irreducible allegation

that the people of this country and more especially the twelve millions of British poor people who, according to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, subsist on the daily verge of starvation would have to pay this fraudulent iniquity to the uttermost farthing:

'Not only so,—but the coming general election is going to be overwhelmingly won on the strength of this gigantic allegation:

'Not only so,—but, on the soul and conscience of these Rt. Hon. men,

Righteously and deservedly won!

'Now as far as I understand the argument of my Rt. Hon. friend the Chairman,—and his Rt. Hon friends it is this:

'—The Atlantic Ocean is no more. The American and Canadian frontiers line up with those of Britain and through the Transatlantic Customs Institution which emerges giantific where these join sails a shipload—even now as we speak, of Canadian Corn—:

'I said just now Gentlemen—Corn!—because unfortunately for all of us I have made an unhappy mistake.

'I am sorry.

'But when I spoke to you a moment ago about the grimy millions of tons of Newcastle coal which sailed away to be consumed in beautiful France having to pay a shilling of duty more than the German coal which journeyed thither I fell a victim to a curious and not unfamiliar mental aberration.

'That is to say, I was really at the time thinking of quite other things:

'I was in reality thinking of these Industrial Islands instead of substituent France, and from the errant point of my slipping tongue corn should have fallen instead of coal.

'Accordingly, free of duty, as I say, (while we speak,) a shipload of Canadian corn is passing through the Transatlantic Customs House to be consumed in England, and, side by side with the same, steams also onward a shipload from the United States—on every quarter of which a toll of 2/- is in the act of levy.

'Now as I understand the argument of my Rt. Hon. Friend,—and his Rt. Hon. Friends, it is this:

I.

'British coal going into France having to pay a shilling of duty more than German coal going thither this extra duty of one shilling comes out of the pocket of the British Coal Exporter, in the first place, and out of the pocket of the poor British miner in the ultimate place.

'The obvious reason, of course, being: That the British Coal Exporter

in order to compete with his German rival

has to pocket the injustice

and diminish his price by the differential impost.

II.

'American Corn going into Britain having to pay 2/- of duty more than Canadian Corn going thither this extra duty of 2 - comes out of the pocket of the British Corn Importer, in the first place, and out of the pockets of the poverty-stricken twelve Sir H. C.-B. British millions in the ultimate place.

'The very obvious, of course, reason being: That the United States Corn Exporter

having no competition to meet from his Canadian rival has no injustice to pocket

and therefore doesn't diminish his price by the differential impost.

'!—Now, dear my Free Trade (enthusiastic) friends, I have, I think, with your permission, established my title to a draught of Adam's wine and the momentary respite which the privilege entails.

'I thank you.

'Now, Sir, to resume.—You told me a moment ago, and I agreed with you, that all your economical ideas were beautifully clear, adamantinely fixed, lucidly logical, and absolutely incontrovertible, and yet as it seems to the simple grey matter which forms the basis of my humble intelligence,—here itself on the very blatant threshold of this idiotic controversy is a blatant stark stupidity which stands in naked need of expiscation.

'—Of course I am quite already familiar with the appertaining exegesis of the Cobden Club.

'Corn and coal, as every fair-minded man must allow, are differing entities. Coal is the staff of life, corn but a secondary umbrella. Coal can be sown and grown in a way which with green envy would make a geometric multiplication table blush red: corn is as much as God originally made it and cannot.

'Far away, therefore, and also, on the windy boundless superfluous prairies of the German Fatherland competitive coal—surpassing the best Welsh steam, can be annually raised by the illimitable acre, whereas amid the cabined confines of overpeopled Canada not another ounce of corn more can or could ever be raised by the help of Heaven neither for love nor money.

'Obviously, in the side-light of these simple facts, it would be as silly to compare a British Tariff upon coal with a British Tariff upon corn as it is and would be to compare the Economics of the United States with those of England!—

'With these, I say, and also much that is (very little) more

I am already from long ago familiar, but notwithstanding the undoubtedly powerful palliation of the C.C.'s ingenious argumentative it seems withal to leave us still, (at least me,) in the gloaming.

'—No Brothers! Not at least that I (Thomas C.) am aware of. By no practicable ascertainable human invention as yet can a man arrange to enjoy his apple tart for dinner and at the same time have it for supper still to eat. Think over it, therefore, seriously and studiously. Because in plainer phraseology, brothers, you cannot have it both these ways,—and at the same time claim the privilege of being permitted to roam at large.

'Your indubitable plan under the circumstances would best. therefore, seem to be to—with the assistance of the pellucid precision of your irrefragable theory and the professorial adjuvation of the distinguished fourteen, to take the matter back again to avizandum—or Gartnavel and decide as conveniently quickly as your convinced ideas will let you

Which it is to be and Why!

'All that I can really, in the meantime, venture to do is: to assist you with a little friendly advice.

'!—Sure that you will not resent it!

'Ordinary common sense and 2½ seconds'

VERY COMMON ORDINARY OR GARDEN REFLECTION

would instruct any man (not absolutely born an idiot) that it would take a very extremely wise man, as wise in fact as the child that knows his own father and only a little less wise, perhaps, than Mr. Asquith, to allocate with definition the incidence of any general tariff, be it import or export: but until Heaven in its mercy has endowed the blatant Cobdenite Ignoramuses who are at present screeching their Blockheadisms up and down an equally ignorant (and therefore long-suffering) country with the modicum of C.S. that will enable them to realise this elementary fact the safest advice that you humble Free Traders can get (and take)—is to cling consistently fast to the immutable gospel that duties and tariffs of all kinds land ultimately on the broad imperative back of the consumer.

'As a result of this prolonged and not undetailed exposition it will now, I hope, be abundantly clear to all of you that by the endorsation of my Resolution to-night your interests even as humble miners are absolutely conserved.

'By the irrefragable inexorable logic of Free Trade which compels you on bended knees (even against your will) to confess and acknowledge that Mr. Chamberlain's 2/- corn tax must be borne by the British consumer, by this same inexorable logic I have demonstrated to you that the 2/- tax which I propose to impose upon coal must be redeemed even by the Foreigner, and therefore if the export of coal, and that is the content of my supposition, does not in any way diminish **neither will your work diminish nor your wages!**

'But as you can very well guess I have not come here to-night for the purpose of resting my case merely upon the pretence of that proposition.

'My sincere object and wish in seeking to increase the present coal impost is in reality to diminish the present export of British coal and therefore to deprive a section of you of your smutty and disagreeable livelihood.

'—Now in affairs of this kind I like to go straight to the root of things. And therefore if you will do me the honour to draw up a little closer to me with the thinking maximum potential of your heads I will arrange with you to talk this matter through the bottom out.

'Well in the first place,—and the last place, I wish to enquire: Why do you men toil night and day, from week to week—from year's end to year's end, from early childhood to premature grave, clothed in a garment of fine coal-dust and rags,—raising coal?

'You say—and very justly say, to gain your weekly wages. But that for an answer is a mere surface pebble from the beach. Your real object is to come by what your wages will bring, food, clothing, home, and the little pleasures that help to break the

monotony of your lives. And if you could only come by these in some other way, as, say, the Duke of Devonshire comes by them, or my Lord of Rosebery, you, for certain, would worry no more than they do digging for coal.

'Now I want to put the self-same question to the mine-owners who are present here to-night and the great coal exporters.

'Why do you, Loyal British Gentlemen, so implacably insist on bouncing out of your native country between 40 and 50 patriotic million tons of coal in the year?

'What do you gain thereby, or what do you really hope thereby to gain?

'Money!

'No doubt. But you must not worry and insult me with a fiscal answer like that, because, as convinced Free Traders, you know that not by any money at all does the Foreigner pay for the coal which you send him so kindly,—the incontrovertible law of International Trade being, as you ought to know: That Goods are paid for by Goods.

'What you are really by way of doing, therefore, with so much tremendous zeal and energy,—

'Or if you prefer that I should hedge about my indictment with more philosophy I will say rather:

'What the country is doing, in and per you, with restless frantic energy is this:

'Our imbecile beloved country, to Foreign lands, is shipping away with faster and ever growing faster cosmopolitan zeal about £30,000,000 worth of coal in the year—in order what for? In order to get from these countries the value of that money in Goods,—Goods (which it avidly desiderates,) Goods (which it must have or perish,) Goods which it cannot get in any other way possible, or at least in any other possible way so easy so agreeable so economical.

'Let me amplify for you for a moment this point in order that all our ideas may sweep along with us to the prefigured conclusion crystally transparent.

'Well, in looking over the statistics for the British export of coal for the year 1900 I notice the following points:

'I notice, e.g., that from the Port of Newcastle alone we sent away

4,416,624 tons of coal:

also that to Norway and Sweden were forwarded

4,485,416 tons:

so that, apparently, these two countries between them, Norway and Sweden, contrived to consume your total export of coal from Newcastle, and about

68,000 tons in addition!

'I notice, in like manner, that from North and South Shields, in the same year, we exported

3,707,398 tons of coal:

also that to Russia were forwarded

3,229,294 tons:

and to Argentina

771,231 tons.

So that, putting all these figures together, I am entitled to say that the four countries, Norway Sweden Russia and Argentina, consumed every ton of laborious coal that was exported from the Newcastle district in 1900, and

361,000 tons in addition!

'In like manner, I notice that Denmark took from us

2,125,493 tons,—

being nearly a million tons more than the total export of coal from the port of my native Glasgow.

'Now, Gentlemen, I want you to gather up in your imagination: (and as miners and mine-owners you will be able to do it as no other body can): all the picking and blasting and hauling and crawling and puffing and pumping and sweating and cursing and maiming and laming and lifting and loading and running and stopping and bumping and thumping and killing and spilling and creaking and groaning and crashing and smashing, involved in the exportation of 8,000,000 tons of coal from the Northumberland and Durham district.

'And then I want you to ask yourselves: Whence all this infernal toil and trouble, and—and, in fact,—

Wasn't there an easier way round about?

What in the wide world of wonder were you doing it all for? And what in the really end did you attain thereby?

———o———

'Well, to our great happiness, we do not require to reach far for an answer.

'What pit props are,

better than I do, all of you here know.

'Well, if you will take the trouble to look into the Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, you will observe that, of Pit wood or Pit Props,

In **1901**, we imported **1,879,810** loads,
at a value of **£2,053,026**:

In **1902**, **1,978,485** loads,
at a value of **£2,094,906**:

In **1903**, **2,321,348** loads,
at a value of **£2,535,365.**

'Taking now 1902, and translating the value of pit props for that year,—at the rate 12 - per ton, into coal, you will observe that you sent away from Newcastle in 1902,

3½ million tons of coal!

in order to bring back to the country

1,978,485 loads of Pit Props!

'Now it may, of course, be that my sense of humour (for a Scotchman) is unduly developed, but I will be surprised if some even of you Northumberland men do not recognise the elements of original comicality in the tragic energy, not to say fanatical enthusiasm, with which a whole people which honestly believes itself sane can plunge delightedly into the dirty self-imposed task of digging up coal,—**in order to purchase the wood with which to prop up the emptying coal holes!**

* * * *

'—Ah, most true, O King!—I had al-most forgotten.

'By a portion only of our exported coal (your idea is) we purchase the pit props for most of England!

'Yes, please, but dont rush me so fast.—I am but a slow-witted Scotchman.

'Also, I'm not done.

'—In looking further over the Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom you will observe that the Pit Props form but a fraction of the Fir wood annually imported into the country.

'E.g., in 1902, the total imported Fir wood (Fir wood alone, mark you, and not speaking of Oak and other woods,) amounted in value to

£19,873,000:

that is to say, close upon

£20,000,000!

Also you will observe that the coal and culm exported from the United Kingdom in 1902 amounted in value to

£26,307,000!

'Now, Sir, and Friends, I hope that with the gimlet help of these instructive figures

a little cerebral sunlight

will have found the possibility of boring its way in and through upon the darkness of your minds.

'Certainly to him that hath ears to hear they gather up in an eloquent nutshell the nett value of all the strenuous dirty digging and dying which consummated in 1902 in the superb national achievement of relieving the mineral wealth of the country

of 43,159,000 tons of coal:

—that even nett value being that it enabled you to purchase

8,983,000 loads of Fir Wood!
190,549 loads of Oak!
119,992 loads of Staves!

(—in addition to a few other wooden items,) including House Frames and Fittings.

'Well but most likely we couldn't have got these 8,983,000 loads of Fir wood in any other possible way.

'Very likely not. But in matters of the kind it is often best to enquire.

'I beg you, therefore, now to listen with the hairs of your head while I read to you an extract which throws some little light upon the possibility of another way.

"'It is the common verdict,' **according to "the Report of the Committee on British "Forestry** presided over by Mr. R. C. M. Munro-"Ferguson, M.P.,

"'That timber of the kind and quality imported "'in such large quantities from the Baltic, and similar "'temperate regions, can be grown as well here as "'anywhere; in fact it is a matter of common know-"'ledge that European 'red wood' and 'white wood,' "'so highly esteemed for structural purposes, are "'yielded by the Scots pine and the spruce, two of "'the commonest trees of British woodlands. **That "'foreign is so generally preferred to "'home-grown timber is in no way due "'to unsuitability of soil or climate, but "'is entirely due to our neglect of sylvi-"'cultural principles.'**

"In the British Isles there are

"21,000,000 acres

"of waste heather and rough pasture land, or land "out of cultivation, a large proportion of which is "suitable for afforestation with good profits, and yet "the foreign imports continue.

"The Committee point out that in Saxony land "worth 4/- per acre, per annum, for agricultural or "pastoral purposes gives a return of 38/- per acre, "per annum, laid out in trees.

"On all the facts laid out before them the Com-"mittee, among other things, recommend:

"'That for Practical Demonstration two areas be "'acquired, the one in England, (Alice Holt Woods,

"'Hampshire, are suggested,) and the other in Scot-
"'land, of not less than 2,000 acres, if possible, in
"'each case.'"

'Well, I think that is about as far as we need go.

'Now I want you miners when you get home to-night and as you smoke the pipe of peace at your own fireside to think this grave matter quietly out for yourselves, and, as I have said, I will be surprised if it does not strike you, in the end, as a trifle comic that you should be asked to busy yourselves all your tragic lives in tugging and tearing and disembowelling the primeval forests of old England in order to—to provide old England with a few million loads of firwood, etc.:

'Part of which to the value of over

£2,000,000

will be employed, as I have said, in propping up our fast-emptying mines, and another portion in making the often sudden, and, in all cases, premature, coffins of yourselves and others who are engaged in emptying them:

'All of which firwood, etc., in quiet ease, could have been growing the while with green delight on the 21,000,000 acres of waste heather and rough pasture in the British Isles, giving weekly wages to blithe Foresters (filled as to their lungs with pine fragrance in lieu of healing coal-dust,) strength and beauty to their sons and daughters, and dim mysterious silences in which those who, like myself, care little for the bustle of modern life might wander at will—and at least hope (howsoever we might fail) to recover something of the forgotten power and poetry and mediaeval happiness that have fled with the woodland fairies from once-happy England!

'But you must not suppose that my power of illustration stops at Pine woods.

'I notice further that when you wish to grow a few bushels of the staff of life you take a curiously round-about way of growing them.

'Your Free-Trade-Professorial-Idea of Political Economy is to build ships at vast expense and load them up with coal and send them off burning valuable coal across the line for 7000 odd miles to Argentina, and then steam them back home again across the line for another 7000 odd miles, burning still more and more valuable fuel, laden with the desiderated staff.

'Thus to Argentina, as I said but now, we exported, in 1900,

771,231 tons of coal:

and we imported thence

18,524,000 cwt. of wheat.

'But what are we doing busy, meanwhile, at home?

'Permitting, as I was telling an audience in the North the other day, since 1871,

over 2,000,000 acres of wheat land

to lapse out of wheat cultivation, and, since 1851,

2,441,000 acres:

—representing a diminution in the annual national output of wheat of about

39,000,000 cwt.!

'Now if you put it to me, or any other common-sensible man, as to how I should proceed to win wheat, it would certainly never dawn upon my humble intelligence to adorn myself in smut and rags and dig in some dirty coal pit for it. I should at once set about ploughing up the fallow corn lands in my neighbourhood and sow therein my seed of wheat. And of a Sunday afternoon with my wife, I should sit thereafter in my stoep and watch it thriving, happy.

'In a perfectly similar way if you asked me to manufacture ham and eggs I should forthwith erect a hen-run in my back garden (which at present runs to economic waste,) and I should beg borrow or steal a sucking pig from somewhere. I should then, taking for a moment the reins from the economic asses who try to govern us, clap on a prohibitive tariff on imported flour so that every particle of wheat consumed in these islands

would be milled in these islands, and with the superabundant brock of the milling I should feed my productive hens and my sucking pig.

'It appears, however, that that very obvious and (natural) way is hopelessly antediluvian. It is not *scientific enough*, and, as you know, we live in a scientific age. The scientific, and therefore the real economical way, is to get away down on hands and knees, into some subterranean burrow, like some skulking toad, and with grimy claws scratch out a few million tons of irreplaceable coal and ship them off to Denmark to the annual tune of over

2,000,000 tons,

—and thence with the returning ship carry back to our economic back gardens their value in bacon and eggs!

'But the motive power of my illustration, as you might think, even doesn't stop at Ham and Eggs. Because you must remember that you cannot grow pinewood and wheat and bacon and eggs in the one and only scientific way, namely by shipping coal to the Baltic, Denmark, and Argentina,—I say you cannot succeed in this *without ships*. And you cannot build ships, nowadays, without steel, and for the manufacture of every ton of steel you need about two tons of coal. And so, you see, the economic Free Trade miner before he can get his eggs and bacon from Denmark (which he might so easily have grown in his own kail yaird) has not merely to dig the coals that buy the eggs and bring the bacon but he has to dig ever so much more to *make* the ships that carry the coals that fetch and bring the eggs and b.. (But alas for the still unhappy!—for *even in these scientific days* you cannot make steel without ore, and if even we cannot grow wheat in these islands you need not be surprised if we cannot also grow iron ore. And so we import tons upon tons of it from Spain and I think also from Sweden. And that, of course, means more ships and therefore more steel, more coal and more black miners' lungs.

'**And so you see, my friends, how the eloquent story of English Economics runs out into penny numbers.**

'In this happy-go-lucky, Free Trade, Freedom-loving, Let-me-alone-to-do-what-I-very-well-like land every body, *with not the possibility of exception*, who finds coal beneath any surface which he owns, or is supposed to own, hastens at once to dig a shaft into it, and, in this simple happy way, thousands of shafts go down into the primeval forests of old England, and broad acres upon acres of these tumble broken to the surface.

'If I were asked, now, to assess the value of these broken fragments I should build upon many factors. I should consider the danger and misery of winning them. I should consider with grave and sympathetic deliberation

how far myself should wish to be engaged in the process,—

for the full term of my natural life.

'And then after seeing an acre cleared out, or a couple, I should commission grave experts to go down into the mines and report to me if any of the dust of the old carboniferous trees that remained had taken root and seemed likely to blossom anew. And if their report was in the negative I should ask them to make a careful inventory of the content of the old forests available.

'I should consider the needs of my own generation. And I should think also of the needs of the children of my children's children. The duration of my country's glory. And the end of the world.

'And if any man laughed my pre-vision to scorn I should enquire who the laugher was. And if the cachinnator was a British coal owner, or a coal exporter, I should not mind *its* cackle. If the cachinnator was a so-called Professor of so-called English Political so-called Economy, out of Political Politeness I should profess to have mistaken the subject of his joke.

'But if the laugher were a British scientist I should listen respectfully to *his* laugh and, when he had done, suggest:

'"You are perfectly certain we shall have tapped other sources of energy by so long?"

'"Perfectly certain."

'And these sources are about us now?"

'"They are about us now."

'"Then for Heaven's sake hurry up," my reply would be, "and tap them *more*. And in order to accelerate your tapping ingenuity I will see to it that you get below at once and silently rot, adding to your blackening lungs day's darg to day's darg of coal grime *until you do*."

'But in this beatific, let-me-do-what-I-like-(with-what-is-not-my-own,) generation it is nobody's business to assess anything, least of all the British Government's. And so, (as I have said,) it comes to pass that every irresponsible British citizen who can muster a surface claim that adjuts or abuts upon the treasure vaults below drives a tunnel thither and (asking no man's leave) hauls up the magic produce in tons by the hundred million. (And, of course, the more they haul up the less there is left down.) And the less there is left down

the more shafts they sink

and the quicker they haul. And the piping produce (from the rival mines) is sold in broad competitive sunlight

for what it will bring,

pies worth tuppence a piece (or even a shilling) for two hundred a penny.

And all in the sacred name of Free Trade!

'And England the simple pieman looks blandly on. And the Professors of Political Economy pat him hearty in the back and say:

'"The Pies are for *eating*, John. What better would you do with them?"

'And so, dear my countrymen, it transpires, under the able adjuvation of our British illustrious Economic Professors that irreplaceable acres upon acres of British Coal rattle night and day to the seaport towns:

'**But no,—that's too fast:**

'Part of it, rather, is set on one side in order to assist in the raising of more coal.

'Part of it then is run, as I have said, to the blast furnaces, (by locomotives consuming more of it as they run,) to be converted there into pig iron:

'Which pig iron is then run, (by locomotives consuming still more of it,) to the steel furnaces to be converted by the consumption of still more coal into steel:

'Which steel is forthwith forged and hammered with the assistance of yet more coal into the hulls and machinery of ships:

'Which ships, in turn, are stuffed to the gunwale with more raw coal and sent churning tons upon tons of additional into vacuity to the Baltic and the coasts of Spain in order to bring back iron ore:

'Which iron ore, by the concatenated endless consumption of further fuel, is converted into further ships:

'(Some of which,) bunged to the Plimsoll with coal, are sent, as I have said, annihilating coal either way, thousands of miles away to Argentina to bring back wheat:

'(And others,) sinking with coal, wasting coal either way, to the Baltic to bring back logs of pine:

'(And others,) sinking with coal, wasting coal either way, to Denmark, to fetch back eggs and bacon:

'**Which eggs and bacon, pine logs and wheat, the Illustrious Professors do solemnly assure us could not be manufactured in any simpler way.**

'Why?

'Ans. Because they are obtained *in the way that they are*, under the automatic auspices of Free Trade.. And no foreordination of Heaven could approach within miles of that in simplicity and beauty and efficiency of economy

and general irreproachable unapproachability.

'—Friends, I humbly submit.

'I say I can stand up to that.—I have by Spartan training steeled myself to.

'It is when the Illustrious sum up the value of the imported

Wheat

and Bacon

and Pine Logs

which, to my humble intelligence, might have been growing so peacefully at home,)

'**And add the combined values to the value of our exported coal,**

'(Which to my mind also might have been reposing peacefully at home in its primeval bed,)

'**And when gathering up the sum of these insanities they placidly divide the slump**

By the number of Fools in England

who acquiesce in the folly, and thereafter invite us to go into hysterics

Over the extent per Fool's-head of our foreign trade,

and when on the top and strength of it all

'**They break into glowing raptures over the vast extent of our unparalleled shipping and the magnificent harvest of invisible exports**

'which is the outcome of its activity, not to mention the £30,000,000 a year which we *earn* on the navy which is built to protect it:

'!!—Well, I say it is about then that the thread of my patience wears thin and like unto the long-suffering Samson I feel stealing over me the uncontrollable exasperated itch for a jawbone

of one of the enraptured asses

with which to lay around me and appease the thirst of my soul for the blood of the rest!

'Ladies and Gentlemen,

'I must now leave these interesting considerations—I bequeath them to you as a kind of Worcester Sauce for your next Sunday's Free Trade reflections,—in order that I may pass while time remains to the economic point that is the most important of all.

'Of course, the idea, really, which I am just after propounding is, on the face of it, unqualifiedly utopian. In spite of my pretended seriousness I have meant it merely as an economic joke

intended simply to wile away a little necessary time and give to my otherwise jejune speech to you, to-night, a little body and flavour.

'Everybody, of course, including the most abandoned Protectionist idiot, the utter futility must have cognised at a glance of trying to turn back the clock of progress by ploughing up again the erstwhile corn lands of England which have now gone fallow, planting with obsolete trees our waste places which were once impassable with forest pines, keeping silly hen-runs in our back gardens, and feeding pigs with the waste of protected flour mills.

'I say everybody must have recognised this.

'I now, therefore, leave this little joke behind me

and return to the region of common sense.

———o———

'It will now be my agreeable duty clearly to indicate—how by the imposition of my graduating duty, and the graduated consequent arrestment of our export trade in coal,—how thereby your wage-earning interests are certain to be completely safeguarded *without any Government interference whatever* or any such concomitant nonsense as planting, at vast and unremunerative expense, on brown heath and shaggy marsh, and land which God never intended for anything else than moles and grouse, useless pine trees,—but solely and simply by the beneficent free unfettered (inevitable) action of the great Free Trade Principle which all of you here so ardently worship.

'To an enlightened and convinced Free Trade audience, like this, I need not go happily a hair's breadth out of my way in order to explain the wonderful automatic action of that semi-divine Principle.

'You know, e.g., with the familiarity and assurance that attaches to your own existence, the unassailable central doctrine of Free Trade: to wit, namely, that the Goods which stream into a country by way of imports, save in so far as they may arrive by way of payment for services, interest, etc., are paid for by an export stream of equivalent Goods,—as certain as the Sun rises in the East and sets in the West. **Only more so!**

'Consequently the Great Secret of Successful International Trade lies in the simple business axiom:

'"**Look after the Imports and the Exports will look after themselves!**"

'Albeit, however, perhaps a little simple simile, which I am sure will appeal even to the understanding of Lord Rosebery, may help you to visualise (and therefore more adequately to realise) the content of this great economic law.

'You are by the sea shore, then, and the flood tide is dropping slowly in.

'Now you can wait and watch and see if you like: but without any waiting and watching *you know beforehand for a fact* that the highest point which the incoming tide reaches is the

Identical Precision Point

from which the out-going tide recedes:

—Must Recede!

'Hence the well-known fisherman's maxim:

'"**Look after the Flood Tide and the Ebb will look after itself!**"

'So in like manner, in a perfectly similar way, with the mighty ebb and flow of international trade.

'Every import calls out a corresponding export!

'**For-as-high as the Import Flood Tide reaches! even-from-so-high must the Export Recessional take place!**—

'—(No mere ipse-economical-irresponsible-dixits these!)—Gentlemen. But, on the contrary, *irrefragable logical demonstrable* Truths!

'And it is solely because Protectionists fail to grasp these incontrovertible elementary economic axioms or (pre-occupied with the advancement of their own selfish interests) deliberately and shamelessly shut their eyes to the truth that all this stupid turmoil has arisen in the country.

'Well, but Gentlemen I apologise. I am like after carrying surely Free Trade coals with a vengeance to Newcastle. *These simple axioms are all perfectly known to you.* They are, so to say, your Tried and Trusted Economical Representatives.—The men you know! They are not like Mr. Chamberlain's windblown

argumentative straws or Protectionist pipe-stem theories which break when you lean with the force of a little logic upon them. They have all been historically verified and vindicated in our now (for the last sixty years) matchlessly prosperous Free Trade country, where, at last, gladsome to relate, out of a population of 42,000,000 no fewer than 12,000,000 poor souls

are on the constant verge of apoplexy

through overfeeding.

'Thus when the Americans were at one time so good as to take a fractional part payment of our vast Import indebtedness to them in Aberdeen Granite, and then, changing their mind, suddenly clapt on a 50 per cent. adverse duty, we did not worry. Quite true we could turn out granite monuments better and cheaper than any other country in the world. But we never dreamed of complaining. **We knew that the Americans were bound to take some other goods from us in lieu of the discarded granite.**

'Similarly, when the Americans, after kindly accepting part payment in Yorkshire Woollens of their ever vaster growing Import account with us, suddenly put up an adverse tariff of

150 per cent.,

(with the result that our exports of Woollen Goods to the United States went down

from **£5,147,000** in **1890,**
to **£1,481,000** in **1902:**)

I say, when this took place, we knew that there was no occasion for the slightest worry. And as a matter of historical fact we didn't worry. We knew better. We merely asked:

'How goes it with the Imports from America?

'And as soon as we knew that the Imports had bounded up

from **£ 97,233,349** in **1890,**
to **£126,961,601** in **1902:**

we, in a moment, knew that everything was lovely. We had looked after the Imports, or rather the Imports had looked after themselves, for that is one of the many charms and delights of a really Free Trade country,

The Imports, somehow, do look after themselves,

and as the Exports necessarily, in any case, follow suit.

Consequently there is nothing in the happy world at all to look after!'

☞ Tell us again why we didn't bother.

'Because if America declined to take Woollens from us, *we knew* that she was under an absolute economic obligation to take from us something equally fine. Neither again did the fact that our country was beautifully adapted for the manufacture of Woollens and could turn them out as cheaply as any other country in the world injure our happiness or affect our argument. The very worst that could happen was merely *(we knew)* that Capital that *might have been* determined into our Woollen industry would receive a new inspiration and deflect itself into some equally remunerative or more remunerative channel.

'And so, in like manner, when the M'Kinley and Dingley tariffs brought down our exports of Tin Plates to the United States with a run

from **£4,786,000** in 1890,
to **£ 887,000** in 1902:

I say, in perfectly like manner, we didn't worry. We had no need to!—The cross Atlantic breeze, all the time, of Imports from the United States into England was keeping broad and steady,—or rather it was blowing from steady to half a gale and from half a gale into a hurricane. From us, America could not but for all these sterling imported millions take payment, if not in Tinned Plates, at least in the products of others of our multifarious industries. Very likely not directly! I never said that. But certainly indirectly. Perhaps, to wit, America immediately set about increasing her imports of tea from China, and China began to buy more of our cottons, and so the beneficent stream of floating capital that might otherwise have deposited in South Wales in now unnecessary rolling mills veered gently northwards to Lancashire and crystallised into Cotton mills.

'I do not say, mind you, that the beneficent capital stream did so veer.

'*I merely suggest to you an illustration.*

'But something for certain analogous *did* happen.

'Haven't you heard it?

'! ! ! !—"Surely *somewhere* in this country English-
"men are making the goods which will be exported—
"to France or to some other country—to pay for (Sir
"Conan's) French motor-car." ! ! ! !

'It could not possibly be otherwise. You dont suppose that America is presenting us annually with sterling millions and millions of her delightful produce (and more and more of it year by year)

For nothing!

Once on a time, of course, that little Protectionist joke was very good. But it is now a little thin and fly-blown.—You dont (quite so easily as all that) put salt on cute Mr. Yankee's tail.

'No, Sir, Yankee gets paid! Be sure of that. And if he doesn't have payment out of us in Aberdeen Granite, or Galashiels Woollens, or Welsh Tin Plates, *be quite completely sure that he gets paid.*—(He'll have his pound of flesh out somehow)

out of the fat English Free Trade Goose.

'I do not insinuate, of course, that Mr. Yankee takes payment out in

Paisley Thread,

because on that he claps on an ad valorem tariff of

375 per cent.:

or in

Lancashire Cottons,

(I mean, of course, any more than he can help) because on that he claps a tariff of

25 to 60 per cent.

'I have never suggested that he took it out in

Silk, or Linen, or Hemp, or Jute,

because on these he claps on tariffs of

10 to 60 per cent.:

or in

Iron and Steel or Machinery or Cutlery,

because on these he claps tariffs of

15 to 50 per cent.

'Neither have I ever hinted that he takes it out in

Earthenware Glassware or Porcelain,

because on these he claps on tariffs of

10 to 60 per cent.:

or in

Pickles and Sauces,

because on these the duty vaults as high as

40 per cent.:

or in

Spirits, or Beer and Ale,

because on these he claps on a tariff of

2 to 11 3 per gallon.

'Neither has it ever occurred to any one that he took it out in

Ships and Boats,

because on these he claps on a tariff of

Prohibition:

or in

Alkali or Bleach,

because on these he claps a tariff of

11¼d to 14/ per cwt.:

or in

Furniture, or Toys, or Umbrellas, or Millinery,

because on these he claps on tariffs ranging

from 30 to 60 per cent.

'And much less has any one ever thought of

Hats,

because on these the fellow institutes a tariff which runs up as high as

£10 5s 4d per cwt.!

'But, of course, all that is neither here nor there. Nor does it matter a hairpin how much soever the soil climate situation and resources of Gt. Britain happen to be adapted for any one of these industries. The great essential-cardinal-dominating-undeniable fact, determining the whole economic situation, is:

That Mr. Yankee gets paid!

—not in money, mark you, because (pace Mr. Seddon) that is nonsensically out of the question, but paid per the manufactured products of our British Industries,—perhaps after ten thousand international exchanges—I have never denied that, but at the

last and in the certain ultimate *paid up* to the decimalest fraction of the uttermost farthing by the current Free Trade Labour of our British working men!

'And now please, Gentlemen,—but *one* argumentative minute more, and I am finished.

☞ 'Because what is true of the United States is naturally true of France, and what is true of France is true of Germany, and what is true of the United States and France and Germany is true of all the world.

'That is to say, no matter how they build

as high, if they like, as the Tower of Babel,

their tariff walls up against us, as long as they are good enough and kind enough to continue sending Goods to us, rest you happy and assured upon this:

that they are not going to send them for nothing!

'If, e.g., Germany, which now admits British coal tariff-free, clapt on tomorrow a prohibitive import duty,—well, then, as a consequence, our export of coal to Germany would cease. But as long as we open our Ports to the Goods of the Fatherland, free, and as long as the Fatherlanders (with becoming gratitude) accept the bounty of our Christian simplicity,

so long is our National Economy insured and the future of British Industries secure.

'Because the German cannot export away his German substance without accepting British substance in payment therefor, and if, of his own good pleasure, he disallows discharge in coal,

that only means that he must have payment in some other equally-to-us-agreeable commodity!

'And so, in like manner, if Russia and France and Norway and Sweden and Denmark and Argentina were discovering enough for their needs of coal in their own dominions,—well, of course, in that case, they would no longer need ours.

But the difference would be nominal only.

We have only to keep on buying as much as ever we can of their wheat, and wine, and timber, and bacon and eggs, and as a matter of fact, (as the blue sky is blue above us,) they must take payment,

cant you see, man, that they must be more anxious about that than you need be?

in some other of our superabundant products.

'And so, in perfectly like manner, if our own coal beds unexpectedly panned out, as they are certain to do some day, why, in that case, we couldn't any more export coal in discharge of our liabilities, and these, perforce, *would have to be met in some other way.*

Well, but what now!—

'I do but propose to do voluntarily now, while some of our coal is yet left to us, what the country itself will have to do, willy or nilly, later, when none of it is left.

'And,—and now at last I think the long deferred daylight dawns. For even as the blindest Cobdenite mole at this moment in England must perceive, if, tonight, you homologate my proposal so to increase the coal duty that it will first diminish and finally put an end to the export of coal from England,

'The Foreign Nations unable any longer to take payment out of us in coal will immedfately set about taking payment out of us in something else!

Perhaps (very likely) in Pickles and Jam!

—Perhaps in some other pleasant product *(of the higher industries)* which will involve for you a mode of employment equally sweet and agreeable,—or more.

'And so you see, my friends, if my proposals receive your approbation tonight your future livelihood, and *that*, it really is, I know, (and not any particular monomania for digging coal) that touches your anxiety, is absolutely insured!

'It would, of course, ill become me, in presence of so distinguished a Free Trader as the Rt. Hon. Chairman is, to predict the precise nature of your future employment. But I think I, with serenity, may say:

That it cannot possibly be worse than the one you are at.

You will, at any rate, in future, labour, if not in sunlight, at least in the diffused daylight of God!—

'!—But hark!—I hear a still small voice!

'If my ears are serving me aright, I think I hear a miner murmur that it is not easy for an old greybeard who has grown double with stooping for half a century at the face of the coal to acquire at short notice a split new trade.

'But, alas! that again is just another of those extraordinary fiscal fallacies that are so epidemic in these ignorant days.

The Mobility and Plasticity and Adaptability of Labour in a really Free Trade country is incredible.

Even in the depths of the mine you are every day familiar with the fact. You have miners in your midst who used to be

Tinned Plate Rollers in South Wales,
Steel workers in the Midlands,
Cutlers in Sheffield,
Silk Spinners in Macclesfield,
Woollen Weavers in Galashiels,
Stocking Weavers in Leicester,
Granite Cutters in Aberdeen,—

and you know by experience that in the course of a week (or a fortnight at most) they became as expert as yourselves with pick and shovel,—as black in the face, (if not just yet in the lungs,) and so clothed in rags and patches,—redolent with grime and radiant with grease, that their own mothers and yours would not have distinguished betwixt you.

'Well as to these

Free Trade Labour Transmogrifications

there is, of course, nothing to do. These would quietly resile into their old now-happily-reviving trades, and as for the rest of you,—of difficulty there would really be none nowhere.

'Stirring surely Jam (or Bottling Pickles) is quite as easy in the learning, and infinitely more agreeable in the doing, than squatting your immortal being into the area of a bandbox, and picking blear-eyed and blasphemous in front of a face of coal.

'And, therefore, you see, my dear friends, I really come before you, tonight, as a kind of

Royal Benefactor!

'With the graduated wave of my magic export tariff (of say, to begin with, 2 a ton) I summon you from fetid underground burrows in which you have hitherto passed your existence into the factory, field, and forest,—from the darkness of the infernal regions into the light of the blue sky,—from certain danger into average security,—from inevitable disease into at least an ordinary prospect as to health, and last,—if haply also least, from redolent rags and radiant grease into the normal atmosphere of passable clothing and moderate cleanliness!

☞ 'And I am happy to think, as you in turn are happy to know, that this magic change which awaits your acceptation rests for its coronation—not on any mere idle promise of Mr. Chamberlain,—not, by miles less, on any unreliable speculation of my poor own, but on the irrefragable impregnable basis **of the ever-glorious, world-worshipped, long-tried, never-yet-found-wanting, and never-ever-to-be-found-wanting Doctrine of Free Trade!** (British Brand.)

'It remains only now, before submitting my resolution to your unanimous endorsation, because I have never entertained any doubt as to that, to thank you for the patient and sympathetic hearing which you have given to one who desires to abolish your immediate hard-won bread and butter, and to thank also the Rt. Hon. Chairman for the opportunity which he has tonight afforded himself of learning at first hand how ever pleased a British audience is to sit front forward facing a man who, asking nothing from them that they can give, (not even their applause,) comes before them with courage and sincerity not to proclaim the popular partisan falsehood for the time being, but at all times in the teeth of popular ridicule, personal loss, if need be, and partisan contumely the straight disagreeable far-seeing patriotic political truth.'

XXIII.

From these embroidered excursions to Newcastle and elsewhere I now return.

But how, now, please, and where do we stand?

I am discussing, or supposed to have been, the universal Free Trade contention with you that the Imports of Goods into this country are paid for by the Exports of Goods from this country, (subject, of course, to the familiar limitations,) and this Free Trade contention having been, for the time being and for argument's sake, granted, I thereupon asked with a very childlike Chinese simplicity this question :

WHAT GOODS?

And in straightway reply to my own interrogation hazarded the interpolation :

'That whatever the British Goods might be which the Foreigner is accepting in exchange for the Imports with which he is flooding our markets those Goods are decidedly not the Goods which he was content at one time to take.'

—And I think, on the whole, that I have shown moderate grounds for my interpolation !

The Foreigner, and for simplicity's sake we may flatten the Foreigner out so that he may comprehend the World, is taking proportionately less of our Woollens, less of our Silks, less of our Linens, less of our Cutlery, less of our Earthenware, etc., and he is taking more of our china clay, more of our coal, and more of a great many other things which will be apparent to you presently.

Hear in this regard statistician J. Holt Schooling!

"During 1883-92 as compared with 1873-82

"**our Coal Exports increased by £40,000,000,**

"**and our Exports other than coal increased by £101,000,000.**

"But during 1893-1902 as compared with 1883-92

"**our Exports of Coal increased by £84,000,000,**

'and our Exports other than coal increased by only £28,000,000.

"I may say here that even this small increase of "£28,000,000 in our Exports other than coal was caused "by the increase in our Exports of Machinery and Mill-"work during 1893-1902, an increase of £36,000,000. So "that without this increase in our exports of machinery "our Exports other than coal and machinery actually "decreased by £8,000,000 during 1893-1902 as compared "with 1883-1892."

Exports of Manufactured Goods by Ten of our Principal Manufacturing Industries:—Cotton, Woollens, Iron and Steel, etc.

In the ten years.	1883-1892,	£1,317,000,000
,, ,,	1893-1902, -	£1,209,000,000
	Decrease,	**£ 108,000,000**

We may now on the back of our accumulating knowledge fare further, I think, and (taking up our courage in both hands) challenge the famous contention point blank.

That is to say:

Looking into the statistics of the trade of the United Kingdom, I think we may agree that it does not appear from them very clear that our enormously increasing imports

Are paid for by Goods at all!

(I mean, of course,) in the sine qua n' absolute sense in which the Free Traders would have us believe.

Quite unanimously certain we can all be (at least) of this: *That our incrementing Imports of Manufactured Goods* are not paid for *by a correspondingly incrementing Export of Manufactured Goods.*

Imports into the United Kingdom of Manufactured and Partly Manufactured Goods:

During the ten years,	1883-1892, -	£ 904,000,000
„ „	1893-1902, -	£1,247,000,000
	Increase, - -	£ 343,000,000

Exports from the United Kingdom of Manufactured and Partly Manufactured Goods of British Production: (Except Ships.)

During the ten years.	1883-1892, -	£2,053,000,000
„ „	1893-1902, -	£2,061,000,000
	Increase, -	£ 8,000,000

But even when we have regard to our Imports and Exports of all sorts and sundries things do not seem to strike one as if they were very much healthier.

"Average yearly value of Imports for the ten years "ending 1890,—£394,000,000: for the ten years ending "1900,—£446,000,000.

"**Average Yearly Increment,—£52,000,000!**

"For the same decades the average of our Exports, "including the increasing export of coal, rose only from "£234,000,000 to £239,000,000.

"**Average Yearly Increment,—£5,000,000!**"

Our undoubted plan, however, at this point, appears to be to don our eyeglasses. And have a steady unprejudging look at the actual statistics themselves,—just as they happen to have dropped for the time being, of their own free will, unmanipulated out of Heaven.

With this end in view I present to you the following table: in which I give you in round numbers from 1890 to 1902 our nett Imports and Exports and the differences between the two:

Year.	Nett Imports of Merchandise.	Nett Exports of Merchandise.*	Excess of Imports over Exports of Merchandise.	Excess of Imports over Exports of Gold and Silver.	Total Excess of Imports.
	£ (Million)	£ (Million)	£ (Million)	£ (Million)	£ (Million)
1890,	356	263	93	9	102
1891,	373	247	126	2	128
1892,	360	227	133	3	136
1893,	346	218	128	4	132
1894,	350	216	134	11	145
1895,	357	226	131	15	146
1896,	386	240	146	– 6	140
1897,	391	234	157	– 1	156
1898,	410	233	177	6	183
1899,	420	255	165	10	175
1900,	460	283	177	8	185
1901,	454	271	183	6	189
1902,	462	277	185	5	190

* Excluding Ships.

These in this last column of sterling millions, therefore, being the actual nett annual Balances of Trade which the fond Free Trader is so delightedly proud of explaining away into congratulatory negligibility with an airy whiff of his best clay pipe: our next idea seems to be to lay down side by side these Balances with the "Profits from Abroad"—"so far as they can be identified" which we derive from "Indian Government Stocks, Loans and Guaranteed Railways, Colonial or Foreign Government Securities, Colonial or Foreign Securities (other than Government and Possessions, Railways out of the United Kingdom, and Coupons:"—and take the one from the other.

Year.	Excess of Imports over Exports of Merchandise, Gold and Silver.	'Profits from Abroad.'	Excess of Imports after deducting 'Profits from Abroad.'
	£ (Million)	£ (Million)	£ (Million)
1890,	102	52	50
1891,	128	55	73
1892,	136	55	81
1893,	132	55	77
1894,	145	55	90
1895,	146	54	92
1896,	140	55	85
1897,	156	56	100
1898,	183	57	126
1899,	175	60	115
1900,	185	60	125
1901,	189	60	129
1902,	190	63	127

By the alembic of this simple arithmetic, as you see, therefore, our patriotism is rewarded

By an extraordinary Column:

which appears to be as freaky and jumpy as a British so-called summer thermometer.

Certainly some of its vagaries are remarkable.

Thus we behold a balance of 50 millions in 1890 jumping up

by 23 millions in a year's time,

by 40 millions in four years,

doubling itself in seven years,

and by no less than 76 millions in a period of eight years.

All of which is decidedly quick and remarkably high jumping.

Our next idea would appear to be, (because it is the best that we can do,) at least it is the best that I can, to lay down this jumpy column alongside, figure by figure,—alongside the recorded tonnage of British Shipping: in order to see if out of curiosity this great British freight-earning asset jumps like a twin grasshopper in unison:

Year.	Excess of Imports over Exports after deducting 'Profits from Abroad.' £ (Million)	British Shipping. Tons (Thousand)
1890,	50	6,831
1891,	73	7,046
1892,	81	7,295
1893,	77	7,394
1894,	90	7,554
1895,	92	7,710
1896,	85	7,806
1897,	100	7,780
1898,	126	7,943
1899,	115	8,044
1900,	125	8,290
1901,	129	8,422
1902,	127	8,627

And behold! we behold that it doesn't!—as I suppose any blind fiddler might have predivined.

On the contrary, we, to select but a single item, see, comparing 1896 and 1897, that whereas the freak column jumps upward by 15 millions the shipping (more modest) column actually resiles.

What remains now, therefore, next to advise?

—Broadly speaking, I think, now, not much.

There is, of course, the very unnecessary surely note which nobody in his senses needs: namely that these figures fall about as far short of the actual statistical fiscal truth,—as, say, the angels know it, as would I, perhaps, in artistic if, shut up in a coal cellar with a glue pot and a tooth brush, I were asked to paint an alpine scene which I had never seen.

Nobody thinks, just, e.g., for a moment, that our "Profits from abroad" are as they are (just) in that meagre column which I have given you. Indeed even to the figures set in there for what they are worth responsible officialdom has this addendum to attach:

"The figures in this column include a certain amount (from £6,000,000 to £7,000,000 in recent years) exempted from the tax, mainly on the ground that it belonged to foreigners and others resident abroad."

Nor, in like manner, can any one think of our British Exports going out to redress British Imports without remembering at the back of his head, at the same time, the tribute that we are under duty to pay to the foreigner for what he has invested with us, and the capital loans which we may be simultaneously wasting upon him.

Etc.

But even the tables such as I have given you them, water-logged and worm-eaten with every variety and species of qualification and disqualification, do in the end make one thing clear.

They instruct us in very unmistakeable large letters that we have taken a wrong original turning: and that when in my exuberance I suggested the enquiry:

What Goods?

I was, to say the decided least of it, a bit previous.

I should have sent my innocent plumb-line straighter and deeper and truer. And asked instead:

?

Why Goods

?

XXIV.

Well, Sir, in answer to this question, for, mind you, they dont burke it, the Free Trade Theorists have the delightful courage to come forward with a reason which I do not doubt is very easy and very irresistible to the convinced Free Trader but which at the same time is,—in itself, so, in a way, at least to my mind,

Transcendentally Delicate

that I should as soon think—I (turning the scale at fourteen stone) of skating over an invalid spider's web as I should dream of trusting to the every-day language of my lumbering intellect the scientific expression of a theory so,

—SO CLINCHINGLY CONCLUSIVE!

In accordance with my hitherto practice, therefore, I will stand aside and some distinguished Free Trader will set the illustrious idea with luminosity before you!

For this purpose I go back to an authoritative article in the September Fortnightly Review of 1903 contributed by Mr. J. A. Spender,—every learned line of which reeks (as you will presently smell) of that consummate fascinating air of cocksure finality which appears to be God's impervious natal gift to every little human being preordained to be a convinced Free Trader.

!—Certainly of course my extract might be shorter.

But as every at present hour of my unhappy life is one protracted agonised torture lest any convinced Free Trader should for an instant imagine that I am at any time doing less than justice to the magic imbecility of his adored infatuation,—I will in point of fact make my excerpt much longer than otherwise there is any need to:

THE FULL FREE TRADE ARGUMENT.

From the Fortnightly Review.

"**What is that doctrine,**

"and what are the facts it seeks to explain?

"**Here I must be very elementary,**

"but there is no other way of clearing the ground. In

"the last analysis most Protectionist arguments reduce "themselves to

"a panic about imports.

"The apparently alarming fact reveals itself that, whereas "Great Britain is sending out only £349,000,000 worth "of goods (including £60,000,000 of re-exports), she is "receiving no less than £528,000,000. From this it is "deduced that the 'balance of trade is against us,' that "'our production is falling off,' that 'the foreigner is "'capturing our home markets' and dumping his goods "to the ruin of domestic industries. 'Calchas' labours "under these beliefs to a rather exceptional extent "even among Protectionists. 'We are nourishing,' he "repeatedly tells us, 'the competitive power of rivals "'who have shut us out of their sphere, and are now "'driving back our home trade in our home markets at "'the rate of thirty millions per annum.' 'The field of "'the home manufacturer, smaller to begin with, is still "'further restricted. As he is borne back at home by "'the foreign imports of finished goods, which increase "'by thirty millions a decade, his power to compete "'abroad is simultaneously injured. The home man- "'facturer is therefore liable to be destroyed. His capital "'is insecure, while the capital of his rivals is guaranteed "'against him.' Thus 'the vitality of British enterprise "'will never be restored to its full strength until foreign "'producers are placed under the same difficulties in our "'markets as have paralysed our progress in theirs.' "Examples might be multiplied, but these will suffice. "The object is to paralyse the foreigner as he is para- "lysing us, and that is to be achieved by making it "difficult for him to send us goods.

"With the facts and figures contained in these "passages I shall deal hereafter. We are concerned "now with the assumptions. These are manifestly "(1) that the foreigner in sending us goods, or at all "events in sending them in apparent excess of what we "send him, is inflicting an injury upon us which we

"should resent and resist with all the weapons at our "disposal, and (2) that in so far as we sell to him we "should endeavour to do so without buying from him. "Now, since in 'Calchas's' argument the foreigner is "supposed to possess not merely the normal amount of "enlightened self-interest, but an altogether exceptional "cunning, which places the foolish Britisher at his mercy, "on what principle and from what motive is he supposed "to be acting in sending us these inordinate imports? "Manifestly, according to the Protectionist argument, he "is not getting paid for them in goods, for the complaint "is that the exports are less than the imports; nor in "gold, for gold on balance flows into the United Kingdom 'instead of out of it to the foreigner; nor by any services "rendered by us to him, for these are invariably omitted "from the account.

"**Why, then, does he do it?**

"The explanations are many and various. One says "that he is 'dumping' on a vast scale, i.e., selling at less "than cost price in order to crush our home industries "and establish a monopoly in our markets and in neutral "markets hereafter; **another asserts that we are "paying him by selling out British capital invested "abroad—or, rather, did assert it, until it was proved "to demonstration from the income-tax returns that "we are increasing instead of diminishing our invest-"ments abroad.** Others frankly give it up and declare "it to be an inscrutable and unholy mystery. 'Calchas' "appears, on the whole, to belong to the 'dumping' school, "but in the main he merely asserts that the foreigner "does it and must mean mischief by it. But suppose for "a moment we banish the notion that imports are a "branch of a great anti-British foreign conspiracy, and "see if there is any explanation which fits in with ordin-"ary human nature as it usually manifests itself in the "pursuit of business. Suppose, for instance, we had to "prepare an account between Great Britain and foreign 'countries on purely business principles, setting on one

"side the goods which Great Britain delivers and the "services which she renders, what value in imports must "we set on the other side for the foreigner to send us in "order to balance the account and save us from loss? "We send out goods to the value of £340,000,000, for "which an equivalent must be received in this country. "To the value of these goods must be added the value "of the freights and the payments for the services which "the great British shipping trade renders to the foreigner. "A low estimate of these is £100,000,000. Next there is "a sum due to us for profit on British capital employed "in foreign business, interest on British investments in "foreign countries, and salaries, annuities, and pensions "(mainly Indian) which are remitted to this country. "In 1899 Sir Robert Giffen estimated that a total of "£90,000,000 was not far off the mark for these items. "Finally there are the payments due to us on com- "missions, insurance, agency, and similar items. Sir "Robert Giffen estimated these at £16,000,000 in 1882, "and they must have largely increased since that date. "Let us say £20,000,000. Adding up these various "amounts, we reach a total of at least £550,000,000 due "to us every year from the foreigner. As a matter of "fact, we receive £520,000,000, the difference being "accounted for by the reinvestment abroad of interest "earned abroad and by the payments among our exports "of values due to the foreigner for his investments in "business in this country.* But in the absence of any "other means of obtaining payment for our goods sent "out and services rendered, the excess of imports over "exports is an absolute condition of British foreign trade, "**and whosoever desires to reduce the ratio of imports**

* "Sir Robert Giffen's estimates are very conservative, and it "is probable that the payments due to us from the foreigner are "considerably greater than are here suggested, and leave a larger "margin for reinvestment abroad and for interest due to the "foreigner. The assessments for income-tax show an increase of "over £6,000,000 in the earnings from foreign investments since "1896-7."

"must be presumed to wish that we shall not be paid "for goods delivered or services rendered. So far "from being reduced, the excess of imports must and "ought to increase, so long as the shipping trade expands "and Englishmen continue to invest any portion of their "savings abroad. This is what Free Traders mean when "they say that imports are the true test of British foreign "trade prosperity. For though our visible exports "may not show an increase as rapid as our imports, "the latter are the index of these immense invisible ex- "ports in which Great Britain stands pre-eminent in the "world. There could be no permanent trade between "two countries if the one had everything to give and the "other nothing to offer.

"**Suppose that for a few months**

"we purchased heavily abroad and at the same time "suspended both our exports of goods and those "'invisible exports' which consist of services rendered "through the shipping trade and in other ways to the "foreigner.

"**What, in that case, would be the result?**

"Manifestly that Mr. Seddon's nightmare would become "true, and an enormous stream of bullion or golden "sovereigns would issue from the country in payment "of these purchases.

"**But, simultaneously, and in conse- "quence of this export of gold, prices "would fall in England and rise abroad, "until it again became profitable for the "foreigner to purchase goods in England "equivalent in value to the goods we were "purchasing from him.**

"We can see the process everywhere in operation. "If a nation temporarily overpurchases, that is, buys "more from the foreigner than it is able to pay for "in goods and services, the shipments of bullion "which then become necessary operate automatically "to check the home trade and by lowering prices to "bring them to the level at which it becomes profitable

"to the foreigner to become a customer. The outward "expression of this is the rise in the bank rate, which "at once checks the outflow of gold and has an adverse "effect upon home trade.

"These monetary movements, which some people "find so mysterious, are merely the mechanical ways of "equalising the conditions between the various parties "engaged in barter, and of putting a temporary check on "trade when one side has bought in goods or services "more than it can pay for in goods or services.

———o———

"**The fear of over-buying, by which "we mean buying from the foreigner "more than is the equivalent of our "exports, added to what is due to us on "freights, investments, etc., need not "oppress us in the least.**

———o———

"**If there were any ground for it, we "should instantly be warned by the ship-"ments of gold, and these, again, would "operate automatically to check our "imprudence.**

———o———

"**That we do not overbuy is proved by "the fact that on the balance we import "rather more bullion and specie than we "export.**

———o———

"Now, this brief summary of the conditions of foreign "trade

"**is no economic pedantry,**

"**but the everyday working hypothesis on "which it is conducted by those who "take part in it.**

"It looks to many of us a matter-of-fact account of "business transactions; **and since no alterna-"tive has ever been suggested by any of "the disputants in this controversy, we "see not the slightest reason to depart "from it.**"

XXV.

☞ Now! Lo! Ladies and Gentlemen! Sharp and clean! Cut and dry! there it is for you!—all in an eloquent lucid and convincing nutshell! Heartily convinced? Hey? (I thot so!)

'*The fear of overbuying*—!'—Pshaw! The fear of overdying! The fear of green cheese flying!

(—What? —Of course. Thank you. I know. It couldn't be otherwise.

But in any case, my dear friend, rest you convinced of this, that the words which I have quoted you—the actual views, ideas and theories which these words envisage, touch, without any doubt, the very topmost ethereal ne-plus-transcendental heights of the scientific Free Trade imagination. And, therefore, if you remain still unillumined and unconvinced, unconvinced and unillumined you must e'en consent to go down into the burning Hell of unrepentant heretics.

'No economic pedantry!'—Oh!—Oh! Oh! Mr. Spender! Who would have been so base ever now as to suggest such an insult?

On the contrary, Gentlemen, you feel,—I feel,—you as you imbibe that deep profound of Solomonian wisdom,—and I as I ponder over the blistering wastes of my economic innocence, you feel—I feel—that—that:—the human intellect could no further go.

And neither, to say truth, I honestly believe, to the end of time it ever will.

In ponderous floundering hopeless helpless imbecility!

And Lord High Jupiter! on the mighty!—Heavens! irrefragable strand of this irresistible Tom-tiddle,—on which any poor housewife would decline to risk the security of a cracked teapot,

THESE—THESE FANATICAL DOCTRINAIRE LACKANAPES!
ASK US TO SUSPEND A WORLD EMPIRE!

!—Oh flabber-thundering sublimity of overweening blundering beetle-headed ——!

—Well, it's not so much the *impotence* I mind!—What gives me the hiccup is the stinking conceit that goes along with it.

For what, really,—even if it were true,—and leaving the illuminating Mr. Spender out,—(only, that I know of,) God and Mr. Asquith, of their own real knowledge, could declare that it really was,—would this irrefutable theory really amount to?

—In the language of common life to this: that our Commercial Rivals after having ruined us *might be induced* to step in later (into the saleroom)

And purchase at reduced rates our Bankrupt Stock!

But suppose,—and the most convinced Free Trader cannot surely ask for more,—suppose we make a present of this

'instantly warning!'
infallible!
'automatic-national-imprudence-checking!'
(Every Bankrupt item a bargain!)—Theory!

—suppose we grant it true:

What then?

Are there not a thousand and one,—friends, surely! (say rather a million and two) commercial adjustments not merely possible and probable

but absolutely certain

ages before a great and wealthy empire could reach that position of national extremity (which in the affairs of private life we call the Bankruptcy Court) but which our Free Traders contemplate on the National and Imperial scale with such smiling compensatory confidence and theoretical delight?

—Surely, my dear friends! Surely!

Rome isn't built in a day: and didn't crumble to dust in a forenoon.

Suppose on that account, therefore, we leave Mr. Spender and his automatic golden theories on one side and see if we cannot look for ourselves into this great big stumbling (fool-easy) problem which has proved such a Sherlock Holmes in the way of detecting and revealing the unimaginable legions of unsuspected asses in the country,

Asses in our Editorial Chairs,
Ditto in our Economical Chairs,
Asses who contribute learned articles to learned Magazines,
and Ditto who contribute to the Cobden club,

—and that great big odd potpourri menagerie of something even more than asses (mostly) whom the pot luck of wealth and influence, and Heaven's retribution for our sins, have selected to legislate for us,—the same that we have seen lately—a parcel of illiterate geese thrown into consternation at the explosion in their midst of a simple statesmanlike idea and flying cackling with incoherence and inconsecution in every direction but the right one!

—I say, suppose we look with our own eyes and the light of a little mother's common sense into this great big strange fiscal jack-ass problem and see

—WELL—WHAT WE CAN SEE!

XXVI.

Well, in that case,—I say, if you agree to that, I should say that the first elementary point that I should think worth noting would be this:

If, e.g., you are a manufacturer of woollens in this country and sell a thousand pounds' sterling worth of your goods to Russia you do so, clearly, and rejoice in doing so, on the clear understanding with yourself that in return for the woollen goods which you have exported you will presently have the pleasure of seeing a £1,000, which would not otherwise have been there, standing on the credit side of your bank account.

You do not dream for a moment of receiving in payment of your woollen goods an equivalent of their value in

'Caoutchouc Manufactures,'
or 'Cordage and Twine,'
or 'Drugs of all sorts,'
or 'Flax dressed or undressed,'
or 'Tow,'
or 'Hemp dressed or undressed,'
or 'Leather,'
or 'Oil Seed Cake,'
or 'Paper, or Quicksilver, or House Frames,'

—all of which we are in the habit of importing from Russia.

Very much less would it ever enter your noddle to accept in exchange for your woollen goods a thousand pounds' worth of

Woollen Manufactures,

which, I see, to the value of over £21,000 we imported from Russia in the year 1902.

What, I say, you insist upon having, rather, is one thousand sterling pounds set down to your credit in your bank account,—which you will be in a position to draw upon for any kind of purpose whatever which necessity or circumstance or fancy may suggest:

As, e.g.,

To pay the wages of your workmen,
Settle your doctor's bill,
Provide your wife with a silk dress or a sealskin jacket,
Purchase a picture,
Send your daughter to a boarding school or yourself on a Rundreise:

Etc..

That is exactly, (in plain,) what you want, and that is for the most part what you get, although the magic by which the mystery is brought about you neither know,—nor, (if you are like most of your neighbours,) care greatly to.

As things, however, now are, we must try to know,—and happily the magic is easily explained.

Before the £1,000 was set down to the credit of your bank account what happened was this:

Some individual in Great Britain, whom you never heard of (and to the end of your existence never will) about the time you effected your sale of woollen goods felt one day an urgent need for oil seed cake,—or flax tow,
and placed his order for the same with a Russian firm.

Having in due course received his thousand pounds' worth of oil seed cake and his account for the same, what the Scotch buyer, wishing to settle his bill, then did was this:

He went one morning to the National Bank of Scotland, drew from his inside pocket out his cheque book, filled out a cheque for £1,000 in favour of that Bank, and across the counter—it handed signed to the Teller.

The National Bank Teller, on receiving this cheque, called aloud for a Draft Book, and on a perforated semi-stereotyped page of the same,—catching up in turn his pen,—'indited,' (with assistance,) as follows:

The National Bank of Scotland, Limited.

£1,000 Stg.

No. 74 / 10,000

Glasgow, *14th April, 1904.*

On demand, pay to the order of Nicholas Nicolaievitch, Oil Seed Cake Merchant, Moscow, the sum of One Thousand Pounds stg., as advised.

D. McNab, *Agent.*

F. Wilson, *Accountant.*

To The National Bank of Scotland, Ltd.,
37 Nicholas Lane,
LONDON, E.C.

This document,—signed with care and attested, he handed back across the counter to the Scotch Buyer, who in turn took it with him home and had it posted to Russia in settlement of his oil seed cake account.

Now cross we with the Royal Mail to Russia.

Nicholas Nicolaievitch on receipt of this order on London—took it (and his bank book) to the Moscowische Disconto Bank, Moscow, and handed it endorsed to the Teller.—When and whereupon the Moscowische Teller wrote down in the bank book, to the credit of Nicholas Nicolaievitch, £1,000, and then forwarded with care, for 'collection,' the order to their Correspondent in

London. In turn the London Correspondent on receipt of this globe-trotting instruction carried it to the Clearing House of London and buttonholing the agent of the National Bank of Scotland there,—addressed him thus:

> 'Here, if you please, Sir, is a Draft emanating from 'your bank and promising to pay to Nicholas Nicolaie- 'vitch on his demanding it in London £1,000. Nicholas, 'unfortunately, cannot come just so far, but being a well- 'known client of ours in Moscow our people there have 'paid him the money,—as attested here by his endorse- 'ment,—and I have now the pleasure of asking you to 'redeem to me, the Moscowische Disconto Bank, Moscow, 'the promise which you, the National Bank of Scotland, 'made to the Nicholas Nicolaievitch,
>
> '**in Gold.**'

So far,—nothing could be more perfect!

But in the interim this, also, happily, has happened!

The Russian who bought your Woollens has to you forwarded in payment therefor, in like manner, an order for £1,000 on the London Correspondent of the Moscowische Disconto Bank, Moscow,—which order has been placed to your credit by the National Bank of Scotland, and, thereafter, forwarded to *their* London Agent 'for collection.'

And so when the agent of the Moscowische buttonholes the agent of the National and asks for £1,000 in gold, the National is delighted:

> 'The very man I was looking for! Here Mos- 'cowische! Here's an order, see, emanating from your 'Head Office in Moscow promising to pay a client of 'ours, in London, £1,000.—!—Rhino, Please!'

And so the two agents smile: and shake hands: and exchange orders: (and adjourn for a talk about the weather:) and,

The International transaction is finished!

XXVII.

Now, my dear friend, in relation to this little commercial (diagrammatic) narration and before we go any further, there are two points in particular which I would wish you to note.

First!

The Bank order which was sent to Nicholas Nicolaievitch in payment of his account **contained no mention of the fact that oil seed cake had been received in Gt. Britain for the amount transmitted.**

The order, in like manner, which you received from Russia **made no allusion to the fact that you were receiving your £1,000 in payment of Woollens which you had sent to Russia.**

When, therefore, the two orders foregathered in the Clearing House of London they did not balance and obliterate one another **because one of them stood for £1,000 of Oil Seed Cake** exported from Russia to Great Britain,
and the other for £1,000 of Woollen Goods exported from Great Britain to Russia.

They balanced and obliterated one another on this account:

Because the Moscowische Disconto Bank, Moscow, was in a position to present a claim for £1,000 against the National Bank of Scotland,

And because the National Bank of Scotland was in a position to make a counter claim of £1,000 against the Moscowische Disconto Bank, Moscow.

!—Thank you, Sir, I quite sympathise.

But 'we must' (as the delightful Mr. Spender puts it) 'be very elementary.'!

In the second place!

I am anxious that you should keep in the front of your cranium for ready reference a kind of Liebig's extract of what has transpired.

Namely.

A little bit of valueless script only was that which reached from Great Britain the Russian Merchant who sold the oil seed cake.

The cash —or to come a little closer up to science—the actuality claim for which this scripture stood did not go to Russia at all, or anywhere near it. It didn't in fact one little inch budge from where it resided.

One morning, merely, this actuality claim **was blotted out of the bank account of the unknown British merchant** who purchased the Russian oil seed cake,

and reappeared on the credit side of yours, in payment of the woollens which you had transmitted to Russia.

And, in like manner, the Russian merchant who bought your woollen goods and ought to have paid you directly **does nothing of the kind. He hands of his Russian substance, which should have come to you, to his brother merchant in Russia** who sold the oil seed cake to Britain.

!—And in this simple happy way, curious to relate, everybody is pleased! International trade is reduced to an unconscious system of beneficent Barter, and when one transaction is wiped off the slate—the slate is ready to receive another.

It is easy, of course, to see that the simple transaction which I have adumbrated may be infinitely in reality more multiplex.

Fifty or fifty thousand merchants might be involved on the Russian side of the transaction, and five and thirty, or thirty-five thousand, on the British.

The transaction might embrace a thousand and one banks and a world of intermediate nations.

The British merchant whose £1,000 you really receive may be an Importer who has bought wines in France, or tea in China, or coffee in Brazil, whose particular purchase in a roundabout international way may have been paid by the £1,000 worth of Woollens which you have sent to Russia.

—Now, Sir, I think that up to this point the whole of us are pretty well agreed.

(The Free Trader doesn't think so. He is of opinion that this great Theory of International trade is very peculiarly and specially his own,—the great, indeed, immovable rock on which the great inviolable Theory of Free Trade is impregnably rooted. He thinks that once it is granted the mere idea of Protection is ludicrous *and seen to be so*, and his scientific anxiety is pathetic!

Full of his—this blessed exchange theory—('tis, in fact, just *this*) —to wit, the delightfully comic touch which it gives to an otherwise tragic controversy that has saved my poor mind) in dealing with it (so far) from the solace of suicide—he is like a hen on a red hot girdle. He is convinced (good soul) that the theory is *so delicate and abstruse* that it cannot possibly be understanded of the man in the street. He thinks, on the contrary, that that nameless imbecile is far more likely to be swayed by some passing personal interest, and that some fine morning, therefore, awakening, he may find the beautiful unanswerable Theory of Free Trade torn up overnight from its scientific roots by the sheer blind insane pull of interested ignorance.

And with such a possibility probable—with what ah!—pathetic insistence! he turns to those who (haply he thinks) have the possibility of brains that might be got to understand the great theory,—until we begin to wonder if we are really—(or long) away from our mother's breast.

!!—Poor, blind, dear, anxious idiot! How more sparing he might be both of his pains and his anxiety!

For so far from being unaware or negligent of this great theory of International Exchange—this 'tis the very, and no other, by whose agency we 'ignorant' Protectionists pound the convinced Free Trader's infantile conception of Free Trade into an amorphous jelly.

Agreed up to this point then, as I have said, it is just at this particular point of agreement that we all begin to differ.

XXVIII.

The Free Trader appears to have the sub-conscious notion lying somewhere in the thick of his back head that between

Your selling a £1,000 worth of Woollens to Russia,
And some other British Unknown's purchasing a similar value in oil seed cake from that country

there is some

secret
mysterious
sympathetic
automatic
unfailing
irresistible
necessary
causal connection!

And the elementary fact which it is first of all necessary to see built into your heads—(Have no fear, Sir! the great Allah who knows

Mr. Spender,
and Mr. Harold Cox,
and Mr. Asquith,
and the Duke of Devonshire,
and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach,

will, in his divine mercy, again forgive!)
is

That there is no such necessary automatic association!

What is merely

automatic and necessary

is

that the

International Transaction,

whether of

Import or Export, shall

get itself

Financially Adjusted!

The convinced Free Trader immemorially incommutably affirms that this financial adjustment **must take place in Goods.**

'Our imports were not sent to us out of philan-
'thropy. Every halfpenny of their value was pay-
'ment for something which British workmen had
'expended their industry upon.'

Mr. Asquith at Newcastle.

'Surely somewhere in this country Englishmen
'are making the Goods which will be exported—to
'pay for the French motor-car.'

One of the Immortals.

'Thus Sir Arthur's payment for his French motor
'finds its way to the pocket of an English Exporter—
'let us say a Huddersfield manufacturer who has
'been sending Woollens to France and must be paid
'for them.—Thus Sir Arthur has benefited himself
'benefited British shippers and British agents and
'employed a profitable home industry.'

A Free Trade Luminary of the House of Commons.

But we are in the happy position now of being able to check this immemorial affirmation off, so to say, our own bat.

Because even I think the humblest hodman amongst us is in the position to now recognise that these so-called 'Goods' that possess the Free Trade property of

'Financial Adjustment'

are not necessarily woollens,
or cottons,
or machinery,
(or 'Huddersfield manufactures' of any kind,)
or even coal or china clay:
are not necessarily even tangible Goods:
but are, in fact, and may be
anything whatever tangible or intangible
possessing only these essentials:
a money value,
and the capacity of transferability!

The Goodwill of a good-going business is an intangible imponderable entity:

But the Goodwill of a good business has a money value:

And is transferable:

The Goodwill of a good business, therefore, falls like a ripe apple into, (or, if you like,) through, the wide-meshed category of the Free Trader's 'Goods.'

An early Edition of Shakespeare:
A pane of glass on which Burns scribbled:
A love letter of Lord Nelson's:
The bullet that killed him:
The inkstand of Lord Byron:
A Manuscript of Sir Walter Scott:
A lock of Queen Mary's hair:
The axe that beheaded King Charles the First:

All these possess a money value:
They are all capable of transference:
They are therefore all capable of adjusting exchanges:
And they are all categorical 'Goods.'

You see I dont give the ash of a farthing cigarette: that is to say, I am not here to waste a solitary moment wrangling as to whether imports are paid for with 'Goods' or with 'Something other than Goods.' That for my poor wits were a too idiotic logomachy.

I am willing to call any commercial act fact or relation on this earth 'Goods' if so be I am in a position thereby to soothe were it a monkey's logical feelings. I am concerned solely and merely in the analysis of these 'earthly acts facts and relations!'

☞ But this, my dear friends, as you can understand, opens up a wide vista of speculation!

And, in fact, is:

The Scientific Beginning of the Free Trade End!

XXIX.

Here, e.g., is a curious Paragraph that struck the other day my patriotic eye:

"**SPIES IN THE NAVY.**

"**A good deal of intelligence is sent abroad by** "men who are members of the crews of warships, "though this does not go on as much as was the case "years ago, for the Admiralty made certain changes "which prevented the entry of men of this description. "Still, it is unquestionable that even now they do get "into the crew of a warship."

"Army and Navy Gazette."

Here is another:

"**GERMANY AND NAVAL 'SECRETS.'**

"A remarkable photograph has just been published "in a Berlin weekly paper of the British battleship St. "Vincent, now being built at Portsmouth. Seeing that "British photographers are expressly forbidden from "taking photographs of ships under construction or "being repaired, the question now arises as to the manner "in which this photo was obtained. It is understood "that (says the 'Liverpool Courier's' London writer) "the matter is likely to be brought forward in Parlia- "ment shortly. **It has been an open secret in service** "**circles for some time past that photos of the most** "**confidential nature respecting the British Navy are** "**in the possession of the German authorities.**"

Here is a still livelier, lovelier, larger! and even really poetic contribution! to the same issue which I have culled from a rabid Free Trade organ:

"**SPIES IN BRITAIN.**

"**Interest in our Arsenals and Manœuvres.**

"**Elaborate System.**

"The extent to which the inquisitiveness of a certain "foreign nation has increased of late, though unsuspected "by the public, engages proper attention from naval and "military authorities.

"On the East Coast of England a staff ride was "recently held in which both naval and military officers "took part. The staff ride in question was undertaken "for the purpose of ascertaining the conditions under "which a descent on East Anglia must take place, and "the provisions necessary for its adequate defence.

"**At the beginning of the ride it was apparent "that the object of the expedition was known, and "had excited keen personal interest in foreign "waiters serving in a succession of hotels at which "the officers put up for the night.** So great was the "enterprise and earnestness of these foreigners in pushing "their inquiries that it was found necessary to engage "the whole accommodation of the hotels and inns patron "ised by the officers, in order to prevent the clumsy and "persistent intrusion to which they were subjected by "guests or waiters of foreign extraction.

"Opulent Photographer.

"It was the custom of the staff officers to hold a "meeting every night after the day's reconnaissance was "complete, in order to discuss the various issues raised in "the course of the day. These discussions involved the "use of written memoranda, notes, and calculations of "great importance, and orders were given—not before "they were necessary—that before separating for the "night every scrap of paper used during the discussion "should be burned; this duty being entrusted to an "officer of proved capacity.

"**In one of the small towns in East Anglia, a "foreigner, carrying on the trade of a photographer, "exhibited such insatiable curiosity** in regard to the "doings of the British officers taking part in the staff "ride that inquiry was made into the man's antecedents.

"It was found that he had settled in the town some "two months before, and that he spent money at a rate "far beyond the means of any small seaport photographer. "His tastes and habits were those of a gentleman.

"He lived alone, and, except when sketching or "photographing the surrounding country, he remained "aloof from the population, especially from the small "shopkeepers, to whose class he ostensibly belonged.

"The case of this East Anglian photographer led "the authorities to investigate systematically the extent "to which the coast is studied by resident aliens for war "purposes.

"**It was found that not only the East Coast, but "the whole of the southern counties, from Kent to "Cornwall, is divided into districts, each of which, "like a Bishop's diocese in partibus, is committed "to the charge of a single authority.**

"**Dockyard Espionage.**

"**The arrangements for espionage in the arsenals "and dockyards lack nothing in efficiency. Formerly "four spies at Portsmouth were considered sufficient** "for the discharge of the intelligence duties for the Great "Power referred to. **Recently no less than ten intelli-"gence officers or spies have been placed on duty "at Portsmouth.**

"**As an example of the signal efficiency of "Germany's intelligence methods, it may be men-"tioned that a photograph of the interior of the "Dreadnought appeared in a German nautical maga-"zine some weeks before the launch of that secretly-"constructed vessel on February 10.**

"No English photographer had been allowed on "board, and suspicion fell on the Construction Department. "When challenged on the subject the staff responsible for "building the ship were able to clear themselves of the "charge of divulging official information.

"**Proof was then established that the leakage "took place at the Admiralty, Whitehall, where the "only duplicate set of plans and photographs of the "ship was deposited.**

"The forthcoming naval manœuvres have elicited "unusual interest in the spying fraternity."

Now, Sir, but what does all this mean? It means, Sir, merely this: that among the great nations of the earth—all of them are not our friends. We have enemies active and potential. And active and potential enemies want as much information about us, about our army, our navy, our guns, our want of guns, our ammunition, our arsenals, our dockyards, our defences, and plans, and secrets, as they can get.

But Information has a money value:

And Information is transferable:

And Information, therefore, a letter, a look, a whisper, can figure in a financial equation and do the work of magic in the Clearing House of London.

Well, but, in that case, now,
I am a Toy Merchant in London, and of the

£727,557 worth of Toys:

* * * *

Or, with your permission, rather, I have changed my mind!
I am a Seller of Musical Instruments, and of the

£738,316 in Musical Instruments

that Germany sold to Great Britain in 1902 I am the happy purchaser of £50,000:

(But you dont suppose now,—not with my Liebig's extract fermenting still in the front of your brain-pan,—you dont suppose that I send my £50,000 to Germany in settlement of my bill!

What I do rather is this:

The German Emperor having purchased (for that sum) the plans of the Dreadnought, or, to that amount, a golden bias, on the rotten spoke of some social wheel that may influence the socio-political helm that may determine the direction of state policy, mayhap hung!—

What I do is this: I hand my German musical cheque over to the unhung English traitor who has been serving myself and my country and *his* country so nobly well!

Goods have been paid for by ——!

XXX.

I come—curious, in my notes, to a pin-perforated space out of which an extract has fallen :—

I do not remember the scapegrace's exactitude, but in the counterfoil in my cranium there is an odd running out suggestion to the dim effect that between them,—more or less, the Czar of Russia and the King of Belgium hold (or was it held ?) in deposition in some English Bank or Banks

something like two million sterling pounds !—

(I could not, of course, guarantee *that*,) but here is another that will do my purpose instead :

> "**Illustrious Income-Tax Payers.**
>
> "**Among the fifty individuals who contribute "most to the income tax,** says one London correspond- "ent, are **the Czar of Russia, the Queen Regent of "Spain, and the ex-Empress Eugenie.** It is eloquent "testimony to the stability of insular investments in "Continental eyes. Whenever foreign countries are "disturbed much capital finds its way to this country."

But these things thus being !—I, if you please, am an English Economic County Council, and from the cheapest Steel and other markets in Belgium and Russia and France and Spain I have purchased

£3,000,000, the other day, in Goods.

Sterling !—English works at my command close down and English (County Council Ratepaying) Working Men run idle.

But ! But please dont worry ! Because all that I have done is only another economic way of saying for short : **that other English Works which have previously been doing half time, or no time at all, begin now to fire up and go full time—and over-time !**

☞ —How, (by the way,) really, are you so thick in the comprehension!

'Our imports' dont you know?—'are not sent to us out of philanthropy. Every ha'penny of their value !'

'Surely somewhere in this country Englishmen are making the Goods which will be exported to pay for these millions!'

'The County Council's payment of three millions finds its way into the pockets of English Exporters—let us say Huddersfield Manufacturers who have been sending woollens to France, popguns to Russia, and ground ginger to Spain, —and must be paid for their wares!'

But even while the woollen furnaces and the ground ginger mills are firing up in expectant Huddersfield

the Czar of Russia,
and the King of the Belgians,
and the Queen Regent of Spain,
and the Empress Eugenie

are to the Bank of England, the while, transmitting sterling, for deposition

£3,000,000!

And—and, well, what is there any more that you would wish to be said? The disappointed furnaces damp down again.— What more can they do? And the County Councils, blessing God for Free Trade, publish to admiring constituencies their penny ha'penny economics and twopenny farthing cheeseparings, —and —And the fourteen go on drawing their fees, and Mr. Asquith his fame:
And,—and in a word, everybody is delighted, the matter is settled.—

Goods have been paid for by Goods!

XXXI.

The next odd libel that appears in my notes bears the happy title:

"**FUNDS FOR FREE TRADERS.**

"**Strange Statement from America.**

"**The following telegram has been received by "the 'Financial News' from its New York corres- "pondent:**

"**The 'Journal of Commerce,' the leading Free "Trade authority in the United States, prints a "prominent 'spread' regarding reports that American "money will aid the English Liberals at the next "election, and that it is American money which will "enable the party to fight in every constituency. In "preparing for the fight they have the financial as "well as the moral support of American Protectionists. "Victory will be a question of money.**

"**The 'Journal of Commerce' adds that one of the "latest letters from a gentleman, generally supposed "to be familiar with the trend of affairs, says that "some of the money has arrived already, and is being "used in England.**"

!—What a delightfully old way of paying new debts!

* * —I beg pardon!

Our imports are not sent to us out of philanthropy. Every ha'penny of their value ——!'

Yes,—I know. I know all that.

'Goods are paid for by—by—!'

Yes! Of course! Of course!—That goes all without saying. But I wasn't thinking of that. I was thinking rather—dont you know? that if, every six months or so, we could only contrive to get up a General Election we would be in a fair way of

Of Getting them paid for by Nothing!—

XXXII.

The next odd story that appears in my indictment is

The Tale of Farmer Hicks!

Farmer Hicks
and a number of well-to-do English Farmers

go one day to the County Capital, and, being in need of Agricultural Instruments,

—First of all, they dispose of their farm produce,—their corn, their potatoes, their fat stock, in the dearest market they can find, and, having safely deposited in the County Bank their cash of sale, proceed to buy their Agricultural Machinery in the cheapest market.

'Let us take—machinery:' said Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, at Manchester.—(Nov. 5, 1903.)

'Well, I am a Farmer, and I find that I can buy my reaping machines and other expensive agricultural instruments

more cheaply and better

from the United States than I can in this country.'

☞ A hundred times over, by the irresistible power of an overwhelming logic, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and other convinced Free Traders have already convincingly proved that American Instrument Manufacturers having more to pay for their steel, their machinery, their coal, their labour, their factories, their everything, cannot possibly compete with those whose privilege it is to manufacture in the Manufacturing Paradise of Free Trade.

(But let that pass.)

Now you may be sure of this, that what Sir Michael Hicks-Beach finds it best to do others will hardly find less convenient.

And so the well-to-do English Farmers, following the lead of Farmer Hicks, go to a Farm Implement Commission Agent and ask to inspect his instruments.

Lying side by side are instruments which have been made by British labour, and implements which hail from the United States.

To the Commission Agent it doesn't matter a pebble on the beach which he sells.

Perhaps it does.

Perhaps his commission on the American Instruments is larger. In which case he will insinuate the sale of the American Implements. And as they are likewise cheaper and better, the purchase is already settled. Farmer Hicks and the other well-to-do farmers, *swearing very hard* at the hardness of the times,

purchase, in their economic retaliative turn,

the produce of America. And, next morning, there are vacant niches in the Commission Agent's Saleroom

Waiting to be re-filled!

Now by the terms of my hypothesis the British instruments were composed of British steel fashioned by British labour,—and British Steel Works and Implement Makers are painfully waiting,

ready and even ravenous to turn out more.

But the Agricultural Instrument Commission Broker is worrying as little about British Steel Works as he is about the moons of Jupiter or the assassination of Julius Cæsar.

And why should he?

He has his little own christian life to lead. His growing own family to sustain. His loving wife to dress. His own and her ambitions to gratify, which perhaps include, in the autumn, a French-made motor car.

He has sold American instruments, and, like the good business man that he is, he telegraphs across the Atlantic for American Instruments to take their place.

'Free Trade!' says the Commission Agent.

'Beautiful! It is the apple of all that is remunerative and lovely in the beneficent intercourse of Nation with Nation.

'Protection!—Ugh!—The despairing cry of the helpless, the incompetent, the stony-broke. The National Goosery where the beautiful golden eggs are laid for the Millionaire! Hey?

'—No, Sir! If I had a thousand votes tomorrow, I should plump them one and all to the end of time for Free Trade.—I said Free Trade!'—(says the smiling prospering Commission Agent.)

Meanwhile, of course, in consideration, no fresh orders arrive at the British Factory. Workless artisans are dismissed. Minus their weekly wages they have nothing to spend. And in the by-streets of an English County Town the draper twirls his idle yard-stick or measures with it (unconsciously) the growing length of his face, and the poor grocer's grows so green that the Parish Parson has to rub his spectacles over again, having mistaken it for a chunk of his Gorgonzola, and in the County Arms' smoke-room commercial travellers foregather to the cheery commercial tune of Pigs and Whistles,—and Jim says:

'I say, Bill,' (and every word is a Bile Bean to Bill,) 'How's Trade?'

And Bill says: 'Hark'ee, lad, come with me to a quiet corner of the stable yard, (out of the ear-reach of Respectability) and, lad,—I'll tell 'ee.'

Now fare we further!

The American invoice for the disposed-of agricultural implements amounted to £5,000.

How is this value going to be remitted to the United States?

There is only one way in which it can be, says the Free Trader.

It is not, and cannot be, remitted in money.

It must be, and is, remitted in Goods,—says the convinced Free Trader.

Very well, then!

But in that case!—What for Goods?

—Not in Woollens, as I am just after busy telling you:—Not in Cottons:—Not in Silks:—Not in Linens:—Not in Cutlery:—Not in Tinned Plates:—Not in one of a thousand other things.

—Why?

Because at every and each of these and innumerable additional suggestions Cousin Yankee beams with fraternal affection over the Dingley peaks of his alpine tariff garden wall and says: 'No, 'thank you, Cousin John. 'Tinned Plates!'—did you say? *Very* 'kind of you to mention it. But not *this* afternoon, John. Please 'call another day. Dear John!'

Of course, there is the Sir Michael Hicks-Beachian theory to which I have more than once alluded. Founding on the acknowledged complexity of international trade Sir Michael insinuates that although we may not pay directly by Goods for American produce we do so indirectly.

For example, America consumes largely of tea and silk out of China, for which she cannot, and can never hope to, pay directly.

Why?

Because owing to the universal Protection-Created-Dearness of her Production she can never (at no time) hope to compete with us in the neutral markets of China, etc., in the manufacture of cottons,

agricultural implements, etc.:

—a manufacturing advantage upon our British part which derives from the very system of free importation which these dull-witted Protectionists malign:

—Says Sir Michael.

So,—good. But in science we teach, (and are taught,) the homely Principle (and at all times practise it) never to buzz and puzzle round the convoluted conundrum of a Chinese corner—in

quest of a reason that is crying and lying *all the while*

IN THE FULNESS OF OBVIOUS SUFFICIENCY ON YOUR OWN DOORSTEP.

☞ There is no need really out of Heaven to fare to the Celestial Land.

We are in London, in the Strand,—in Wellington Street, (I think,) and this is the Messrs. Sotheby's, the Fine Art Dealers,—and their hospitable door is wide ajar.

* * * *

—Look into that show case, now, and tell me what is there.

'A little quarto.'

Size?

'Seven and three quarter inches by six.'

Number of Leaves?

'Made up of eighteen, I think.'

Well, if you like now, that is part of the actual MS. from which the first edition of "Paradise Lost" was set up.

'For sale?'

No, Sir. It has been withdrawn.

'Well, but what of all that?'

Listen, please, and the newspapers will tell you.

"A few weeks after the MS. of Book I. of Milton's "Paradise Lost was withdrawn at Sotheby's, on behalf of "the owner, Mr. Henry Clinton Baker, of Bayfordbury,

at £5,000,

"it was announced that the extremely interesting relic "had been sold by private treaty to a well-known "Transatlantic collector, not Mr. Pierpont Morgan.

"I now hear, on what appears to be good authority, "that the MS. was procured by Mr. George H. Richmond, "widely known to every book and autograph collector in "New York and the States.

"From his hands it has passed into the possession of

"Mr. Morgan."

Already, therefore, you see, our economical problem is solved. Farmer Hicks and the other well-to-do English Farmers each drew out a cheque in favour of Mr. M'Money the Free Trade Agricultural Implement Commission Agent who combined them on the credit side of his bank account, and on the strength of their accumulation drew out an order in favour of his own 'protected' creditor the American Agricultural Implement Manufacturer to the amount of

£5,000.

But there was no occasion to transmit the actuality of this to the United States.

Mr. George H. Richmond, "widely known to every book collector in New York" was under an equal obligation to transmit £5,000 to Mr. Henry Clinton Baker of Bayfordbury as the purchase price of 'a little quarto of eighteen leaves, about $7\frac{3}{4}$ by 6, being part of the actual MS. from which the first Edition of Paradise Lost was set up.'

These two obligations,

Mr. M'Money's obligation to the American Manufacturer, and the widely known Mr. Richmond's obligation to Mr. Clinton Baker of Bayfordbury,

met unexpectedly in the Clearing House of London and, like well-bred Kilkenny cats, peacefully obliterated one another.

—The nett result of which all transactions, therefore, being: that certain sums of money, which at one time figured on the bank books of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and other well-to-do English Farmers, figure now (in one sum) in the bank book of Mr. Henry Clinton Baker of Bayfordbury, and everybody is more or less delighted. Farmer Hicks and his farmer friends are delighted with their American implements: Mr. Clinton Baker is delighted with the smile that wont come off a certain page of his bank book: Mr. Pierpont Morgan with his world-unique treasure: and the unemployed artisans in an English County town, they also are delighted, for when their disconsolate women-folk descant on the hardness of the times they, being politicians as well as artisans, say:

"Yes, lass, times *are* hard. In fact, *Very* hard. But, thank

God, we live in a Free Trade country where things are cheap.

"'It mitigates,'—let me see,—how by the way, now, do these chaps put it?—Hand me down that Cobden Club tract, lass."

"Where?"

"Up there betwixt that blue-faced mug and the empty meal jug. * * * Ah, yes. Here it is. 'Free Trade does not guarantee constant employment.' Of course not. 'But it mitigates distress in the unavoidable times of hardship.'"

"May-be, John! May-be you're right, lad! But notwithstanding the fall in plate glass and Argentina mutton last week I did not get you in a beef-steak for dinner to-day."

—I say, everybody is delighted. Even the transcendental F.T.! For isn't the irrefragable theory of his beloved Free Trade justified in excelsis?

"Imports *have been paid for* by exports!—"

There is no denying really the fact.

Also the labour which created the first book of Paradise Lost was undoubtedly British, and therefore even Mr. Asquith is painfully right when he affirms that every ½d. of the value of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's farm implements has been paid for by British Labour.

But notwithstanding, if you please,—and in front of these facts, I want the convinced Free Trader,—I want Sir Michael Hicks-Beach,—I want the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Asquith, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, the Combined Cobden Club, including Mr. Harold Cox, The Spectator, including its Editor,

and Any or All of the Immortal Fourteen,

to explain to me

How and Why and Whence,

the price of Farmer Hicks-Beach's farm implements having been settled and paid for by the Pierpont purchase of Paradise Lost how,—I say,

The Economic Motive Inspiration is to arrive

which is to determine the growth of a new British Industry, or the expansion of an old, which will remuneratively absorb the British-potential—or displaced—agricultural-implement-making labour.

(Listen, friends!—and I will tell you the reply that you hear.)

—The Echo: and the Echo's Echoing Repeat in long zig-zag reverberation down the corridors of Time,—of my challenge: and for the rest

* * * !

Why so?

Well, you see, the international exchange is finished. Goods *have* been paid for in the orthodox way by Goods. Gold has not been withdrawn from the country and the Exchange Rate has not been (in no wise) affected. And therefore the 'miracle theory' of the miraculous Mr. Spender does not have even the little-est chance of showing its astounding paces.

But although the Free Trade Formula remains formally true
the futile bubble of Free Trade is no less than for ever
Irretrievably burst!

* * * *

'Dear! Dear! Dear me!—But what a portentous conclusion to arrive at so quickly! out of a paltry, pigmy, solitary, temporary, pick-me-up, make-me-quick illustration like that!'—

* * * *

—Granted. Friend! The illustration, I believe, may be all that you say. But need I remind you how 'The Mighty Ocean' is constructed—in the words of the little hymn.

You see, the power of my illustration lies in the Principle which it illustrates,—a Principle which I will be stating to you in general terms presently, but which—even at this stage is just so much that even one little stone from the brook of it is sufficient to destroy the great big giantific vainglorious

Fozey-headed Faith

on which Free Trade founds.

XXXIII.

☞ Let me explain:

Well,—of the United States, as I have given you already so often to know, we are great buyers.

In **1900**, we bought, I think, **£139,000,000** gross:
and In **1901**, **£141,000,000**!

And these magnificent purchases of ours, as you may readily imagine, keep things lively in the United States.

They keep steam ploughs whistling, and therefore steam ploughs making, and therefore steel furnaces flaming. They keep threshing machines thrashing, flour mills humming, railroads—and, in fact, a thousand and one busy industries humming.

They also keep cotton growers radiant and niggers singing in the sunny South,

and so on.

Of course, the United States purchase also from us!

But in spite of the soaring perfection to which the Free Trade theory has by now attained and the transcendentalist power of divination which the Free Trader has at ready command I have never met the convinced Free Trader yet, (*or heard of him,*) (*or read of him,*) who would be prepared to cross to the States **and nominate a priori** the individuals who would feel and respond to the divine economic inspiration to purchase Goods from Great Britain: and who, against the security of his soul's salvation, **would predict with infallibility** the *Kinds of Goods* that they would buy.

Hence the interest which attaches to Mr. Pierpont Morgan.

We have the man at first hand,—know him, so to say, personally. He is one of the Foreign Buyers for the great firm of the United States & Co.. And he is just exactly like any other of the inspired American Buyers *who are postulated by the doctrine of Free Trade*, with this difference only, that

He possesses a Stupendous Power of Purchase.

Also, happily, we know something authentic of his tastes in the way of British shopping.

Mr. Pierpont, e.g., doesn't buy our Woollens. At least I dont imagine that all the Woollen purchases he ever made in England ever started an idle loom in Galashiels.

Mr. Pierpont Morgan doesn't buy our Cottons. Even if he did, he has but one poor human back on which to fix a night shirt.

Neither does he purchase Locomotives from Glasgow, or Tinned Plates from South Wales, or Nails from Birmingham, or

Linoleum from Kirkcaldy, or Jute from Dundee, or Knives and Forks from Sheffield, or Free Trade Mugs from Stafford.

And yet decidedly he buys!

But then, you see, Mr. Morgan is a Buyer for the Fancy Goods Department of the U.S. & Co..
And a handsome real go-ahead Buyer at that!

—"Not in quantity alone, but to a large extent in quality,

The Treasures literary and artistic

acquired by Mr. Pierpont Morgan during the past few years

Are Phenomenal,

at any rate in our own time."

You have heard, betimes, no doubt, on the house-tops the sparrows chirrup of this transatlantic cracksman's artistic depredations! But even at that, the fabulous tale in penny numbers will bear re-telling.

"FOR GAINSBOROUGH'S 'STOLEN DUCHESS,'

cut from its frame at Agnew's soon after it had made 10,100 guineas in the Wynn Ellis sale of 1876, Mr. Morgan reputedly gave

£30,000:"

"For the portrait of a Grand Duke from the brush of Reubens, something like

£26,000."

"The highest sum ever realised at auction for a Reynolds was a decade ago at the Delmé sale when to a bid of 11,000 guineas fell the group of Lady Betty Delmé and children.

"**Mr. Morgan is said to have given for it**
from £20,000 to £22,000."

"For years connoisseurs had looked to Dorchester House as possessing a particularly fine

Hobbema Landscape.

"The transatlantic millionaire procured it for about £20,000."

"At the National Gallery just now, side by side with Raphael's Ansedei Madonna, which cost the nation £70,000, is the same artist's

Virgin and Child

enthroned with Saints, painted for the nuns of St. Anthony of Padua at Perugia.

"Mr. Morgan paid for it what is said to be the highest sum on record for a single picture

£100,000."

"Some six or seven years ago a syndicate of British dealers went to Grasse and procured for several tens of thousands of pounds the ten decorative panels

Painted by Fragonard

for Madame du Barry, a series of panels frequently lent for exhibition in the city of Glasgow.

"Mr. Morgan is now the possessor of this Fragonard series upon which a valuation has been set of as much as

£200,000."

—"But," as the Art writer puts it from whom I quote, "Pictures are but one section of the great Morgan collections!

"One of the great coups was in 1902 when by a stroke of the pen Mr. Morgan became possessed of the finest library of early printed books brought together during the last couple of decades.

"It belonged to

Mr. Bennett, a Manchester Merchant,

who paid something like £20,000 for the books and MSS. of William Morris: the same who gave two thousand guineas at the Ashburnham sale for 'The Hoole Lyfe of Jason,' and £950 for the 'History of Troye.'

"In all there were 36 examples by Caxton in the Bennett collection

themselves worth many thousands of pounds."

"A year or two ago,

For 5,000 guineas

Mr. Quaritch sold to Mr. Morgan the copy of the 1459 Psalter printed by Fust & Schoeffer, which at the dispersal of Sir John Thorold's books in 1884 fetched £4,950."

£10,000

was the sum paid,—as most think by the same millionaire,—for the

"**Evangelia Quatuor**"

which for 60 years had belonged to the Earls of Ashburnham.

—"The glory of this book"—

(I interpolate this for poets and ladies)

"is its binding of stout boards, lined on the inside with ancient embroidered silk, covered on the outside with beaten gold, the upper cover decorated with a Crucifixion and studded with 327 emeralds, sapphires, carbuncles, pearls and other precious stones. The lower cover, also, formed into a cross patée, has a border of mosaic enamels set with 35 precious stones."

"**Mr. Pierpont Morgan has just purchased two precious manuscripts from this country.** One is the original manuscript of Byron's 'Corsair,' given by the poet to the present owner's grandfather.

"The other is the manuscript of Lord Lytton's 'The Last Days of Pompeii.' The manuscript of the 'Corsair' is perfect in every respect; that of the 'Pompeii' is short of four chapters. The price paid for the two is stated to have been 10,000 dollars.

"So anxious was Mr. Pierpont Morgan to secure these treasures that he cabled to his son to bring them over to New York last Wednesday when he embarked for America. The sale was negotiated by Mr. Campbell-Mackinnon."

But in this Arabian Nights' Entertainment of Treasure Troven

there is not any mention as yet of

The 'Objects of Art' acquired by Mr. Morgan!

As to these, "The Mannheim collection has been set at as much as

£90,000."

"The Gavet antiquities at

£15,000."

"To the exhibitions of old silver plate held at St. James's Court in 1902 Mr. Morgan contributed, it will be remembered, the fine assemblage brought together by Herr Gutmann which includes examples of almost every known type of early Augsburg and Nuremburg craftsmanship, several deemed to be unique."

"**One might indeed proceed to an almost indefinite extent,** but it will suffice to allude to the case of old Bronzes lent by Mr. Morgan to last winter's show at Burlington House. Here were the 'David' 26 in. high, attributed with much plausibility to Verrocchio, master of Leonardo: and the 'Hercules' with his foot on the head of a bull, which at the Bardini sale of 1902 made

£6,000."

"**It is some years since a group of Mr. Morgan's possessions was valued for purposes of the United States Customs at well over**

£400,000,

the introduction of which would have cost him no less than £20,000."

"**Mr. Pierpont Morgan's Art Expenditure.**

"It would be interesting to know (says the 'Sheffield Telegraph') what Mr. Pierpont Morgan spends on art. That he must have given many thousands for the tapestry which was the subject of a dispute between the Seligmanns and the Duveens is evident, and it is said he gave £13,000 for the stolen Cope of Ascoli, which he has just returned to its rightful owners.

"**Artistic treasures worth hundreds of thousands belonging to him are at the National Gallery and other places,** and at

his town house in Grosvenor Square, while at Rochampton he possesses literary treasures which make the richest bibliophile envious."

☞ (—If, of which, the half be true) it would appear, in passing,

That British Imports, after all, are not necessarily paid for by British Exports,

but, on the contrary,

Can by the indefinite million,
be adjusted satisfactorily by the simple economic counter of Alien Possession!—

But Mr. Pierpont Morgan, as you might suppose, is not the only Foreign Buyer in the British Fancy Goods line!

—So, in any case, I gather from people who give themselves to know.

Thus in my midnight rambles through the constant files of the Daily Press,—nightly I trip on such trifles as these:

"£6,500 for a Jewel.

"For a pendant jewel of gold set with diamonds there was a spirited contest at Christie's yesterday, and **it was knocked down to Mr. Wertheimer for the sum of £6,500.** The jewel is probably of sixteenth century German workmanship, and represents Antony and Cleopatra in the Queen's barge, with rowers and musicians. It was given by Queen Anne for political services to Sir George Allardice, Member for Kintore and Master of the Mint."

"A couple of years ago when not one

BUT SEVERAL ENORMOUSLY WEALTHY AMERICANS

were represented

at each sale even of second-rate importance

prices for certain modern books rose to a level which it was impossible to sustain."

"The Burns Bible was not the only book of great financial value disposed of at Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge's on

Saturday afternoon. There was sold also 'The Great Latin Psalter of Fust & Schoeffer, of 1459.' This work, printed on vellum, was one of only twelve copies known to exist. It was the third or fourth printed book with a date. 'One of the world's rarest books,' said Mr. Hodge, the auctioneer. When the sum of £4,000 was reached, he remarked—'That, gentlemen, was only the price of a Mazarin Bible, of which there are several copies.' No other offers were forthcoming, however, and for £4,000 the missal became the property of Mr. Baer, of Frankfort-on-Maine."

"The World of Art.

"The £5,000 Whistler.

"When it became known in London to-day that Whistler's 'La Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine' had been purchased for America at £5,000, interest was keen in art circles, and many discussed whether or not noteworthy examples were likely still further to appreciate in money value. In well-informed circles it is believed that a hardly less sum was paid recently for the dissimilar portrait of Miss Rosa Corder, which, as well as 'The Music Room,' has recently gone to the United States."

"A Glasgow 'Whistler' Wanted for America."

"I hear from a trustworthy source that voracious Americans are eager to 'land' a second Whistler prize at present in a Glasgow collection. If I am not mistaken, 'The Fur Jacket' was painted somewhat later than the famous portrait of Miss Rosa Corder, first exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1879, which has lately crossed the Atlantic at a very large price. The probabilities of this fine Whistler going to the United States are believed to be by no means remote. Mr. William Burrell has, I hear, been offered for it considerably more than was paid for 'La Princesse;' but if he consents to sell at all it will only be at a figure which leaves £5,000 far behind. Already the finest collection of Whistler pictures, the Freer, is in America."

"Millionaires, American and South African wealthy persons innumerable, are to-day willing to pay tens of thousands

of pounds for a Raphael, a Van Dyck, a Titian, a Gainsborough a Reynolds, a Romney."

"Vast sums are nowadays under the control of Individuals, **many of them belonging to the New World** and anxious to introduce into it objects which shall exhale a spirit of culture.

"With dealers as intermediaries the game proceeds apace—**the South African magnate disputing ownership with the man of millions of dollars,**

"**Private collections in this Country, brought together years ago many of them, almost invariably being the hunting ground.**"

Etc..

☞ *But perhaps the Private Collections in this Country which form "the happy hunting grounds" of the happy American Millionaires are few in number and of little consequence?*

Possibly!—

As to that, of course, (of my own knowledge,)—I know only what is served up to me in the Daily Newspapers,—and we all know what * * * !—

With this precautionary proviso I give you welcome,—I, the irresponsible picker-up of indefatigable trifles, to the following unconsidered

Superfluous Wealth of Inartistic Artistic Information!

Thus I gather that **on a single afternoon at Christie's on May 23, 1903, less than a hundred Pictures (89) were disposed of to the value of**

£105,845:

Including this sale, and going back for a few years only, **in the course of fourteen single afternoons, at Christie's, Pictures were disposed of to the value of**

£992,921:

Fourteen Single-Afternoon Picture Sales.

Year.	Property.	Lots.	Total.
1903,	Reginald Vaile, &c.,	89	£105,845
1892,	Earl of Dudley,	91	99,564
1895,	James Price,	91	87,144
1890,	William Wells, -	104	76,866
1897,	Sir John Pender,	111	75,916
	(Two days, 437 lots, £81,913.)		
1896,	Sir Julian Goldsmid, -	82	67,342
1888,	H. W. F. Bolckow, Pt. I., -	70	66,567
1891,	H. W. F. Bolckow, Pt. II.,	111	66,487
1899,	Sir John Fowler,	91	65,974
1892,	David Price, -	137	65,182
1887,	John Graham, -	95	62,297
1891,	C. P. Matthews,	125	57,868
1894,	Adrian Hope, -	75	49,884
1898,	Joseph Ruston,	100	45,995
		1369	£992,921

Which is to say, as a Glasgow man would say it, "no bad"!

"£20,575 For Old Masters.

"At Messrs. Christie's auction rooms, London, on Saturday, there was an extensive sale of pictures by old masters and of the early English school, the property of several owners. **The sale, which lasted close upon four hours, resulted in £20,575 being realised.**"

In the year 1903 the dispersal of 38 pictures alone, realised £151,987 10s.

In the year 1904 the dispersion of an equal number of pictures (38) realised

£112,507.

Private Collections (Some of the) 1903.

Date.	Collection.	No. of Lots.			
Feb. 21,	Lady Page Turner,	113	£15,337	3	0
April 4,	Henry James Turner, -	166	29,126	12	6
May 24,	Ernest Gambert,	289	31,014	10	6
May 16,	R. T. Hamilton Bruce,	77	28,804	19	0
June 27,	Sir Horatio D. Davies,	69	16,150	1	0
	Total, -		£112,433	6	0

In like manner, in 1904, among the Private Picture Collections dispersed the following have been found worth naming:

Private Collections, January-July, 1904.

Date.	Property.	Lots.		
June 4 and 6,	James Orrock, - - -	323	£65,946	11 0
Mar. 5 and 7,	Townshend Heirlooms,- -	196	35,943	6 0
June 11, - -	Duke of Cambridge, deceased,	118	33,112	16 0
Mar. 19, - -	C. F. Huth, deceased, -	78	18,842	13 6
April 16 and 18,	Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale Hayne, M.P., deceased, - -	275	10,495	1 0
Mar. 26 and 28,	C. H. T. Hawkins, deceased,	374	8,152	15 0
	Total,	-	£172,493	2 6

Sometimes the newspaper veil is gently lifted on one side and we ascertain the reasons for these sales.

Thus we read:

"The works belonging to Mr. James Orrock were dispersed because, owing to ill-health, he was ordered away from London."

"The Townshend Collection was peculiarly attractive. At anyrate, since the days of the Armada ancestors of the Marquis of Townshend have served the country as men of action, men of thought.

"In December 1903,

in consequence of impoverished estate,

an application was made in the Chancery Division and Mr. Justice Farwell sanctioned the sale of about half the pictures at Raynham Hall.

"(Messrs. Colnaghi & Co. represented at the auction a foreign branch of the family, resident abroad, and secured some of the most attractive canvases.)"

"There remain to be considered 'Lots' which come under the headings of **Objects of Virtue, Jewellery, Decorative Furniture, Tapestry, Porcelain, and the like.**"

—Of these, (in pursuit of my design,) I give you, in like manner, a transitory glimpse:

Objects of Art, Jewellery, etc..—1903.

"The Porcelain, Furniture, etc., of the late Earl of Kimberley, 105 lots, fetched

£5,561."

"A collection of Decorative Furniture, etc., including some interesting Scottish arms and armour, belonging to the late Mr. Panmure Gordon of Loudwater House, Rickmansworth, 283 lots, fetched some

£5,700."

"The collection of Porcelain of the late Sir Hugh Adair, 108 lots, fetched

£9,611."

"The Page Turner Decorative Objects and Furniture, 97 lots, fetched

£18,945."

Objects of Art, Jewellery, etc..—1904.

"The Furniture, Porcelain, and Plate of Mr. James Orrock showed a total of

£21,565."

"The snuff boxes, miniatures, old silver, decorative furniture, etc., belonging to the late Duke of Cambridge, together with the library, pictures, engravings, etc., brought

£93,321.

"The Anglesey jewels, etc., brought

£89,387."

Especially noteworthy were

"The various collections upon which the late Mr. C. H. T. Hawkins, 10 Portland Place, is said for long to have expended

well over £10,000 a year."

The Hawkins' Collections:

	Date.	Lots.			
Pictures, - -	March 26-28,	374	£8,151	19	0
Engravings, - - -	March 29,	198	3,358	11	6
Snuff Boxes, Objects of Art, etc.,	—March 22-5,	536	54,020	9	6
Do. do.,	—May 10-17,	1816	77,662	16	0
Do. do.,	—June 21-7,	1181	42,816	14	6
	Total, -		**£186,010**	**10**	**6**

"The Duc de Dino's splendid assemblage of arms and armour did not come up for sale at Christie's.

"**It was purchased privately by the Metropolitan Art Museum, New York, for**

£80,000."

And, now, as a last exasperating straw on the uncomplaining back of your patience permit me to recite to you a list of some of the sort that were hammered:

Objects of Art, Jewellery, etc..—1903.

1.	Five-row pearl necklace, 287 large round pearls. (Gordon Lennox, May 1), ...	£ 22,500
2.	Pendant barge-shaped jewel of gold, set with diamonds. Late 16th cent. (Nov. 27), ...	6,500
3.	Complete set of 13 Henry VIII. Apostle spoons, London hall-mark, date letter for 1536. (July 16), ...	4,900
4.	Pair of old Chinese mazarin-blue porcelain vases, Louis XV., ormolu mounts, 21½ in. high. (Dec. 18), ...	Gns. 3,650
5.	Louis XVI. parqueterie commode, ormolu frieze, 54 in. wide. (Jany. 23), ...	2,300
6.	Pair of Biscuit figures, old Sèvres porcelain, ormolu mounts, 13½ in. high: cost £150 in 1867. (Page Turner, Feb. 20),	2,100
7	Old Sèvres cabaret, by Leve, père. 1786. (March 13), ...	2,000
8.	Old Sèvres oviform vase and cover, 13½ in. high; made £700 in 1886. (Adair, Feb. 27), ...	1,900
9.	Louis XV. oblong table, ormolu mounts, signed "B.V.R.B.," 39 in. wide. (Dec. 18), ...	£ 1,900
10.	Pair of ormolu and irons, 29 in. long, 18 in. high. (Feb. 20), ...	Gns. 1,700
11.	Suite of old Beauvais tapestry. (Page Turner, Feb. 20), ...	1,650
12.	Louis XV. small bonheur du jour secretaire, 21½ in. wide, cost £21 in 1868. (Page Turner, Feb. 20), ...	1,600
13.	"The West Malling Jug," Fulham delft or stoneware, Elizabethan, 9½ in. high by 5⅜ in. greatest diameter. (Church of West Malling, Feb. 19), ...	1,450
14.	Settee and 8 fauteuils, Louis XVI., covered old Beauvais tapestry. (Dec. 18), ...	1,400
15.	Old Sèvres ecuelle, cover and stand. (June 8), ...	1,150
16.	James I. standing-salt entirely gilt, 1613, 11⅜ in. high, 4¾ in. greatest diameter. (Meyrick, Feb. 19), ...	£ 1,150

Etc..

Objects of Art.—1904.

1. Louis XV. oblong snuff-box, painted with bouquets of flowers. Signed Hainelin, dated 1758. Record for snuff-box (Hawkins), ... £6,400
2. Old Beauvais tapestry, 5 panels. (Ashburton), ... Gns. 4,300
3. Pearl, drop-shaped. (Anglesey), ... £4,000
4. Pearl necklace, 47 stones. (Lady of Rank), ... £3,800
5. Brilliant collet necklace, 30 white stones. (Pirie), ... £3,750
6. Pearl, drop-shaped, 105½ grains. (Anglesey), ... £3,700
7. Round Pearl, mounted as stud, about ⅝ in. diameter. (Anglesey), ... £3,650
8. Louis XVI. mahogany commode, 34 in. wide, stamped "J. H. Reisner," ormolu mounts, (Marlborough), Gns. 3,000
9. Holbein. Miniature, perhaps of Frances, Lady Vere, wife of Earl of Surrey, on card 2¼ in. diameter. (Hawkins), £2,750
10. Hilliard. Miniatures of John Croker and wife (June 20), £2,520
11. Greek bronze relief, Venus and Anchises, 7¼ in. diameter. Now in B.M. (Hawkins), ... £2,250
12. Pearl necklace, four-row, 305 stones (June 20), ... £2,200
13. Louis XVI. oblong snuff-box, sporting subjects (Cambridge). £2,000
14. Louis XV. rectangular snuff-box, with scenes from "Gil Blas." Bought by Sir G. Collier, after Salamanca, 1812, for about £12 (February 12), ... Gns. 1,850

! ! ! !

!—Ah, not too quick, my dear friends! Judge not! Withhold!—Think not that these details that I so *thought-fully* inflict upon you are the dull and superfluous time-waste that they seem.

Do but attune your ears aright and you will hear in them —! ! ! —(Hearken! Ho!)—listening deeper—even as I have already hinted—the dying dirge—the penultimate wail of the great cosmopolitan swan **that is the colossal British Goose yclept Free Trade.**

(Sans exception,) *every*—to the thinking economist—*item* is an

OLYMPIAN TIT-BIT FROM THE ECONOMIC FEAST OF THE GODS.

They (insinuate) so much:—one for one master thing—that people

Dont always buy in the cheapest market!

But especially they are

The magic sesame,

(so far as we are now concerned,) by the which is openly revealed to a scoffing world

The magic thickheadedness of Industrial England!

They unroof to the enquiring winds the mystery of her idle factories,—(worth £20,000 yesterday,)—to-day, "sold for a song," and lay bare to the limpid moon of understanding the devious starvation byways of Economic England.

☞ Here, to wit, (with circumstantial transparency) looms through the industrial dust and din—

A Boot Factory,

and behold the master Bootjack is at his desk!—hard at work swearing inwardly at the ill-luck that has lost him to America an order for £6,000 in Boots.

But he is a Free Trader, Good Man,—just after recording his Free Trade vote at a by-election and the cockles of his heart are glowing even yet with the glorious victory he has helped to achieve, (and for his spiritual good) (and great reward) (and weal)—the Ghost of Cobden taps him on the shoulder:

—(The Ghost of Cobden, circumvented by the Holy Ghosts of the Ever-verdant,) and says:—

'Dont worry, dear old Bootjack! *The Americans dont give us boots for nothing.* Be sure of that. They must have payment,—payment even moreover in British Goods.'

—How so, please, again? Oh sublime Founder of Free Trade and Father Dispenser to lowly men of super-economic wisdom!

'Because, Child, because no other mode of human payment has ever been invented by the mind of man (or ever can be).

—'So that the business you are (apparently) (unhappily) losing is *merely* stimulating some other British Brother's Industry and all for your own and the ultimate good of Merrie England. Let, I say, fraternity, therefore, of soul and international love proceed to continue, and behold my peace I leave unto you,—(and—and the Lord's Anointed,)—even the Holy Counsellors,—their country's pride!—

(To be—to be a vacillating world's steadfast standby)
IN EARTHQUAKE STORMS OF ECONOMIC DOUBT!'

And the Lord's Anointed,—the (never-failing) (ever-verdant) adjoin:

'Dear old Bootjack,—Economic Contentment is great gain!—(if haply you have ears that can listen to our poor lispings) after the mighty Master hath finished. But beyond and above all, comfort ye one another in the hour of Free Trade trial and doubt with this from the Word of the Book of all Economic Truth made manifest:

'"**It is not true that an increase of imports involves the diminished employment of workmen in the importing country. The statement is universally rejected by those who have thought about the subject,**" (* * e.g.) "**and is completely refuted by experience.**"

'This repeat (even this quintessence of all English earthly combined economic professorial wisdom (as often as you can stand it) in immortal remembrance of "Uz,"—and the peace of blissful ignorance which was our incompetence in life rest and abide with you,—Faithful old Bootjohn!—for ever!'

And the Ghost of Cobden (downward) and the circumventing Shekinahs depart on their facile way. And the fragrance of their wisdom lingers.

And behold, meanwhile, the gaunt wife of the Great Unemployed cries to her watching sister on the battlements:

'Sister Anne, Sister Anne, Do you see any American orders coming this way?'

And Sister Anne cries, 'Yes! I see one morganeering this way.'

'And what have they ordered, dear?'

And Sister Anne rejoins:

'"**A Louis XV. oblong snuff-box, painted with bouquets of flowers. Signed Hainelin, dated 1758.**

Price £6,400."'

And the unhappy wife of the Great Unemployed cries:

'Oh Sister Anne! what can they ever want with a snuff-box? Alas! my poor man is not in the snuff way.'

And while-as the twin sisters cry and converse one with another,—the one prison-bound in the castle of Free Trade and the other on the battlements of "Hope Deferred," behold! another fine order flies high in the glistening sunshine overhead en route for the land of the stars and stripes,—this time, for *workmen's* boots and shoes to the value of

£30,000!

And again the gaunt wife of the twelve-million-headed Spectre of British Starvation cries:

'Sister Anne, Sister Anne, Do you see any American orders coming? Quick! Sister Anne!—Perhaps they are ordering *now* some Galashiels Woollens or Macclesfield Silks, and my poor girls who are working on half-time, and no time, will have full time. Do you see any orders coming, Sister Anne?'

And Sister Anne cries: 'Courage, Dear Sister, I see quite a number pierpointing this way.'

'At last! At last!—Oh happy news! And what are they buying, dear? What are the good Americans buying? Sister Anne!'

And the Sister Anne that is the mother of Patience murmurs sadly:

'"**A five-row pearl necklace with 287 large round pearls.**

Value £22,500."'

'But something else, Sister Anne,—something else?'

'"**A complete set of 13 Henry VIII. Apostle spoons, London hall-mark, 1536.**

Value £4,900."'

'Oh dear! Oh dear! What can they want ever with Apostle spoons?

'But something else, Sister Anne,—something else. Some tea spoons, *at least*, with the Hall-mark—1903—Birmingham?'

'"**A pair of old Chinese mazarin-blue porcelain vases. Louis XV.. ormolu mounts.**

Value 3,650 guineas.'

'Dear! Dear! But something else, Sister Anne. *Something surely* else?'

'"**An Elizabethan ewer and cover 9¼ in. high.**

£1000."'

'Oh Sister Anne dear! How lucky for Eliza! But my poor man is not in the Elizabethan pottery way, Sister Anne!'

!—But even, Sir, that is not yet the end! Because after you have admired yourself emerald with envy over the auction artistic glories of 1903 and '4, and an overpowered imagination inebriated with incommensurable amazement and the intoxication of the antique is like to carry you incapable to the nearest police station **how delightful to hear someone you never heard before—chirrup:**

'Bah!—Believe me, Sir! the Silver and Objects of Art in general this year are not a patch on the

Gibson-Carmichael
the Dunn-Gardner
and Bardini Sales of 1902!'

And when, in the most casual way, you venture to someone to remark:

'Wonderful Sale that of Hawkins last week!'—

How exhilarating to have your nose taken off by the reply:

'Bah!—**Mere flea-bite** to the great Hamilton Palace assemblages which fetched in 1882

£397,562!

—'(And would, if they had been sold now, **have run over the million!**'

Also not a single advertent word, or but only one, have I uttered as yet about

Books!

Albeit with such headlines as these in the newspapers I am startled every morning:

Sensational Prices for MSS. and Art Objects.
A Hamilton Palace Volume brings £2,500.

A Big Book Sale.
£20,000 for Five Volumes.

* * * *

Nor has even an allusive syllable passed my lips about **Coins,** —despite that alone, the other day, the Murdoch Coin Cabinet sold for

£34,957.

But enough, dear my friends, of the veil, I think, has been lifted to suggest to you, (and that is all that I intend,)

THE INCALCULABLE—INDESCRIBABLE TREASURES OF ART AND BEAUTY

that lie stored in the stately homes of England!

XXXIV.

I pass to

The Stately Homes Themselves!

The idea remains.

* * * *

That is to say, Farmer Hicks and a number of well-to-do English Farmers having bought from the United States in agricultural instruments

£100,000:

The decisive question again emerges:

How is this value going to be transmitted to the United States?

Not in Gold, says Mr. Asquith:—

But in Goods!—every ha'penny of the value of which has involved a disbursement in payment of British Labour!

But we are just after seeing that the value of Goods received may be paid for in Goods truly:

But in Goods which make no demand upon current British Labour,—or such demand merely, as may consist in adjusting a bit of brown paper round an Apostle spoon or two, (or a book of Paradise Lost,) and pre-facing with a bit of twine—the paper.

And what we proceed now to wonder is:

'If even the brown paper and the string are a sine qua non?'

Consider in regard to this, (because it will help you to determine,) your own Christian Selves!

How—! ! ! it would become with you if you became possessed of great wealth: —(What it is exactly you would want: and especially want to do!—in such happy circumstances.

Well, you would no doubt want, wouldn't you? for one thing, a beautiful house, - not one, very likely, but many. You would want, of course, (naturally,) your ancestral home, say, in Balmeny, and a week-end sporting house with spacious stables at Newmarket, and a grand town house in London, and a beautiful villa on the shores of sunny Italy, and in the autumn also, no doubt, whatever, —a shooting lodge amid the heather blooms of bonnie Scotland. And you would want those houses filled with all that was beautiful in your own eyes,—or in the eyes of other people, according to the circumstance and degree of your asininity.

And you would very much wish, (in any case if you were at all like me,) no doubt, especially to travel.

—Well, Sir, the wealthy American is a bundle much of these same human desires and wishes, and is just ever so much a victim to the little vanities and supposed pleasures of life as the best of us!

☞ **And England is to the American what Mecca is to the Mohammedan.** To be an American and not to have seen London and Edinburgh and Loch Lomond and the Lakes of Killarney and Bannockburn and Camlachie is to be a pariatic outcast,—a superfluous, so to say, impossible weasel and even a very poverty-stricken one at that.

Americans, therefore, migrate over here every summer in shoals and wishing to be as big as their own bounce and to look down from as lofty a pedestal as possible upon the slow-heads who inhabit these isles they take for the season

My Lord Tom Noddy's Castle:

or the Macintoff of Macintoff's shooting lodge: and they do this at such very really comfortable rents that everybody is more or less painfully delighted.

"Glenquoich Deer Forest.

"Let to American Millionaire.

"**Mr. Henry Phipps, the American steel magnate, has taken Glenquoich, Scotland's most magnificent deer forest.**

"Glenquoich covers an area of 50,000 acres, and yields in an average season 100 stags besides hinds.

"**Only a millionaire can be tenant of Glenquoich and its lodge, as the rent and expenses amount to about £100,000 a year.**

"**Mr. Phipps last year rented Beaufort Castle and its shootings from Lord Lovat.**

"Mr. Phipps started life at Pittsburg as a fellow errand boy with Mr. Andrew Carnegie, and is now one of the directors of the Steel Trust.

"**For several years he rented Knebworth, in Hertfordshire, the seat of the Lytton family, now leased to Lord Strathcona.**"

"**Mrs. Leiter, Lady Curzon of Kedleston's mother, has taken Tulloch Castle from Mr. Duncan Davidson for next season.**"

☞ The American naturally is, first of all. He (or she) enjoys for one real once in its life the sensation of Power, the power that can do what a thousand claymores could not have done in the bad old (good old) days of yore, of turning out of some fine old feudal demesne its owner. And in the second place,

THE MODERN COLD-MEAT REMAINDER

of the old bully-beef barons and fighting chieftains, he also is delighted because he is afforded the opportunity of clearing out of the mist and rain of his bonnie Scotland to the still bonnier haunts of the Riviera.

And, **in the third place,** in the miserable hypocritical recesses of our general economical ignorance we are all of us more or less

sneakingly delighted that a few fat geese for the plucking have taken the odd notion to nest in our woods,—in the casual more or less hope that a few of their stray feathers may drop occasionally in our village, or—the next but one.

'Tis well for the district,' we say, in our blithering sheep's-headed way.—

But what has actually happened economically is really not very far to seek:

—The cheques, namely, which Farmer Hicks and his farmer friends drew out in payment of the American agricultural implements which they bought, after standing for a day or two in the Agricultural Implement Agent's bankbook were re-cyphered in symbol to New York,—so to say,—via London: but in the Clearing House of London foregathered with the American counters which Messrs. Pork & Push had paid over to my Lord Tom Noddy, and the Macintoff of Macintoff,—and so the original farm value which they represented was by this happy co-incidence saved the trouble of moving in Gold or in Goods across the Atlantic:

And therefore, as I say, the Nett Economic Result was just this:

I.

American Agricultural Implements to till the diminishing arable lands of England and thresh her annually attenuating harvests of wheat,—to the value of £100,000 imported.

II.

Transference to the mountains of Switzerland, and the Engadine, and the shores of Italy, and the bank at Monte Carlo, via the preliminary pockets of my Lord Tom Noddy and the Macintoff of Macintoff, of a portion of the diminishing income of Farmer Hicks and his farmer friends.

III.

A motor-spinning party of autumnal American Tourists drinking with gay zest in the aspect of our untilled fields, our unclad moors, our scraggy mountains, and everything else that is Scotch, and in a general way filling their transatlantic protection-

enervated lungs with the ever-bracing perpetual atmosphere of British fog and Free Trade.

IV.

A slow-pacing band of mournful-eyed British artisans,—(once engaged in the manufacture of agricultural and other machinery!) seeking with Diogenes steps and the bleary flicker of a mournful misunderstanding **the economic by-paths into which the influx of American Agricultural and other instruments, by the infallible operation of the Free Trade principle, is forcing and deflecting our once-happy industries.**

V.

The Spectral Vision of an Emigrant Ship with cheer-less, crowded, fore-deck, bearing wreathed about its prow (encircled with the stars and stripes) the happy legend:—'Their Castles, Their Art Treasures, Their Artisans, Their * * * !'—

And flying aloft a banner with the quaint device, (encircled with the Union Jack,) and the convolutions of a cat's brains,

'Look after the Imports and the Exports—will look after themselves!'

———o———

☞ 'But what could be finer Free Trade *Business*, if you please, than to exchange for the best of American Wares

Scotch Scenery, Scotch Spirits, and Scotch Sport!'

———o———

Nay but now, my friend, you must not *all at once* be too clever.—Because that, you know, is the terrific danger of these fast motoring days * * !

Our American friends—dont you know?—dont invest in Scotch Scenery and Scotch Shootings and Scotch Drinks,—or with their dollars the swagger hotels of London paper,

———o———

Because these hotels and these shootings and these scenery and drinks belong to a Free Trade country!

———o———

Impartially, alike, like God's rain, on the contrary, the American Dollars fall on the unjust and the just: and are as much in evidence in

Protected Switzerland
Protected Rome
Protected Rhineland

and Protected Paree
—as in Free Trade Camlachie
or 'n the bonnie bonnie banks of Killarney and Loch Lomond!

XXXV.

From the use of an estate for a few months i' the year to

The Purchase of the Same

is but a moderate single step and the addition of a few extra cyphers to the dollar cheque.

—And, from the English market, as you know, estates are never absent.

Witness a few that came up for sale in 1902!—

	Price.
Battle Abbey, Sussex, ...	£200,000
Dalham Hall, Newmarket, ...	100,000
Wharncliffe House, Mayfair, ...	95,000
Glenapp Estate, Ayrshire, ...	65,000
Wytham-on-the-Hill, ...	60,000
Weller Poley Estate, Vauxhall, ...	70,555
Peter Robinson's Estate, Oxford St., ...	84,425
Polesden Lacey, Dorking, ...	58,000
Wyvenhoe Park, Colchester, ...	58,000
Lloyd Estate, Wolverhampton, ...	63,558
Troy House, Monmouth, ...	40,000
Inchdairnes Grange, and Balgreggie Estates, Fifeshire, ...	169,000
Thorp Perrow Estate, Yorks, ...	48,385

etc.. etc..

* * * *

'Yes! Yes! But, half a moment, Sir!—Do, as a matter of fact, such sales take place?—

'You are indulging, merely, as far as I am inclined to follow you, in a ricochet of irresponsible—trumpery * * !'

* * * *

Nay, but, in that case, also, my dear friend, you must not either catch me up so quick or so tight. Because whatever else you may be deficient in, (in knowledge,—as I know,) and in common sense, as I think, you must at least the semblance

endeavour to preserve of common decency and common courage —And, above all, you must *try* to be honest!

'How do you mean?'

Well, Sir!—Remember for a brief moment our relative positions in this debate.

—You adhere at all costs to Free Trade.

'Certainly!'

You insist upon running not merely the United Kingdom but the British Empire on the Policy of Free Trade.

'Undoubtedly!'

But now the Policy of Free Trade is founded on Principle.

'Most assuredly!'

On an absolutely irrefragable Principle.

'Absolutely so!'

The Principle, namely, that if we admit Foreign Competitive Goods into our British Ports the Foreigner must take payment for these Goods, which, (had they been made in England,)

As, e.g., Steel, Woollens, Brooms, Watches, etc.,

would for certain have employed English labour,—must, I say, take payment in Goods which will employ an equivalent amount of labour,—and in the ultimate the total original to greater National advantage than had that labour continued to be occupied in the manufacture of the imported goods!—

'Certainly!'

A Principle which I have just shown to you to be

! Absolutely Rotten!

'I utterly deny that you have.'

. . . . . .

Well, in that case, Sir,—thanks! But in that case, I should think, your idea should be to close down your organ of speech for a little and open a little wider your auditorium!

* * * *

"I had a talk with one of the booksellers in the "second-hand book trade in London the other day.

"Some remarks he made about American book "buyers surprised me.

"Our friends from the other side are most "enthusiastic book-hunters, and among the best "customers of the London booksellers.

"They are prepared to spend unlimited sums of "money on the books they want.

"The race treasures of our older litterateurs are "gradually finding their way to the States, where "the private collections are equal to any in this "country.

"Americans give the best commissions, and their "agents are most indefatigable in tracking the books "to fill their orders.

"Valuable examples of early editions are sure to "be grasped by the almighty dollar.

"In fact, once a rare book comes into the market "here, it is almost sure to fall to an American pur- "chaser.

"There is no safety for bibliographical rarities "unless these are housed in the permanent collections "of our libraries."

"THE WORLD OF ART.

"A Big Deal.

"I hear, from what I have every reason to believe is "an absolutely authentic source, of the sale en bloc of one "of the best known and choicest private collections of "works by the French masters of the school of 1830 and "a few distinguished Dutchmen.

"It is that of Mr. Alexander Young, whose house at "Blackheath has for years been renowned for the treasures "it held in pictures by Corot, Diaz, and the rest.

"My information is to the effect that for some "years Mr. Young, like many another collector, has "been pressed by dealers to relinquish his artistic "possessions in exchange for a very big cheque.

"Negotiations which have just culminated have "been in progress for long, and, although I cannot "give any names, the buyers are said to be associated "with Bond Street, so that guesses need be made "within a very limited circle, as those able to handle "the collection are few.

"The 'deal' is said to involve several hundred "pictures, and a sum something approximating to

"A quarter of a million sterling.

"Six or seven of the pictures are said to average "at least £5000 each."

"The 'Graphic.'

"Club Comments by 'Marmaduke.'

"'We have your estates and your treasures, and "our grandsons will have your titles,'—an American "millionaire confidently said a short while ago, and "it is painful to have to admit that the statement is "not altogether unfounded.

"The American heiress no longer has to cross "the Atlantic to obtain an English husband with a "title; the bachelor and the widower travel to the "United States to secure the heiress.

"The most valuable pictures, works of art, and "books are bought in England now for the American "market, and several American millionaires

"have already purchased historical properties

"in this country.

"There has arisen out of this last-mentioned "circumstance a curious industry. There are now "several English men and women in Society who "obtain the lease of some celebrated property, furnish "the house luxuriously, invite American millionaires "to stay with them, and endeavour to sell the lease "to one of those guests at, of course, an enormous "profit!

. . . . . .

"Were there no United States would English "Society be solvent?

"That question has never yet been asked or "examined.

"Several millions have been brought into our "Society during the last forty years

"by American heiresses,

"and an enormous sum has been received in exchange

"for land,

"paintings,

"engravings,

"old furniture,

"works of art,
"jewels,
"plate,
"and books.

"Moreover, American capital has been invested "in this country mostly through the intervention of "titled Englishmen, who, of course, have generally "benefited by the transaction.

"Probably

"One Hundred Millions

"have come to the West End through these various "transactions.

"Would the West End have been bankrupt had "that sum not been procurable?"

Of course, 'Marmaduke' may be absurdly wrong,—as I suspect he is not, or he may be pretty well right:

XXXVI.

But in any case there cannot, I think, be a dead man's difference of opinion as to the British economic value of

The American Heiress!

Indeed (I am thoroughly convinced in my own mind that many and many a poor British convinced Free Trader will die the death of infatuation and never even in his dreams suspect what to these same fair Protectionist Allies the rottenness of his beloved Theory owes 'in re the power of being kept above water.'

(On the other hand the more thinking Yanks are getting both alive and alarmed:)

"TAX ON RICH BRIDES.

"[From Our Own Correspondent.]

"New York, Tuesday.

"A Bill to discourage the marriages of American "heiresses to foreign noblemen has been introduced into "Congress by Mr. Adolph A. Sabath, Chicago.

"Mr. Sabath estimates that since the initiation by "the Astors of the practice of marrying American heiresses "to foreign titles

"£180,000,000

"has been withdrawn from the private wealth of the "United States in dowries and marriage settlements.

"Accordingly he proposes in his Bill a 25 per cent "tax upon all property transferred in consideration of, "or contemplation of, the marriage of Americans to "foreigners."

(Let me absorb, therefore, her invaluable Grace, in passing, into my agrarian illustration.)

Farmer Hicks, then, and his farmer friends are in the habit of buying *annually*—**£50,000** in American Agricultural Machinery.

How is this £50,000 transmitted annually to the United States?

It is never! and has no need to be.

Among our Exports one day we exported an English Duke.

And shortly afterwards (in connubial conspiracy) an American Heiress returns with him on the swelling wave of our aggregating Imports!

But this American Heiress has an American income of £50,000 a year.

The value of the Agricultural Implements, therefore, has no need to be transmitted to the United States, because the United States is under duty to transmit £50,000 to an English Duchess.

Now I want,—I want again to ask—The Duke of Devonshire, —and Mr. Asquith, and the Cobden Club, and the conflagrating Spectator's beacon-headed Editor,—and—and the fourteen Immortals!—

What Export English Industry has been stimulated by the annual acceptation of £50,000 in Agricultural American Machinery?

Really, as a matter of fact, dont you see?—our American Imports have been paid for, in this case, by another American Import,—that of the American 'Duchess.'

'But if that be so,' I hear an Immortal mutter, 'we are happy. We are getting the Agricultural Implements for nothing —as a Free American Gift.'

In a way, no doubt!

But you are not getting the American Heiress, my Immortal Friend,

because you took the American Implements.

You are getting the American Heiress, on the contrary,

because she took the English Duke.

And among the glorious beneficencies which Free Trade has achieved for Great Britain I have not yet heard you allege that we owe to it that most productive of all our present British commercial assets,—the English Peerage.

Under these circumstances, therefore, if you had made the implements in England you would have had,—dont you see?

Both the Implements
and the Heiress!

—whose annual £50,000 would still have been to milk out of America in some other way.

☞ 'But we couldn't have better done (could we now?) than take it out in Agricultural Instruments which by the universal acknowledgment of Farmer Hicks-Beach and his farmer friends the Americans produce cheaper and at the same time better than can we.'

But why, Mickie, not? These agrarian instruments have been ground into painful being beneath the groaning handicap of Protection!—

You have, on the contrary, every conceivable advantage that the industrial mortal heart of man could wish

Oceans of Capital and—and

Free Trade!

and steam—and steel—and science—and mechanical skill ad infinitum. You pay lower wages to your workmen, and 'less for all your industrial materials.' Are in point of fact the absolute all-round second-in-the-world-to-none dabs at Machinery of all kinds and pride yourself before Heaven on the fact

You have even ships.

And these American implements which you import thereby are made of American Machinery by American skill.

You have, therefore, ships, I say. And it must be as easy surely to import the primary American Machineries that make the agricultural instruments as to import these instruments themselves.

And even if we grant, which we dont, that the American artisans are, for the time being, a little more skilful,—rub up your old goggles, man, and observe that they are really

Your British own old Free Trade artisans over again!

who have had to leave the dilapidating industries of their beloved mutton-headed motherland.—(Their nasal twang is all in my eye, or in their own, rather, and put on to bounce and bamboozle you!) And even at the very worst—and they weren't, it should be as easy surely to import a foreman or two,—I mean if they *were* real Yankees,—as to import an American Duchess, to teach your clever Free Trade (sleepy-headed) workmen,—How!—

XXXVII.

The next excerpt which arrives from my lucky bag is worth from the Free Trade point of view all the others put together.

It runs after this wise:

"**London Letter.**

"[By Special Wire from our Own Correspondents.]

"GERMANS AND WELSH COAL.

"The statements being made about the German "purchase of a great coalfield in Wales are still rather "contradictory, and it is difficult to obtain accurate "information on the subject. I am afraid, however, it "is only too true that the deal has taken place and that "over six thousand acres of mining land between Neath "and Aberavon have passed—or are about to pass—into "the possession of a German syndicate. When one "realises that on a modest computation the tract of

"country contains

"**some four hundred million tons of the**
"**finest steam coal,**

"**it is plain that the British Government cannot allow**
"**such a transaction to be carried out.** If our coal
"mines were the property of the nation—as most
"Progressives believe they ought to be—there would be
"no danger of a similar deal taking place.

"**A Dangerous Situation.**

"Undoubtedly it is a danger. A very high percent-
"age of German capital is invested in the mercantile
"marine of the Fatherland, and to secure more and more
"a paramount share in the carrying trade of the world is
"the avowed object of the Kaiser and a strong party in
"Germany. That implies a great continuous increase
"in the German Navy, a tendency that is apparent to
"anyone who cares to look at the matter.

"**Half of the steam coal contained in this con-**
"**cession to Germany would keep the whole British**
"**Navy supplied for 150 years with all the fuel required.**

"That is a reason why we can't share the supply with
"the German Navy or hand it over to this syndicate who
"might in the event of a naval war make us 'pay through
"the nose' for coal necessary for our warships—and that
"is the least alarming possibility in the situation.

"Political intent is denied, but the nature of the deal
"is bound to create uneasiness in view of the restricted
"area in which the coal necessary for naval purposes is
"found. The fact that British landlords are prepared at
"a price to treat with foreign capitalists no matter what
"the consequences may be from a national point of view
"is extremely disquieting.

"**They might as well sell a naval base to**
"**Germany.**"

Even in itself, of course, all this would be profoundly interesting, but you need to know that these economic patriotic observations

Hail from a very Rabid Free Trade Organ!

really to enjoy to the full the fragrance of their aroma!

Here is another extract on the same subject from another source:

"SELLING OUR COALFIELDS.

"The alarm caused by the report that a foreign "syndicate was endeavouring to acquire proprietorial "rights over the Welsh coal-fields, or part of them, was "dispelled almost as soon as it arose by the Prime "Minister's assurance in the House of Commons that he "had no knowledge of anything of the kind, and that the "Government would certainly not stand by tamely and "permit such a scheme to be carried out. Well, it seems "that Mr. Balfour's knowledge has been defective, and "now is the time for him to make good his brave words. "The 'Daily Telegraph' states positively that some "6,000 acres of the best coalfield in South Wales has "been sold by a Mr. J. C. A. Henderson

"to a German syndicate for £250,000.

"We say nothing for the present as to Mr. Henderson's "patriotism.

"But it would be nothing short of suicidal folly for "the nation to assent to any such transaction.

"If we are to permit German syndicates to buy "up the nation's fuel, we might as well make "Germany a present of our Navy at once and be "done with it.

"The country will expect the Government to inter- "vene in this matter with a strong hand, and we have no "doubt the Government will realise its duty."

Here is a final:

"GERMANY AND THE WELSH COALFIELDS.

"Purchase Definitely Completed.

[Reuter's Telegram.]

"Hamburg, July 19.

"The much discussed sale of the Whitworth "Coalfields, in Glamorganshire, has now been com- "pleted. A partner of the A. C. de Freitas Company,

"of this city, states that, as announced by the 'Neue "Hamburgische Boersenhalle,' the total area of the "purchase amounts to 26 square kilometres."

Here is an unexpected sympathetic additional

"**WELSH COLLIERIES.**

"**French Syndicate Buys Five Mines.**

"The Press Association's Swansea correspondent "telegraphs that negotiations are proceeding for the sale "to a French syndicate of five collieries situated in the "Swansea Valley, including two owned by the Pontardawe "Collieries Company Limited,—namely, Cwmbs Anthra- "cite Colliery and Cwmnant Dry Steam Colliery.

"It is anticipated that the matter will be finally "settled within the next few days. **The nominal capital "is stated to be a quarter of a million sterling.**

"The correspondent adds that beyond the fact that "the negotiations are really completed, nothing is allowed "to transpire at present. **Inquiries are not "uncommon by Frenchmen and Germans "for the purchase of a single colliery, "and already there is a large amount "of foreign capital invested in colliery "enterprise in the Swansea district.**

"The fact, however, of five collieries being treated "for lends colour to the belief that a big project is on "foot, which may later embrace other concerns in the "immediate district."

Nothing, you see, out of Heaven could be more delightful!

And if I have one more poignant regret in life than another it is that I wasn't a Free Trade Professor, (so to say, born!, in order that there might have been reserved on my behalf the pleasure of running my empty fathead through a noose, and hanging it up in permanent suspension from some conspicuous municipal undertaking such as the lamp candelabrum in mid Buchanan Street or super-eminent tramway pole on Jamaica Bridge.

You see, Sir, it wouldn't matter a monkey's cough to me whether this or the other particular Glamorganshire Coalfield had been sold or not.—I say that wouldn't matter.

The simple fact that such a coalfield *could would or might have been* would be sufficient to induce the ratiocinative portion of my Free Trade Fathead (I hope) to reflect after this fashion:

'Here at last am I!—

Prelecting for the last well-nigh sixty years with a categorical unction and Rule Britannia swagger which has sometimes even surprised and astonished myself in re the multitudinous inviolable virtues of the for ever unimpeachable doctrine of Free Trade.

'H'm!

'Much have I reamed and dreamed in regard to these same, but the inviolable gist of the multitudinous all that I had to say was this:

'Here are you,

—(being England, namely,) receiving in children's toys from the Fatherland

£250,000!

'Well, but, in that case, there is no occasion to worry,—not, man, if all the Toy Factories in England went bang into bankruptcy tomorrow.

'Why?

'Well, you see, Sir, in this way: Germany must get paid for her Toys!

'Also she cannot possibly get paid in Gold,—because it couldn't be done at the money.

'And therefore, accordingly, she must get paid in Goods!

(All that, I think, is perfectly clear.)

'But Goods out of Heaven down dont fall like ready-made Manna.

'British Goods are manufactured by British Labour!

'And, therefore, every ha'penny of these £250,000 is paid for in the ultimate by British artisans working to infinite better purpose than in the monkey manufacture of trivial Toys!

'H'm! (And a glass of water.)

'It certainly never dawned through the impervious bones of my thickhead that these £250,000 of Toys might be paid for by a Welsh Coalfield!

'I say Never!

'First, because I never imagined for an economic moment that such a thing could even in the nature of things be thought of.

'And, in the second place, I have never believed in my life, **and in spite of all the Reuter's Hamburg telegrams in creation I am not prepared to believe to the end of my life,** that such a thing could be done.

'The Reason is obvious.

'Every Import demands an Export!

'Goods are invariably paid for by Goods!

'(All that, I think, is perfectly clear.)

'Well, but now!—German Toys are Goods.

'And therefore German Toys must be paid for by Goods.

'But a Welsh Coalfield is not Goods.

'And it is not in any peculiar sense of the term an Export.

'Therefore no amount of German Toys could ever be paid for by a Welsh Coalfield.

'Therefore, on the face of it, the so-called Hamburg Telegram is all Hamburg!

'H'm! (Another B & S, please.)

'But there is much in the thick of my numskull even more powerful behind!—

'For example!—

'The Germans could not possibly buy a Welsh Coalfield merely as I bought a picture of a white elephant the other day, —to look at.

'If they ever in reality bought such they would undoubtedly bore holes into it, dig up the immediate precious coal, and ship the same away post haste to the beloved Fatherland.

'But in that case the Shipped-away German coal would be tabulated in our English Statistics as an English Export.

'But notice therefore the string of absurdities that would at once emerge!

'The Germans, e.g., might conceivably repeat this sort of international deal in accentuated doses.

'That is to say, they might the year before last have sent us £250,000 in Toys and, out of the Coalfield bought with that sum, taken in coal away £25,000.

'They might last year have sent us £1,000,000 in Toys and taken in coal away, out of the British Coalfield bartered for these, £100,000.

'They might this year be sending us £4,000,000 in Toys and taking in coal away, out of the British Coalfields negotiated with that sum, £400,000.

'They might by the end of next year have sent us £16,000,000 in Toys and taken in coal away, out of the British Coalfields purchased therewith, £1,600,000.

'In which case our British Statistics would then run thus:

	Imports.	Exports.
1901, - -	£ 250,000,	£ 25,000,
1902, - -	£ 1,000,000,	£ 100,000,
1903, - -	£ 4,000,000,	£ 400,000,
1904, - -	£16,000,000,	£1,600,000.

Imports, Increase between 1901 and 1904, - £15,750,000.
Exports, Increase between 1901 and 1904, - £ 1,575,000.

Total Trade (Exports plus Imports.)

1901, - -	£ 275,000,
1904, - -	£17,600,000.

'Now if with these for British Trade Statistics you were to come along and ask my expert opinion, or if you were to go to Mr. Asquith, or to the Cobden Club, or to the Editor of the Spectator, or to any other body who knows anything at all about Economics, one and all of our enlightened dunderheads would delightedly assure you that British Trade was never better.

Couldn't in fact, if it tried to be, be.

'First of all we should direct your admiring attention to the marvellous growth of our Exports,—soaring celestially up by leaps and bounds.

☞ 'And if any carboniferous hypochondriac insinuated that much of the boasted increment consisted of irreplaceable coal we would ask the fossil in a chorus if he was aware that no less than between 60 and 80 per cent. of the value of British coal was made up of healthy British labour,—and the further dunderhead, (with a prospective wink :)—If *his* patriotic idea was to save up against the millennium, and finally dispose of our English coal to the highest bidder from H——!

'Next we should point with the trembling finger of 40-ton-to-the-square-inch high pressure emotion to the super-astounding growth of our Imports :—Imports!—Hang me!—The Things we get as distinguished from the Things we give away!

'And if any pig-head of a Protectionist grunted with alarm at the growing disparity between our Imports and our Exports we should laugh with the Duke of Devonshire and say :

'"Well, Flat-feet, is this disparity between our Imports and our Exports a cause for real anxiety? It is not. I think, within the experience of commercial men that anybody is in the habit of giving anything for nothing. (Laughter, and hear, hear.)"

'Or with one of the Immortals opine :

'"The very fact that we were receiving these Imports, that not the nation, but the individuals of the nation, every man of them engaged in trading for profit, were buying these Imports, was sufficient proof that we were paying for them."

'And if any manufacturing British Contemptibility, eager to line his emptying pockets at the public expense, interestedly insinuated that many of our Imports consisted of manufactured products which we could perfectly well make for ourselves, such as—Toys, at once Mr. Asquith and me would blow the worm sky-high with the observation :

'"That all of these so-called Manufactured Imports were in reality the indispensable pre-requirements to the consummation of the higher finished products of Great Britain.

Even, e.g., Toys!

'"To the artless, no doubt, Protectionist a Toy *may seem*, and probably *does seem*, a manufactured Import. It is in reality a raw delightful and most indispensable pre-requisite towards the manufacture of that highest of all national and international products,—a civilised human being!—In regard to which, as I need hardly say, no earthly nation does at present hold, or can ever hope to, a candle by the side of us!!"

———o———

'And at last if you had the time to wait for our peroration you would make a mistake.

———o———

'You would imagine very likely in broad daylight that you had wakened up at six o'clock of a summer morning with all the country cocks and town works' and locomotive steam whistles and sea-coast sirens crowing and blowing within an inch of your ear, so thunder-amazing would be the paradisiacal cyclone of our sky-ripping jubilation when we came to unfurl and flourish to the four cardinal winds of the world the unprecedented increment in the combined sum—which is really after all the one and only true index of a country's commercial expansion—of our Exports and Imports.

. . . . . .

'And if you had the physical strength left to endure further torture we should probably ask you to get away at once to bed, and in the silence of night (and a cell of Gartnavel) build up upon these intumescing Pelionic statistics these axiomatic conclusions,—to wit, namely:—(1) That there is nothing out of Heaven like F.T.!—and (2)

Nothing in the far-ranging realms of universal matter like a Free Trade

Professorial Fathead!'

* * * *

XXXVIII.

Lightly, Behold!—
I take up

the wings of the morning

now and outwith the roar, as within, of these cabined shores plunge into the vast abstract imperial illimitable of Gt. Britain's immemorial ubiquitous

World Dominions of Impenetrable Opulence.

But if you, Sir, are to follow with profit the derring-do of my Icarian audacity (you must consent to be hanged and buried as Farmer Hicks) in order that I may raise thee to life again as a prospering British Manufacturer or, if you like,—because it is all one story to me,—

Suppose I suppose, rather, that you are

An English Surgeon

—making, say, five hundred a year, and living comfortably on four.

But this year, as Providence would have it, your income has gone up! You have preferred unexpected certain services to Tom Dick and Harry, and the fees which you have received therefor have brought your income up to six hundred pounds.

Tell me this, now:—but please think the matter very carefully out (before you speak: as I am pressing for no mean advantage.

☞ Finding that your income has gone up by a £100, do you find yourself suddenly animated by a burning obligatory itch to run away forthwith and purchase the value of this £100 in Goods or Services from *Tom Dick and Harry?*

Tom's a Tailor. Do you therefore seize a ten pound note and rush to purchase post-haste a few extra vests and trousers in order to *oblige* Tom?

!—Hardly!

As a matter of fact, you have patronised all your life another tailor,—a cousin of yours, and have all the trousers that a couple of modest legs care to be encumbered with in the meantime.

Dick's a Contractor. But you dont on that account, (do you?) feel any imperious take-no-denial inspiration to go away and add an extra wing to your house in order to do Dick a *neighbourly turn*. As a matter of fact your family is retrocessing rather and, if anything, you could afford to dispense with a wing. And you dont, in the meantime, as far as you know,) want any additional hothouse!

Harry's in the Undertaking Way. But it would barely occur to you, would it? as a *duty* to go away and order coffins for yourself and your beloved wife and diminishing family simply to exhibit *a fellow economic feeling* to Harry (who had the inordinate decency to fall down-stairs and stand in want of your surgical services.)—No! you will allow Henry's coffins to lie over until you fall downstairs yourself some day and break your neck: or until Old Harry sends for you in some more respectable way.

But what please, then, is to do with the increment in your earnings?

Well, in the first place, (if you're like me,) you wont worry.

Perhaps you will jog quietly along and forget all about it,—at the worst. At the best, you will let the credit lie at your bank account for a week, a month, a year,—until, in point of fact, you get time to look about the world and bethink yourself. In the end, perhaps, you will take it out and put it into Railway Shares, or into the bond of a house, or into one or other of a hundred thousand undertakings.

In any case, whatever, and that is the point of my economic pin, *you will have no difficulty in getting something or other to put your money in* (other, I mean, than coats and coffins)—however it may be about getting it out.

In passing I touch upon a secondary point.

The Free Trader has a grimly fixed idea,—That if you *did* invest your £100, say in Railway Shares, and were richer at the end of the year by a dividend of £5,—That *you* would be *perfectly*

certain to spend this dividend in something or other,—in a waterproof coat or a barrel of beer.

You know a little differently. Just as, before, you didn't trouble spending in clothes or in coffins your capital-increase of £100, so there is at least an off-chance that you wont either worry about spending the interest-increment of £5.

Even so, says the Free Trader, *you* are *bound to spend it* the following year, or at least before you die.

You know a little differently even at that.

But my argument leads me past this country milestone.†

Well but now: Having invested your £100 in say Caledonian Railway Shares you know very well that you are under no obligation to retain those Shares to the end of time.

If you took some sudden fancy, e.g., to sell out and put your money into North British Railway Shares instead, you know very well that the Caledonian Railway Co. would create no insuperable difficulty to your doing so.

But if *again you changed your mind* and, on the tip of some friendly impostor, determined to put your money into the Nevergodone Gold Mines in the Transvaal you know that there is no extant power in England that could or would prevent your doing so. And you also know that ways and means and opportunity would be easily forthcoming of *converting* your North British Railway Shares into

THE TRANSVAAL NEVERPANOUTS.

—o—

But now if you have been so kind as to follow my lucidity so far, I beg you with attention to follow me *a little further*.

—o—

I have been supposing that you were prospering in the world's ways. But we dont all prosper. Or rather some of us prosper brilliantly for a season and then willy or nilly we go the other way about.

And you are **one of these**:

(—That is to say, if you will excuse me asking you again to change your skin.)

† The expert reader will supply his own footnote.

You have amassed great wealth and inherited great wealth as did your father also likewise before you.

You own coalpits and factories and streets of houses.

You own shares and interests of every kind throughout the world :—

You own Burmah Oils and Russian Petroleums.

And Canadian Pacifics and Erie Common Stocks and Union Pacifics.

You own Patriotic Assurances, Barnato Consols, Zambesi Explorations, and Tanganyika Concessions.

* * Fresno and Arizona and Anaconda Coppers, Broken Hill Silvers, Mysore and Hungarian Golds, Robinson Deeps, Queens of Sheba, Kalgurlis, Manila Debentures and Argentina Rescissions.

You own Bombay Barodas, Gt. Northern Preferentials, Buenos Ayres and Pacific Ordinaries,

---

Thole! my dear man! thole!—I am boring you absolute by intention!

Chesapeake and Ohios, Denvers, Wabash Preferreds and Illinois Centrals, Colorado Nitrates, Dumont Coffees, River Plate Fresh Meats, Eastern Telegraphs and Cape Electric Tramways, Suezes, Leylands, Peruvians, Egyptian Unifieds, Chinese Ninety-eights, Uniteds of Havana—and only Heaven knows,—if indeed even Heaven knows, what else!

But in the Eldorado midst of this all, there comes one day out of the unexpected Blue a sharp-edged frost, that nips and benumbs the all-too sunny luxuriance of this prolonged from-father-to-son prosperity. Other manufacturers have acquired your processes, your secrets, your methods, ay, even your foremen and smartest workmen, and they begin to cut you out of *your own* market.

And these other manufacturers are *foreigners*—Germans and Americans.

You came out of last year's transactions with a loss of £10,000. And this year matters have gone worse.

Now comes the anxious vital query,—What do?

Fail, you see, you cannot, (even if you wanted to,) because you are still by long miles solvent, and to beg (as yet) you are ashamed.

What you therefore go away and do is this:

You realise your most easily realisable securities and with the proceeds square your overdrawn account at the bank,—and keep things in the first place *moving*.

That is to say, you, with no reasons preferred to anybody, not even your wife, quietly dispose of your Queens of Sheba, your Burmah Oils, your Manila Debentures and Argentina Rescissions: —or perhaps you liquidate your heavy holdings in the Robinson Deeps, and hammer away the whole of your interests in the Bombay Barodas, the Wabash Preferreds, and the Uniteds of Havana ——! * *

! !

XXXIX.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen,—you may relax your profound attention. I no longer need it. We have attained to the economical summit and the rest of our fiscal pathway is a

TOBOGGAN DECLIVITY OF PRIMROSE SIMPLICITY.

In my experience of life I have come to the quiet (original) conclusion that men dont differ so much really in **general brain power** as just in that little bump of the brain which secretes **The Gift of Imagination.**

Hundreds of thousands of well-meaning, fairly clever, even wonderfully able men in their special own way seem never all their lives to be able to get beyond their own domestic cerebral doorstep. And not for all the wealth of the world do they actually or could they get to the *inside* of another man's skin.

Let me endow you for a moment with this magic power.

! ! Quick! Ah, See!—you've missed it!
Already the mystic wand hath waved and we are
upon the other side of the Atlantic.

You are no longer an easy-going English Manufacturing Portioner (in process of solution) but a go-ahead Pittsburg Manufacturer on the make, or (if you like) a well-to-do Illinois farmer:—in any case an ardent worshipper of the Stars and Stripes.

———o———

And behold the extraordinary first thing that strikes you in your new skin is this:

———o———

In spite of a few superficial changes, such as the cut of your lanky hair, the length of your nose,

The extent of your infernal cheek,

and an unlimited power of guessing and calculating you are fundamentally astonished to discover that actually you are much as you were when you ate Roast Beef in Old England.

Your desires and ambitions are unaltered. Your moral qualifications, so far from having suffered a sea-change, have accentuated rather on the old lines.

That is to say, if you were inclined to be saving in England you are much the same,—only more so, in the land of the Stars and Stripes. If you were keen in England you are,—and you may lay your bottom dollar on it, a trifle keener in the keen air of the United States.

———o———

—In succinto, if you were disposed to be sharp in Gt. Britain you are, well,—a—sharper in the States.

———o———

Well but now,—as I have said, you are in business. You make Agricultural Instruments, or you are a well-to-do farmer and use them. In either case the most of your produce goes to merry England and you are very—vastly prosperous. In fact the last time you looked at your bank book you were fairly darned if you could believe it and you said so to the wife.

Now, very curious to relate, just as one day when you were a prospering Professional in England you felt a curious inspiration to go away and invest in something or other your English savings so in perfectly like manner

(albeit passing strange!)

you experience one day the sudden itch to go away and do ditto with your American savings.

Ay, but in what?

Because, curious to say, the rub that you had in England is much the same rub over here. That is to say, the correct inspiration doesn't just fall out of Heaven all at once We need time to consider.

Now if you please, Sir, recollect!—

When you were an English Commission Agent for German and American Goods in England, and therefore a Free Trader **and an ardent active member of the Cobden Club,** you entertained the curious notion,—or pretended to, that the Americans, with what they amassed out of English trade, must *necessarily* purchase an exact equivalent in active English Goods, —even so it were Cornwall China Clay (direct), and Welsh Steam Coal,—or Birmingham Pop-guns via the Ladrone Islands and Timbuctoo.

But now as a quick Yankee making money galore out of the English trade you naturally know a little more—**and think a little differently!**

You have all that you need in the way of provisions,—bread, beef, pork, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, jam and beer, etc., all produced at your own doorstep. Your house has been built of American timber and American iron stitched together by American workmen. Your furniture is American. Your cups and saucers are American. Your cutlery is American. Your carpets and blankets and bed sheets are American. You till and reap the fields with American implements—if you are a farmer And if you are a manufacturer—make these with American steel.

You dont wear a great deal that is fancy in the way of clothes neither you nor your wife. Finery in farm work is not in much demand. And, moreover, English Woollens and Cottons and Silks and Laces, although you dont fault them, (on the whole rather like them,) plus the tariff are a bit dearer than the home spun, and there is enough of the English Free Trader in you to believe in buying in the cheapest market. So that even if you wanted to reciprocate the kindness of the English people who

purchase so freely your goods you cannot do so. You personally didn't detail the tariff, but, so long as the detail remains, you must do as the Romans do: you must buy in the cheapest market,—and that is not the English.

In any case you needn't worry. There is no question of sentiment or moral obligation or decency in the matter. The English people didn't buy your corn or corn-threshing-machinery *in order to oblige you.*

Turn up all their Free Trade Lucubrations,—Professorial Take-me-downs, Cobden Club Pamphlets, Editorial and Spectatorial Leaders, and then read the amazing speeches of their amazing politicians and you will find the whole situation set forth in luminous particularity:

They bought and buy your corn and corn-threshing-implements because they wanted and want to.

Here, if you like, is a holograph letter from one of the recent great Chancellors of the British Exchequer, in which he says:

'I am delighted. The reaping machines are giving unbounded satisfaction. They are not only infinitely better than our British-made articles but they are also much cheaper. I will be ordering more next year and will tell all my bucolic,—i.e. to say, my Free Trade friends. I say—what an enormous boon to our poor farmers in the present depressed condition of our unfortunate agriculture!

'Ta ta, in the meantime, and thanks, again,—awfully!'

Moral obligation, as you see, as I say, therefore, is entirely out of the question. You are really conferring an inestimable favour on the English,—for which, indeed, to do them justice they express themselves profoundly grateful, by supplying them with goods at all.

But, indeed, and apart from all such considerations, so far from at present needing any English Woollens or Silk or Lace or Linens or Jute or Cutlery or Delf or Manure or Coal or Ammunition you really dont want any even in respect of these American ditto.

You are full up with Ammunition and Cutlery,
have Firewood to last you for a year,
AND LACE FOR A LIFETIME!

What you really want, therefore, is an investment!

'—'Xac'ly!—Guess, Sir, I could have told you as much, right from the start of all this blithering cackle.'

Very Good, friend! and I'm sorry I didn't cut it sooner,—But what say you, in that case, to a few shares in Russian Petroleums, —or Burmah Oils, or Anaconda Coppers, or Manila Debentures, or Egyptian Unifieds, or the Uniteds of Havana!

Or, (if you dont like so far from home,) what say you to Colorado Nitrates!

Or how about home rails?—In that case, I recommend to you —(knowing nothing whatever about them) Illinois Centrals and Wabash Preferreds!

Or if you prefer, (on the contrary,) a plunge into foreign rails what say you to Bombay Barodas?—or Buenos Ayres and Pacific Ordinaries, or Great Northern Preferentials,—or a few shares in the Great Never Behind Railway of Bonnie Scotland!

—Or if sporting fancy leans you to a dabble in gold mines! —what the Mississippi's to prevent you staking out a few handsome take-me-overs among the Queens of Sheba or Kalgurlis or Robinson Deeps!—or, if you like, in all three. Hey?

Of course!—

You guess and calculate!—You will think it over!

Capital!—Solomon couldn't do more.—And so you go away home and collect your wife and children: and all night long you think it over: and when golden morning arrives you have another look at your bank book: and at last, having guessed and calculated it all out, you calculate and guess that you will see yourself pretty well darned if you dont have a dabble in the whole blooming lot!—(The speculation will amuse your wife if it does nothing else.)

Now if you remember!—

When you were an English Manufacturer in the hey-day of your prosperity you held considerable interests in all these adventures. And if you will take the trouble to reflect!—you will also remember that when you were an English Manufacturer going down in your luck you disposed of them.

Well, strange to relate,

the very shares which you disposed of as a dilapidating English Manufacturer

are the identical shares which you buy as a prospering merican Farmer.

———o———

Now note what follows!

———o———

But, one moment! if you please.

Before you do so, I wish you to do me, in passing, a special

And Particular Favour.

'Waal!'

I wish you to settle yourself down on that settle there and think for all you are very well worth (and double that if you can)—as slowly as you know, and as long as ever you like, and then answer me this:

'Waal, Saar, I guess I'm about ready!'

Query I.

When you were an English Manufacturer disposing of your Illinois Centrals and Wabash Preferreds did it ever for a brief moment dawn upon you that somebody in America was owing you an old forgotten account and had very decently one morning stepped along to discharge it?

'Waal!'

Query II.

Just at present there when you commissioned your [stockbroker to purchase Wabashes to your account had you any glimmering ghost of an idea that somebody in England lent you a long time ago a bit of money and that your animating impulse in purchasing Wabashes was to settle with an old kind English friend an honourable debt?

'Waal?'

I want your answers.

Answer I.!

'Waal, Saar, I guess and calculate that when I bought my Wabashes yesterday I bought them not because I owed anybody anywhere anything, but just because on the contrairy on this yere earth I owed a dollar to no mortal man.—No, Saar! I guess, if anything, I nobbled the Wabashes rayther, if you really must know,—and this is the God's George Washington truth! because running over with superfluous wealth out of the English Trade I, in fact, didn't know what in the world else to do with it.'

—And your response to No. II.!

'Ah, now,—as to that again, Saar, waal, I guess I sold my Wabashes in England just for the other way about:—because, in fact, I myself was owing so much all round that I didn't see how to foot my bills unless.'

Thank you very much!

'Waal but now, Saar, if you please, I guess it's about my turn now to ask a return favour.'

Certainly.—What do you think you would like?

'Merely to know, Saar,—waal, in the sacred name of creation, how you should have put yourself out of ordinary to ask such a tarnation couple of blithering idiotic questions.'

That, my dear Sir, is easily answered. I wanted your replies, merely, in order that I might send them

Framed in Gold

to some of my Free Trade particular friends,—The Members of

the Cobden Club, The Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Asquith, Three Ex-Chancellors of the British Exchequer, The Editor of the Spectator, Fourteen English Professors, * * !

'Yaas, but I dont quite yet understand.'

Very likely not, Sir. But *they* will.

But now, if you please, to return.

I say,—note what follows!

If you buy shares in the Illinois Centrals and Colorado Nitrates which were previously held by you as an Englishman then the annual dividends upon these shares which were previously due in England are now due at home.

If you buy of the Queens of Sheba, Robinson Deeps, and Bombay Barodas,—shares which were previously held by you as an Englishman then the interest upon these shares which was previously due in England is now deflected in Gold or in Goods, or in Credit, to the Stars and Stripes.

And if you have transformed your dollars into English Gt. Northern Preferentials the dividend which accrues to you thereupon need not come to you in British Woollens and Lace and Linen, as the British Free Trader so vainly imagines: (the U.S. Tariff keeps that all right:) but may remain in the meantime in solution as a Credit due to you which you can materialise in future in any shape or form as beseems your good pleasure.

With it, if you like, you can buy a few more Bombay Barodas and Manila Debentures:

Or a few more Chesapeake Ohios or Wabash Preferreds held by Britishers:

Or if you have a taste in the Fine Art way, you can take out your British Railway dividends per the Messrs. Sotheby's or Christie's in a charming Gainsborough, or a beautiful Reynolds,—or perhaps in a lovely Apostle Spoon or two:

Or, if you like, you can buy up a British-owned Teafield in Ceylon:

Or a Ruby Mine in Burmah:

Or (another) Coalfield in Wales:

Or a British Fleet of Steamers trading in China seas.

In a simple word,

(and it is the single that kills,)

you can take out your dividends in a hundred thousand investments interests securities and possessions owned throughout the length and breadth of the World by Englishmen!

But now, friends, that you have followed me so far,

It remains only to pluralise what I have given you for simplicity's sake in the singular.

As by a wave of my magic wand I transported you across the pond and converted you into a booming American Manufacturer —(or was it a flourishing farmer?) so I now append an S to your coat tail

And behold you stand before me

As America and the Americans!

——o——

With still another wave of my wand you get from under the banner of the Stars and Stripes and stand before me as the impersonation

Of Germany and the Germans!

——o——

And behold with a final instructive wand-wave you effulge out in the fulness of glory as

THAT HETEROGENEOUS CONGLOMERATION OF INDUSTRIAL INEPTITUDES AND WANDERED ECONOMIC WASTRELDOM

which the 'superior' Free Trader knows as

The Foreign Protected Nations of the World!

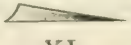
—And the simple hundred or two which I put to your credit

magnuplicates its cyphers

and runs out into hundreds of millions!

! ! ! ! ! ! !

* * * * * * *



XL.

Now,

My beloved Free Trade Scarecrow,

at last I hope that my economic intention * * !

* * * *

On the contrary, Sir, you needn't. Your small-change attenuated drivel and inane economic verbosity have but sufficed to darken counsel. You are like busy perspiring painting on a frizzling gridiron a charming landscape with strenuous salt butter. When you are struggling with one portion the other has vanished into a blank framed with the bluster of your own wooden-headedness. Your idea of argumentation is to pitch and toss through the void of universal vacancy a square millennium of hypotheticality unsupported by a factual pinpoint of co-relative evidence. And your idea of political economy (in this very practical world) appears to be :—That we should adjust our fiscal compasses and appoint the principles of our British industrial navigation on the off-side chance that the Atlantic Ocean will be sucked off the face of the earth one of these days by the mother moon—and the Pacific drop round by Magellan to take its place!'

—o—

On the contrary, my dear Sir,

NO!

You mistake both me and my intention. What has eventuated, really, rather, (seems to me to be:) that you, yourself, in the sublime Free own Trade conviction of your ineffaceable conceit, have lost,

if ever, indeed, you had it to lose,

all argumentative idea whatever of the cardinal perspective **of your own Hallucination** and

the *critical hat-peg*

on which it hangs.

Only consider, man!—

Cast your eye backward and remember for a little while

the economic splendour,
and fiscal simplicity,
and salvation-certainty,
and divine security

of the Great Free Trade Idea.

Remember the august—the absolute—far-reaching—reposeful—undisturbable depths of the Duke of Devonshire's blank block-solid national assurance and

(that wandering Cuckoo of the Cobden Club)
Mr. Asquith's perennial Cuck-oo-doodle-do.

* * * *

(Let me see if I forget now!)

—How does the * * ?

Ah! here's how the mighty tub-thump begins! And here's how the swaggering welkin throbs—

Hark!

With blustering sounds that echo still!

———o———

Let Foreign Countries dump till they very well burst! The more the merrier, and the larger the dump the more English heart-felt and British enthusiastic our national congratulations!

———o———

As I, (Sir William Triumphant Harcourt,) have so delightfully and beautifully pointed out: 'Dumps were things *we wanted*. If we did not want them *we need not take them*.'

———o———

'*The very fact that we were receiving these dumps*, that not the nation, but the individuals of the nation, every man of them engaged in trading for profit, were buying these dumps *was sufficient proof that we were paying for them*.

'Nations might run into debt, but the individuals of a nation did not beyond the ordinary terms of credit.'—

———o———

! ! ! !—Could (than that from one of the Immortals) the Apocalypse of Truth itself be more conclusive and convincing?

———o———

Clearly, my beloved, all things are well.

———o———

But also moreover.

The Foreigner, for his goods, as every body knows, (except Mr. Seddon,) doesn't take payment in English Gold. International commerce is simple barter. If therefore we take dumps from the Foreigner, the Foreigner is *inevitably bound* to take equivalent dumps from us. It doesn't matter whether he wants to or not. Tariffs? Bah! The Foreigner might as well try to keep out the Atlantic with a row of hairpins.

Therefore, *clearly*, if any British industry suffers from foreign dumping, (and while there are a hundred vague insinuations to

that effect: you will observe that never a vestige of proof, or even half an ounce of fact, accompanies the sub-cestal insinuation,) —I say that for every humble possible bucket of loss there is a beneficent infinite ocean of overwhelming compensation. For not only do those industries coin the gold of prosperity **which batten on the dumped material** but hundreds of other industries likewise flourish **which provide the export dumps with which directly or indirectly the import dumps are paid.** —(Vide my cocksure Brother Ass,—The Spectator.)

But now be good enough to mark, Sir.

This beneficent economic automatic commercial adjustment is not some mere ingenious idea of mine (Mr. Asquith,) or specious sophism from the Cobden Club, or a plausible hypothesis of the illustrious Mr. Cobden,—or even a unificent probable theory of fourteen thousand combined economic English professorial thickheads.

It is, I repeat, I am sure, I hope, for the ten thousandth time, and as I am prepared to go on repeating, if need be, till the crack of doom,

a certainty-fact!

obvious, inexpugnable, incontrovertible as that two added to two makes four: and that the like taken from two leaves nothing.

It is not, in any sense, a proposition that stands in the need for discussing,—or even necessary understanding. Rather it is like the morning dawn and the diurnal round of twenty-four hours. Something to *accept* with alacrity and thankfulness and joyful assurance, as the living indispensable sine-qua-non on which to base and build our Individual Life's Result, and the National Well-being, and the Empire's Glory,—without which, or with any substitute for which, everything in the economical political and social worlds is mere vacuity fatuity and futility.

It is not a thing to change or modify or to associate in the same street with the conception of do. . You may change and modify and amplify your garden as much as you will, and water to your heart's content your industrial cabbages with technical training and even stimulate them with the manure of Consular Reports. But not even a fool of the calibre of myself or Mr.

Chamberlain ever thinks of modifying the sunshine. You merely accept as much of that as you can get in this country and thankfully look for more, and if a tariff cloud rolls by you may be sorry, in fact I suppose you must be, but you dont worry. It is an act of the Divine Providence over which you have no control. You merely wait till the cloud rolls by,

IF, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, HAPLY IT ROLLS,

and in the meantime adjust your own particular industrial cabbage head (and the devil look after your neighbour's!) to the diffused (but still beneficent) daylight.

So, in like perfect manner, with Free Trade. You take all that you can possibly get and thankfully covet more. *And the only thing in life that you know for certain is* that on this side of Heaven you cant get enough of it.

!—Imagine the sublimity of the delightful ass who (because some cloud obscured the beauteous sunlight) proceeded forthwith

to retaliate upon the Sun

by shutting out **what remained of the vital indispensable daylight** and living forthwith with drawn blinds and closed shutters in perpetual **self-imposed** darkness.

* * * *

!—Rest, did you say, the British Empire upon Free Imports?

Ay, man, and your own dear soul's salvation as well! and your mother's! and that of every immortal one of the four hundred millions within its world-wide borders!

! ! ! !

☞ You see, (my dearly beloved Free Trade friend,)

That

is the situation which we sorely-afflicted Protectionists are called upon, *day in and day out*, to face. *That*, no less, in the unexaggerated purity of undiluted truth is your identical position. From which, by the least little shadow of a hair's breadth, not a solitary single man of you budges, nor pretends to budge, nor intends to, throughout the length and breadth and depth of all the future ages.

More.

Because I insist, in response to your challenge, that never again any more shall there any mistake be

as to the bedrock

on which you build.

The beneficent virtue of our present English system of Free Importation, dont you know!—(by which I mean)

Its Sacrosanctification

is not in any way founded on the mere Empiricism of ex post facto Results.

All the Empirical Results, of course, are in your favour. No one doubts that. Witness our triumphant Income Tax and Post Office Returns,—the British Museum,—Imperial Institute, etc. etc.! —But *that* doesn't make the doctrine of Free Trade true.

The Free Trade Doctrine

Is True!

—and from that great vital fact the Empirical Results succeed like the living waters that saved Israel out of Moses' stricken rock.

You see and acknowledge with your own eyes and tongue that America does not, by a long interval, take payment for the products which she sends into our market in British manufactured goods or in visible merchandise from us of any kind, —I say, by a long interval.

But that, whatever, is utterly nothing.

There is only

One Way

in which she can take payment, and that particular way, with perhaps a few Timbuctoo round-about Hicks-Beachian variations, which in the end, however, amount to the same thing, will be perfectly ordered and ordained by the Divine Providence that watches to Britain's eternal good and glory over the operations of Free Trade. As individuals we dont in the slightest need to worry. And for the British Government to interfere, *or think of interfering*, would be

THE CROWNING BEDLAM APOTHEOSIS
OF THE CRÊME DE LA CRÊME OF IRREDEEMABLE INSANITY
GONE TRIPLY—TRIUMPHANTLY MAD!

H'st! for a moment, Thickhead!—You dont interfere? with the development of a rose-bud!—by elongating a leaf out here, or

taking your wife's curling tongs and crumpling one there. You give it, on the contrary, perfectly Free Trade in air and sunshine and soil,—and leave

God's Work to the Work of God.

You dont expect Parliament to legislate in re the size and appointment of the Atlantic Clouds, or enact the Rain-days we are to have i' the year—as they ordain the statutory holidays.

There is a limit to the interfering powers of any proper Government **and that limit is reached in matters of Trade.** Perfectly true, no doubt, they can interfere in matters of Home Trade. They can pass Factory Acts as many as they will, and Compensation Bills by the square mile, etc.. But all that, as any one may see, is indisputably right and just. Acts of that sort merely increase the yield, so to say, per acre of Free Trade. But come to Foreign Imports—

and the limit is decisively reached!

It matters not a wind-blown straw or a two-penny poor man's curse under what conditions these Foreign Imports have been produced. They may have been produced by chattel slaves. They may have been dyed crimson by the blood-sweat of blear-eyed boneless children in baking hells of human misery. They may have been stitched together by dying poverty's despairing gasp, or by penal-serving criminals, or by chin Chinamen working twenty-six hours a day for the 24th part of a penny, or even Heavens!—by monkeys in Brazil where the nuts come from.

All that is mere nothing. God doesn't worry about such things. And neither so shall we. All we have really to do under all and every circumstance and condition is,

as God-fearing patriotic British citizens,

to accept these hell-gifts with heart thankfulness and humbly pray the Devil they were more. No one, you know, is really forced to buy them. It's a free country as well as a Free Trade one. And if we buy them, that is just because we want them. And to interfere with a fundamental humanity right like that:—I say to interfere with my liberty to purchase British goods which have been made in Britain under British unstatutory conditions—I repeat, Sir, that that is absolutely right and just!) but to interfere with my liberty to purchase the same class of goods which have

been produced abroad under the identical damnable conditions—is just neither humanly less nor more than to interfere with my living God-given natural right to breathe the natural no man's air,—and gives me the Downtrodden's Revolutionary Right to slit your gizzard at sight.

Accordingly, as I have said,—everything is perfection. Buy as many Foreign Imports as ever you can, and a little more if so be only you will. Pay your cash across the warehouse counter,—or pass your cheque to the bank teller in the usual way, and dont be a fool,

dont, I say, worry a passing thought about your brother manufacturer across the way, or jee your economic beaver about the Ultimate.

The **inviolable theory** of Free Trade secures in triple Heaven-forged adamant that British Industry and Commerce will top the international tree for all time coming and eternity:—always, of course, so be you do your duty by Mr. Haldane's Technical Education, booze less, and issue to the people cheap editions of Consular Reports.

!—Perfectly true, no doubt, we are burning up in the interim our **coal resources** and exporting them wholesale. But God intended that so we should do. But dont worry! Long before we have finished our coal, Science, as you can behold her now, advancing with the measureless resistless strides of her league-long boots will be able to extract

out of a common turnip

as much energy as we at present out of a ton of coal.

Live therefore as a nation and be merry! (only, as I say,—booze less!) and take no thought for tomorrow, **for tomorrow God hath great things in store for us!** Indeed the quicker you burn up your derelict coal and export it, the quicker you *induce* the coming of that millennial time when curious coal will be exhibited, side by side with the flint and steel, in our ridiculous museums

AS THE LAUGHTER-PROVOKING WAY

in which our great grandfathers struck their industrial light and burned to the gutter their commercial pipe.

———o———

Neglectful of our children's children?

———o———

On the contrary, Sire,—we are busy excavating the galleries in which, in the sweet by and bye, British civilisation will take refuge when the polar ice cap grinds over Bannockburn and obliterates Ben Lomond!!

Therefore your caps in the air, my boys!—and with the deafening roar of every accentuating annual dump out of our English coalpits of over 200,000,000 tons—

Hooraye!

and——!

and—just another now—for the last

and a big one

and all together

for the glory of Freedom and Free Trade!

Hooraye!!!

———o———

—! Thank you for joining in, my dear economists,—you've been altogether very kind. (Go away softly to bed now!) and on the pillow of Free Trade doss for the next 200 years, and I will waken your turnip heads,—at turnip time!

XLI.

Now, my dear Free Trade friend, that that I have given to you minus a little the effervescing spice of my contemptuous disdain for your (scientific) intelligence is, I think, with reliable precision your economic position.

And overagainst it,

once for all, front by front,

(if you will give me permission,) I will elucidate *my* attitude in debate to all this wonderful ne-science,

—this eternal economic Must-be!

of yours.

I come along one day,—I,

a humble brother

Economic Detective!

and I find you squatting in front of this F.T. palatial pile,

right on the steps

of the very front doorway.

You have identified the rogue whom you have been commissioned to keep under observation: and with your own eyes have seen the man enter here—and behind him shut with his own hands *that—there—front* door. And from the very *click* of the instant that he behind him that front door closed you have taken up your position upon the front door steps and with transcendental bull-dog tenacity

the long-live nights

and the livelong days,

through and through, have with sleepless hawk-sharp microscopic everlasting eye watched and waited,—and waited and watched, —for over sixty years.

———o———

And at the end of this weary undetermined vigil, I, as I say, your brother detective, appear upon the scene and observe:

———o———

Good morrow, brother William! You are sure your man's inside this pile?

'As certain as death!'

That's very sure.

'**On the fact** I stake my life!'

What makes you so *death-sure*, brother William?

'With these mine own eyes I saw the man enter by that door —and with these identical sleepless self-same eyes, (ever since,) I have watched,—*and he has never come out.*'

And, *therefore*, the rogue's inside. Is that your idea?

'Perfectly. There is no other possible egress. Every window is double blind barred with triple forged steel, and the house, as you can see, stands alone.'

And, *therefore*, the—security you are building on is inside this house. Is that your idea, brother William?

'With absolute precision, brother James, you have grasped

my idea. The man is inside this house as sure as the Lord God 's in Heaven.'

Have you ever at any time, brother William, been around at the back of the house?

'No, brother James, I have not been there. There was no occasion to. *There is, as I have said, only one door to the house.* And if I had, you see, the rogue might have escaped by this.'

Only one door!—How do you know *that*, brother William?

'By the incontrovertible logic of mathematical demonstration.'

Could you make it plain to my thickhead?

'Well, for one thing, brother, there isn't enough Brass in the Kingdom to make another. In the second place if with a goniometer you observe the angle which the roof cuts with the rhone, etc., and know anything of the fourth book of Euclid you will recognise that there is no mathematical room for another. In the third and most important place there is no earthly *need* for another door. This house is not a mausoleum, or a sepulchre, brother James. The people who enter this house enter with an idea in their heads. And that idea is to come out again. Now when people come out of a house their idea is not to sail away aloft into the blue sky or pitch off down into the infernal regions. Their conception is to arrive in the public street and, as you can verify for yourself, the very purpose of the steps on which we stand is just to take you to and from the public street. Therefore it is absolutely clear that the people who enter this house must leave by this door.

'IT'S THE ONLY WAY.

(Brother James!)—*the people who enter this house are not fools!*'—

Thanks, brother William, I think I perfectly understand.

But suppose, now, that (for the sake of a little joke) we just go round and *see* if there is another door to the house!

And so arm in arm together, animated by the subtle insinuation, we go round: and behold! discover that there *is* another door to the house!

But no sooner have we made this ascertainment than behold! you, brother William, turn upon me with the triumphant crush-me-to-jelly-quick logic of a Jubilating Juggernaut and say:

'Well! but well! brother James! grant that there *is a back door* to the house,—grant if you like, I say, that by way of exit *there is some derelict God-forgotten negligibility* which might, by the courtesy of French politeness, be termed an aperture,

—Even grant that the rogue, (which I dont,) or a part of him, by the farthest-fetched possibility of an off-side chance, *might* be able, peradventure, to issue thereby:
That or this attenuated ghost of a hypothetical possibility **—doesn't in any way prove that my man did go out!**'

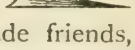
Right! oh thou my most rightly dearly and well-beloved Free Trade brother detective! It doesn't. It doesn't in the least iotic degree demonstrate whether the rogue is inside the house or out.

But it does prove this.

It settles for ever one great point.

It dismisses for ever irretrievably more the theoretical basis on which you have so laboriously built up the imposing pile of your triumphant inexpugnable conviction:

That the man MUST be in the house!



And so, my Free Trade friends, in perfectly like manner. I am not in any way concerned to *prove* that for the imports which we receive from America the Americans do take payment in English Securities.

It is enough for my purpose (which is the burial of Free Trade)

That they can do so.

And it is for you, if you wish to keep out of the funeral, to prove that they cannot do so.

Not that they dont do so.

(Please note, in particular, *that.*)

Otherwise the game for you is completely up and—if you dont know it—you ought to.

Why?

Well, if you are building a great world mansion like the British Empire and intend that it shall endure through eternity, and the proposition is that it has been built upon sand:

It is not, thereupon, enough for the Free Trader to come forward triumphantly and prove that the sand *is in the meantime at rest:*

The vital question is: Is there any possibility that it may shift? And if that possibility exists, that possibility settles it. And we must seek a stabler foundation for the British Empire.

Or if, in like manner, I go in to an argumentative warehouse and demonstrate that the till is so situated that anyone in the passing public thoroughfare can dip therein his hand and take whatsoever he will

I do not need to prove that anyone is in the habit of so doing

in order to demonstrate that the fiscal arrangements of the institution are rotten. My duty and task are finished. And if the warehouse owners take no forthwith steps to protect *from possible pilfering* their till that is altogether clearly the measure of their own insanity and not in any argumentative special way my affair.

XLII.

But do not run away, please, with the notion that no such evidence is forthcoming:

Certainly, speaking for myself, I can never turn of a morning to the Finance Leaders of **The Glasgow Free Trade Herald** but I meet such curious items as these:

"**There is, no doubt, a large amount of foreign** "**money invested on short terms in this country** "**just now,** and that is a position which has its dis- "advantages. The Russian Baltic Fleet affair serves to "recall these disadvantages. If we use threats towards "Russia, or Russia proves stubborn instead of apologetic, "**there might be a sudden withdrawal by foreign** "**investors of their short funds in this country.** "And such sudden withdrawal might be more disastrous "to the market than any advantage that has been gained "by the employment of this foreign money here."

"**It was stated last week that the withdrawal** "**of a million from the Bank of England was made** "**by financial and political enemies of Japan with** "**the view of preventing the success of the loan.** "If so, the attempt was a signal failure, for the loan has "succeeded wonderfully. But will that million come "back again? The question is interesting, because it is "known, as has already been indicated here, that con- "siderable shipments of gold have to be made both to "Egypt and to Argentina, but especially to the latter. "**As against the actual and prospective shipments** "**of gold to South America, however, we are now** "**likely to receive some from New York, which has** "**been buying American securities here pretty** "**freely.**"

"The leading firms in the London Discount Market "have recently complained of the growing scarcity of bills, "**and as Continental institutions have repeatedly** "**bought large parcels of high-class sterling accept-** "**ances,** a gradual decline in discount rates became "inevitable."

"The London market has had the benefit of the "return of the allotment money on the Japanese loan,

"and of large Government disbursements, so that the "position would be easy enough but for the foreign "complication. **It is reported that large blocks of "securities have been sold recently on account of "Paris and Berlin, and that the very considerable "proceeds are being held by the foreign banks in "London. Doubtless some or all of these balances "are available for day-to-day loans until they are "withdrawn to the Continent.**"

"I gather, however, in conversation with some of the "principal bankers and dealers in discounts that they do "not consider the situation on the Continent sufficiently "clear to enable the Bank of England to decide upon an "early downward move. **Germany especially is still "very anxious to accumulate larger stocks of gold, "and the Imperial Bank at Berlin is giving unusual "facilities for the diversion to Germany of sove- "reigns shipped from Australia to our market. "Moreover, the Paris cheque rate on London enables "the Bank of France to acquire practically the whole "of the regular weekly consignments of South "African bar gold which become available here "every Monday, and in spite of these purchases, "and in face of further probable gold shipments "from New York to France, Paris cheques are quoted "dangerously near the figure at which sovereigns "could be withdrawn from the Bank of England.**"

I cannot dip my line into the Leading Columns of the '**Financial News**' but this is the sort of herring I hook:

"It is asserted by some, and suspected by many "others, that we are paying for our excess imports by "the export of capital. The experience of the English "Association of American Bondholders points to this "conclusion. **So does the known fact that, beginning "with two or three years ago, there has been a "stream of American Railway scrip going back from "this country to the United States.** It is common

"knowledge, too, that we do not hold French Rentes "or Russian Bonds, or Foreign Railway securities to "the extent to which we held them at one time."

I cannot plant my heels on the hob and take up my pipe and the 'Statist' to be the solace of my leisure but these are the bricks that come down my chimney:

"In the first place, the people of this country have "for a generation or more been retiring from investment "in the international market. **At one time we in this "country held a very large proportion of the bonds "of most Continental countries, and we held almost "the whole of the bonds of countries outside of "Europe. Now the international holdings in this "country are comparatively small. Even in such "securities as Egyptian, the holdings in France are "probably larger than those in England. Since "1890 we have invested little in South America, "and during the past seven years we have been "selling American securities on an enormous scale.** "The result is that we are becoming more and more "confined to securities of the British Empire, though we "make an effort every now and then to interest ourselves "in countries that are new in the London Money market, "such as Japan and China."

"**Thus whereas our disclosed investments abroad "in the eighties reached to £558,000,000, in the nine-"ties they were only £43,000,000.**

"To indicate how completely the outflow of capital "to abroad has stopped since 1890-91, we give the "following contrast of the estimated capital invested "abroad in each fifth year since 1880-81, together with "the amount invested in 1901-02:—

"**Capital Invested in India, the Colonies, and Foreign "Countries, as indicated by the Returns of "Income Tax.**

"1880-81, - - -	£ 598,000,000
"1885-86, - - -	£ 679,000,000

"1890-91, - - - £1,157,000,000
"1895-96, - - - £1,098,000,000
"1900-01, - - £1,200,000,000
"1901-02, - - - £1,252,000,000

"The growth in our capital invested abroad was "thus:—

"1881 to 1891, - £558,000,000
"1891 to 1901, - - £ 43,000,000"

I cannot to warm up my benumbed fiscal wits approach the '**Weekly Conflagration**' but this is the sort of scorching that runs over me:

"It is known that in the past three years an enormous "quantity of American Railway securities has been sold "by English Holders to the United States. The memor- "andum of the Board of Trade of May 1902 admits "(p. 14) that there is 'good reason' to believe that "'**the United States have been repurchasing American "'Securities in European Markets . . . . . and "'principally in the United Kingdom.**'"

"These are the figures as stated in the press, from "the official figures given in the House of Commons, "and if they are correct they simply strengthen my "argument:

"Return from foreign investments.

"1881-82, - - - - £30,000,000
"1891-92, - - £54,700,000
"1901-02, - - - - £62,000,000

"Now it will be observed that the gain between "1881 and 1891 was over £24,000,000. Why in the next "decade was the gain only £7,300,000, unless at some "point before 1901 the sale of our foreign holdings on a "large scale had begun?"

"The Following Securities

"are stated to have been sold:—

"About £50,000,000 worth of Kaffirs to France:
"from £100,000,000 to £150,000,000 worth of
"American Railway securities to the
"United States.

"And, in addition,

"The Following British Businesses

"or securities have been acquired by foreign investors:—

"Consols estimated about £30,000,000 worth;
"Half the District Railway,
"Baker Street and Waterloo Railway,
"East India Steamship Line,
"British Atlas Line,
"Scottish Oriental Line,
"Leyland Line,
"Control of the White Star Line, etc.."

I cannot to my Fiscal Bible,—The Board of Trade Memorandum of 1903, for the comfort of my wounded heart, go, but this is the style and substance of my consolation:

"Unfortunately, there are no official figures with "regard to the investments of foreigners in this country, "though they are certainly very much smaller in the "aggregate than British investments abroad. **America "is the only foreign country, so far as known, which "has made important investments in the United "Kingdom in recent years, and the outflow of "American capital, both for this purpose and for "the re-purchase of American railway and other "securities formerly held in this country, has doubt-"less affected considerably** the 'balance' of exports "and imports both in the United States and the United "Kingdom in recent years; of course in opposite "directions."

I cannot even cross for the good of my health the Atlantic but this is the Cock-a-doodle I have to listen to in Chicago:

"These two items of freight and travel will account "for part of the excess of our exports over the imports. **"The remainder is accounted for by pur-"chases of our own securities which "Americans are now making in Europe.**
"Many years ago we were essentially a borrowing

"country. When a new railroad was formed, we were "obliged to go to London or Amsterdam for the money, "but that time has quite passed away.

"Our American Bankers find that they "can no longer supply the "home demand for American securities, "and they are obliged constantly to send "orders to their foreign correspondents to "buy and return them. "In that way there is a constant stream of "securities moving back into the United States.

"These three items together account for a considerable "portion of the excess of exports over imports."

XLIII.

Now all this sort of fiscal surmise and undefined hallucination may precisely be—as it pretends to,

Or it may be all the most thundering rot.

To me, as I have told you, it matters not a wind-blown tinker's salivation which.

Why?

Well, you see, it's not my style. In other words I make my bricks without that straw. Which is also no doubt, I admit, moderate lucky for me. Because addressing my subject, as I really do, out of this light-hearted direction I have, so to say, with a single turn of my argumentative spade

dug already the grave of the great stock argument which forms nine-tenths of all the great gun political speeches!

And the common-or-garden political speeches!

And the great grandiloquent monthly magazine articles!

And the great weekly Spectatorial Illuminations!

And the smart-conclusive-Daily-Leading-Irrefutable-Vindications of the superb Doctrine—'to which

—h'm!

—we so gratefully owe our unparalleled

—bum—bump!'

What is this great argument?

This great—crowning—convincing—tremendous argument runs with a majestic wave of the hand out thus:

'Behold in the mighty never world before! our unparalleled super-amazing unimaginable ever

magnicrescending

British Prosperity!'

'Come! Take any mortal world wealth test you wish! I care not which or what!'

* * * *

But stay!—Perhaps you would prefer the falutin direct from one of their own steam pipes:

! ! ! !

"THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND UNDER FREE TRADE.

"Before I outrun the limits courteously prescribed "to me, let us glance for one moment at the condition of "England to-day as it really is when judged by every "trustworthy indication.

"Compare the growth of cheap luxuries and con- "veniencies of life, and the higher standard of existence "among all classes with the England of 1842;

"Consider the decay of pauperism,

"The increase in the Income-tax returns,

"And the increase in the Savings Banks deposits.

"**Increase of National Well-being under Free Trade.—**

"**Average Number of Paupers in England and Wales in every Five-year Period since 1854:**

Years.	Number.	Ratio to population per cent.
"1855-59,	894,822	4·7
"1860-64,	948,011	4·7
"1865-69,	962,075	4·5
"1870-74,	951,699	4·2
"1875-79,	752,976	3·1
"1880-84,	787,118	3·0
"1885-89,	788,357	2·9
"1890-94,	765,282	2·6
"1895-99,	814,749	2·6
"1900,	792,367	2·5
"1901,	781,298	2·4
"1902,	801,356	2·4

"In 1861 the paupers were 47 per 1,000, and in "1902 25 per 1,000 of the population.

"Now let us take Income-tax returns and some other "figures:

"**Income Tax Assessments (Gross).**

"1868,	£398,000,000
"1901,	£866,000,000

"**Under Schedule D, Trades and Professions.**

"1868,	£173,000,000
"1901,	£487,000,000

—o—

(—In fact, 'every penny on the Income-tax brings in a revenue now of £2,600,000 as against only £2,000,000 some years ago?')

—o—

"**General Course of Wages, 1878 to 1901.**

"Including Agricultural Wages,	13·71 p.c. Increase.
"Excluding Agricultural Wages,	15·71 p.c. Increase.

"**Average Price of Food to a Workman's Family "(Index No.).**

"1877,	143
"1901,	100

"Increase in Post Office and Trustee Savings
"Banks Deposits.
"1841, - - £ 25,782,000
"1902, - - £197,105,000
"Deposits of Friendly Societies.
"1901, - - £43,232,500
"Bankers' Clearing House Returns.
"1871, - - £ 4,826,000,000
"1902, - - £10,029,000,000
"British Shipping (Net Tonnage).
"1861, - - 4·8 million tons.
"1902, - - 10·1 million tons.

"The only items in our great national balance-"sheet which have fallen are the paupers and cost "of the workman's food.

"Under Free Trade the general increase of comfort, "general well-being, and national enterprise has therefore "been enormous."

! ! ! !

A great many, on the other hand, Free Traders,—hundreds of them, indeed, no less, bearing notwithstanding distinguished names and passing even for men of learning and ability, adopt a much simpler device:

These distinguished simpletons arrive along bustling with all their tail feathers in ecstasy and exclaim!

(—A la the ever delightful Mr. Spender:)

'What! What! I say! What,—What's all the worry! What's the row on? What's the bother about? Hey? Excess of Imports!—Well, I never! Tut! Tut! man, I'm astonished that an economist of your capacity and intelligence should have any difficulty about a matter so simple.

'What is the mighty sum, now, of this great *so-called* excess?'

'Taking the decennial average, Sir,
£161,000,000!'

'Very well, now, deduct from that, for excess of bullion,—£6,000,000: and—and what does that leave?'

———o———

'A residue of

£155,000,000!'

———o———

'Very good indeed. Very clever in fact! So that all the worry now is to account for the bagatelle sum of £155,000,000! Well but now, good Sir Arithmetic, glance for a moment, please, at the other side of the ledger.

'Our Shipping trade, according to the most informed authorities, brings us the tidy sum in of

£90,000,000,

—not less: and our interest (official) on Foreign Investments

£62,500,000!

———o———

'But now, please, Sir, I hope you have marked my qualification!

———o———

I said '*official*'! and I said it not without the most advised advice, because that little sum is universally acknowledged to be a long way under the mark. Indeed my friend Sir Robert Giffen, and he is not the sort that is given to hysterics, has informed the world in a stage whisper that if all the truth were spread out it would be nearer £90,000,000. But pass it at that. Take, I say, the official figures as they stand, and tot the two up items for me together,—Shipping Profits, I say, and Foreign Interest!'

———o———

'At your service, Sir!—

Answer—£152,500,000!'

———o———

'Charming, Sir, Charming! An arithmetical Genius come to light! Now deduct £152,500,000 from £155,000,000 and give me

(not without due intimation)

the world-stupendous humanity-staggering result.'

———o———

'The operation being successfully carried out,—there remains over, Sir, a difference of

£2,500,000!'

———o———

'God in Heaven!—Sir!—Really!—Actually! Oh!—Oh —

Up with the window, man! Quick! I'm going!—Fresh air! Water! Brandy!

* * * *

'Ah!—Sir, I thank you, I feel better now.

£2,500,000 did you say?

And all this mighty turmoil and uproar in the country in order to account for a pigmy tee-total all told of two and a half millions!—Why, man, it's like removing Buckingham Palace in order to look for the historical ha'penny that was lost at its foundation. And the chief scarce part of the joke is that we haven't but begun. For beyond and above these twin luxuriant annuals their remain over to add to our invisible exports—I cannot tell you how many delightful little jolly thriving assets.

* * * Let me bethink me now. Ah, to be sure!

* * * *

'"Profits on the purchase and sale of Goods which do not touch our shores at all and of the large Fire and Life Insurance business which our companies carry on abroad and other similar services: items which must reach a very large total.—The Liverpool cotton merchant who buys his cotton in New Orleans and sells it, say, at Havre or Bremen, the Mincing Lane merchant who sends coffee from Brazil to Italy supplies no statistics of such transactions which form a very large proportion of our general trade and the profits on which must be added to our invisible exports. Then there are the earnings of all the banks which have branches either in the colonies or in foreign countries:"'

etc.

ETC.

ETC..

* * * *

And having perorated home to the fore-beseen finish these industrious Simple Simons stick their calculating thereafter ostrich heads in the Free Trade mud, cock up their best behind frill feathers for the circumambient foreigner

to continue

to kick, and invite us all to close down the blinds on our ignorance and go to bed with our adored infatuation—for the next half a dozen thousand years.

! ! ! !

(—Not, of course, by any means, that everything is just perfect.) Oh no, not quite just! No at any time F.T. idiot ever said that. At least never I. But the issue of a few cheap Consular reports, a little more attention to Technical Education, and a little more general 'bucking up' all round—and everything would be as right as fresh paint in a fortnight.

XLIV.

Now these twin Free Trade modes of roasting and rotating the very-much-required Red Herring,—however much they may seem to differ,

are astutely unanimous in this

that they leave for the most part the conclusion to be adroitly understood.

That unexpressed conclusion runs when expugned out thus:

These various things all thus being,

it is

absolutely demonstrated beyond the cavil of doubt

that we

cannot possibly be paying for our imports

by the

dissolution of Foreign Securities.

In response to the very thin vapour of all this very thin gruel a great many Reform speakers and writers, curious to relate, some of them indeed the most brilliant of men, indulge in a

veritable carouse of trouble. They unmask in stately argumentative procession their most seductive batteries of counter insinuation and send brilliant into the seventh blue heaven a roaring rival firework display of counter statistics.

They take you up with a smile the Income Tax Returns and pour the cold water of irony on their dropsical expansion.

They point you out in the first place with the suavity of suspicion-less innocence—'that France and the United States have no Income Tax at all!

'That the Prussian Income Tax Returns* show for the actual last ten years an absolutely greater accumulation of wealth than has occurred in the United Kingdom and a still greater increase relatively to the smaller population of the Prussian Kingdom.'

They suggest that the swelling British Returns are partly due:

'To greater stringency and vigilance on the part of the Income Tax surveyors—(in regard to whom they vaguely whisper) that there is a disposition now to pay by results.

'To the prevailing modern mania for converting great private businesses into joint stock companies,—whose affairs are supposed to be more vulnerable to assessment than—in their more exclusive aristocratic days.

'To the formation of Bogus Companies like the London and Globe Finance which in 1896 paid an income-tax-paying dividend of 10 per cent: in 1897 one of 40 per cent: in 1898 one of 15: in 1899 one of 10 and thereafter nil: the result being that the happy investor of £100 received in income-tax-paying dividends £75,—and lost his original £100 and six years' interest on the same!

'To the general enormous expenditure upon Municipal enterprises and the South African War.

'To the presence of Millionaires in our midst who draw their incomes from abroad.

'To the failure on the part of the authorities to make an adequate allowance for Depreciation of Business, and for what

* The Prussian assessment, it must be recalled, begins at £45 a year.

the Americans call "Betterment,"—that is to say, Repairs and Reconstruction,—which results, e.g., in Railway Companies having to borrow capital for works which ought to have been defrayed out of revenue:

'Or for the salvage of submerged capital,—as in the case of one who having invested in terminable annuities, or a gold mine, has his dividend mortified as if it were pure income and did not also include the reinstatement of capital.'

———o———

They blandly remind us, as if it were probable we had never heard of the fact, 'that British Income Tax is payable on British money invested abroad in rival industries in rival countries: and on the income of companies which carry on their concrete businesses abroad and have only Registered Offices in England.'

———o———

And they then complete their cold-water cure
with this for an arctic Freezer:

"It must also be remembered in considering "our income tax returns that foreigners are charged "income tax on their investments in home securi- "ties: such interest appears to swell our national "income although it is really a charge upon it."

———o———

(So that, e.g.,)—(this little addendum, of course, being my private own!!) the German Income amenable from the Welsh coalfield recently exchanged for German Toys subserves a double duty: swelling first of all our Income Tax returns, and at one and the same economic instant,—the already over-swollen heads of our jubilating Free Traders as to the unprecedented * * * —bum bump!

———o———

And then,
(As if this last for a lusty back-hander weren't enough,)
these Reforming Zealots go calmly on to announce that even after all has been said and done the expansion of our Income Tax is already showing signals of retardation.

"THE ADVANCE SLOWED.

'Table showing gross amount of income according "to Income Tax returns, at intervals of ten "years, and percentage of increase on previous "decade.

	Per Head.	Total Income, £ millions.	Increase on Previous Decade. £ millions.	
"1860,	£11 12s.	335	—	—
"1870,	£14 5s.	444	109	32 per cent.
"1880,	£16 13s.	576	132	29 ,,
"1890,	£17 16s.	669	93	16 ,,
"1900,	£19 4s.	788	119	17 ,,

"These figures show that there has been a marked "slowing of the rate of accumulation in the period "of high Protection abroad, which falls roughly "between 1880 and 1900. In the whole period the "income per head has not doubled."

———"———

Next they ask us to cast our conceited eyes across the Atlantic:

"AMERICAN WEALTH.

"In the case of the United States we have wealth "returns in a somewhat different form in the American "'Statistical Abstract.' It must be remembered when "examining them that between 1860 and 1870 the United "States fought one of the most desperate wars in history, "with enormous destruction to life and property.

"Table showing wealth of U.S.A., total amount, and "per head (dollar converted at 5 to the £1), "also percentage of increase each decade.

	Per Head.	Total Wealth. £ millions.	Advance on Previous Decade. £ millions.	
"1860,	£102	3,231	—	—
"1870,	£156	6,013	2,782	86 per cent.
"1880,	£170	8,528	2,515	40 ,,
"1890,	£207	13,007	4,479	52 ,,
'1900,	£247	18,860	5,853	45 ,,

"The two sets of figures are not comparable, but "the rates of increase are, and it will be observed that "the American rate remains at a far higher figure than "the British. Wealth in the United States has been "multiplied nearly six-fold."

And then more or less all over:

"SAVINGS-BANK RETURNS.

"As for the Savings-bank returns, it is sufficient "to point out that England is here far behind "France and most other countries.

"The French figures show an advance from "£25,200,000 in 1870 to £170,000,000 in 1897; the "British advance is from £52,000,000 to only "£164,000,000 in the same period, though we have "not had to pay some £600,000,000 for an unsuc- "cessful war.

"The amount per head of deposits in Savings-banks "in various countries is thus given for 1900 in the "'Journal de Statistique Suisse,' as quoted by a writer "in the 'Daily Telegraph':

"Denmark,	£15 11s.
"Switzerland,	£13 0s.
"Germany,	£ 7 10s.
"Norway,	£ 7 8s.
"Belgium,	£ 6 7s.
"U.S.A.,	£ 6 4s.
"Austria,	£ 5 8s.
"Sweden,	£ 5 1s.
"France,	£ 4 8s.
"Britain,	£ 4 2s.

"The British position is certainly not flattering. It "is quite clear from the above facts that while we are "progressing, we are progressing much more slowly than "many of our great rivals. Everything, the writer repeats, "is relative in these matters, and there could be no greater "mistake than to compare ourselves with ourselves."

And at last they wind up with this for a kind of 'Fare thee well, Good Brother of mine!'—

"DO THE EXPORTS STILL PAY FOR IMPORTS?

"Before leaving this question of our finances it is "important to consider whether our exports are still "paying for our imports. The following are the figures "for the imports, exports, and unfavourable balance in "1901:

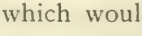
	£ millions.
"Imports, - - - - - -	454
"Exports, - - - - - -	280
"Balance against John Bull, - -	174

"Thus the amount to the bad by the statistics is "£174,000,000, leaving bullion out of account. How is "this gap covered?

"There are two items of 'invisible export' which "help to fill it. The first, profits on shipping; the "second, income from foreign investments. These give "the following amounts:

	£ millions.
"Net profits of shipping, insurance, commissions, "etc. (1901), - - - - - -	90
"Net profits from foreign investments (1901-2),	70
"Indian expenditure in England, - - -	8
	168

"There is still a gap of £6,000,000 which cannot "be bridged, and which would seem to be covered by "diminished savings or by the sale of our investments to "the foreigner."



XLV.

Now all this certainly for an argumentative quid pro quo is no doubt mildly amusing, and it may be also equally, for anything I know, instructive.

But there is really no Protectionist necessity at all for any such line of argument.

In any case it doesn't greatly interest me.

Why?

Well, because I'm not in any way anxious or concerned to deny the imputations of the Free Trader. On the contrary from the bottom of my heart and with all the patriotic fervour of my soul and strength I believe, or try to believe, and wish to believe, that the convinced Free Trader is really right. Nightly, indeed, I do honestly and fervently pray Heaven that it may grant that he be right.

Therefore I say *that* doesn't concern.

But what, on the contrary, *does* concern—to the extent of overwhelming me with speechless astonishment, and I am certain that—(if in the beautiful future life to which I aspire) it be given to immortals to cast in angelic review back the events of this mortal existence,—

I am certain it will fill my celestial mind with a seraphic wonder that will bubble up undimmed throughout the length and depth of eternity:

Is the fact! ! !

That thousands and thousands of my fellow countrymen,—educated—or supposed to be, passing even for cultured, highly frequently trained in specific subjects (such as law, horse-racing, etc.) capable of conducting their private affairs in a satisfactory manner, capable of acquiring wealth, if only by marrying wealthy wives, and learning and distinction and titles from M.P., M.A., upwards, capable even of writing elaborate constitutional histories, the Lives of consummate Limitations (like Mr. Cobden and Mr. Gladstone,) magazine illuminations, newspaper leading articles and even letters to the Editor of the Spectator,—capable in a word of passing from the cradle to the grave without awakening the slightest suspicion that they are otherwise than perfectly sane:

! ! ! !

That thousands of such men should believe, or say that they believe, that the fact that we are increasing in wealth is fiscal positive proof that all is divinely well,—that Free Trade—our English Free Trade—is the ne plus National ultra of Economic

Systems,—that we cannot possibly be redeeming our imports by the sale of securities or what might have been securities,

* * * *

That as a nation we, in a word, cannot therefore be sustaining any national loss through the antiquated fiscal sieve—which by modern English Economy is worshipped as Free Trade:

! ! ! !

—I say the overwhelming idiotic asininity of the fools who so reason gives me galloping the

Scarlet Fever.

Imagine a Manufacturer

(if you please) in possession of a private income from investments, the real extent of which neither he nor any other body knows, but which is value at least for £20,000 a year:—who is also hard at daily work conducting an old and well established business which ought to be yielding under proper management double that sum per annum,

—I say, imagine this old Father Industry making up his annual statement, as thus:

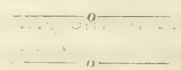
Nett income from all sources—£15,000:

Business, household, and personal expenditure—£10,000:

Balance, therefore, to the Good—£5,000!

Imagine more.

Imagine pointing out to the old potato in the friendliest kindliest way a hundred and ten possible ways in which he might improve his methods of business and book-keeping and therefore his annual revenue:



And then fancy this:

Fancy the old Methuselah taking out his bank book and pointing out with the smuggest of smiles out of Heaven to you

The Magnificent therein Balance of £5,000!

—Well, of course, I believe I'm wrong,—there would be nothing much in that. You would stand all right that.

But fancy on the strength of that all—the antediluvian old Heaven-abandoned idiot panting to forthwith allegate down your throat *that the fact of that £5,000 being where it was, namely on the right side of the ledger*, was a

Triumphant Irrefragable Demonstration

that his business affairs and his book-keeping were being conducted on the most approved scientific business principles ever invented by the soul of humanity!

I say! ! !—How! !—How would you like to jump from the economic frying pan into

That

for a hell-fire lunatic?

Fancy additional.

Fancy for the last straw more,—standing in front, speechless, of that irrefragable demonstration watching the retreating form of the irrefragable demonstrator slowly and gravely disappearing!

—(Even also that, I think, would be half humanly endurable.

But at last he approaches an unintentional mirror *and you are compelled to catch in your stomach up again* the inexorable —heavenly smugness!—of that convinced! unutterable!

Victorious!—Smile!

* * * *

And—and—further—well, I remit the infliction. But if you have contrived to follow, so far, these Flights of Fancy you will carry in your head away some dim idea of the Weary Willie uncomplaining torture which we poor Protectionists have to endure at this Job end of our weary task.

* * * *

What?—You think that no one out of a joke could exist so silly.

Alas, my dear friend, you're wrong. The streets and the housetops are alive with him.—Look closer, man, and in the face

of the old goose of my fable, as in a magic photographic mirror, you will discover a variety of familiar features—(of a variety of familiar fools :)

The 'leagle' glance of ——

The ponderous helplessness of ——

The feeding-pig fatheadedness of ——

—Together with the universal thundering wooden-headedness of the innumerable convinced Free Traders who at the next General Election† will confirm the Continental and American horse leeches in another prolonged spell of bleeding their mother country.

Thank you for your applause, friend, but would you mind just keeping it for a moment ?

What, I say, gets on my back,

—Rasps on the raw of my brain like a brass cutter's file

And thunder-stuns me with the paralytic palsy of ineffable astonishment

! ! ! !

is that anybody should marvel *for a moment* at the super-abounding and

Increasing !
Wealth of England.

—o—

Heavens! Why Shouldn't It?

—o—

Have you ever tried—for half a moment of your feckless lives,

—I mean—you Free Traders,

to visualise England as she lies—beholden of the Gods, say, at this moment of time—! ! !

Sky-high ballooned your brain, so to say, and looked at the Mother of Empires spreading beyond out there in field and forest and fell within the sobbing frame of her green heaving seas ?

! ! ! !

1906.

Look, see!—North, South, East, and West—!

* * * *

But stay! Ere wing we yet so far,—What!—What grey black, heavy, solemn, sea-born, angry, earnest, patient city—moiling from morning to night with sleeves rolled up! is this in which our fates are fixed?

———o———

Glasgow!—Second city of the Empire—and First i' the world!

!—Proudly baptised!

———o———

Ah, well and good! but if that be so, indeed,—has it ever struck you now of an afternoon, say, as you stood

AT THE JUNCTION OF ST. VINCENT ST. AND BUCHANAN ST.

looking with admiration, as I do daily, West on the clouds steaming up from the Atlantic and around on the finest built city in the world that all this majestic soot-stained panorama is actually *finished?*—built, so to say, to endure for ever in stone and lime?

Curious isn't it—when it comes to strike you!

—You and I, true, own not a window sill of all that there is,—and, not that we know of, ever laid a masonic stone upon another and yet somehow these immovable creations magnificently exist,—and not only these, but out and away—far spreading North, South, East, and West, rise into the smoking air thousands upon thousands of warehouses, stores, office-blocks, houses,—capable of contenementing well-nigh a million people,—and between them of streets stretch miles upon miles, and courts, and squares, and lanes,—kerbed, flagged, paved, macadamised, lamped, gleaming with miles upon miles of tramway rails,—overlying miles upon miles of gas mains, water mains, waste mains,—and overlaid by the never-ending patter and clatter of heels and wheels.

Also, moreover, (miracle to relate,) these far-ranging structures are not *unfurnished.*

Look see!—every superb window that we pass, every spacious warehouse from ground-floor to sixth story ceiling, is filled to overflowing with every article and treasure that the mind of man can wish or the heart of woman desire.

Silks and satins are there! And laces and bonnets, boots, scarfs, dreams in dress, creations in artware, scents and confections, three figure furs and rarest furniture slip crowded past in stately kaleidoscopic procession!

☞ There, see!—is an unpretentious flight of steps, with but a simple six-lettered brass plate for distinction! that seems to lead to little.—Run for an astonished moment up, please,—and say what you think—of what it brings you to for an interior of glittering magnificence.

Here is another crammed with costly musical instruments.

* * (Already I have lost count) of the packed windows we have passed brimming over with glittering jewels. And I'm blest if this isn't actually one running right into the street with motor cars.

I beg your pardon!

—Ah, that! Sir! That splendid edifice is the

Glasgow and West of Scotland Manufactory of Free Trade Superstition!

!—What a magnificent misapplied fortune that alone now! —with all its humming misinstructing machinery?

Step, if you please, into that great glass frontage now! And when you are thoroughly bewildered rising from luxurious tier to tier,—ask to see the gorgeous revelations of their private show rooms.

Yes! into that, likewise, for a Palace of Silks and Soft Goods, and tabulate with amazement the Arabian record of its finery!

'?—That great building rising superb from the terrace!'

—That's the Glasgow and South Western Railway Station and Hotel.

—No, Sir. I dont think they even consulted me about its plans any more than the Lord God did about the plans of Ben Nevis, and behold! yet there it stands as sterling and stable as the proud Ben itself,—complete and replete with every human living appurtenance.

That little chapel-like structure, again, is the entrance to the Glasgow and District Subway,—a little enterprise alone that cost us a million of money!

Certainly! Welcome! Have a look into that, likewise, for a world of choice assortment gathered from every part of the wandering world,—and I will meet you green with amazement at the foot of the street.

No, Sir! Neither a ditch nor a sewer! That's the River Clyde. Mean looking isn't it? and drab and dirty, and yet withal running over with romance and the World's fame. Deepened mind you, please to note, since *my own father's* young days by what you may guess of arduous human exertion from a shallow wadeable dib into a deep leviathan sea-going tidal channel!

Have no fear, Sir.

These bridges are *real*,—each of them in itself, as you can reckon, a fortune of human labour.

—This that we are crossing cost £112,000!

No, Sir, the Country not yet. This is but the South Side Park and—we are due at the flagstaff in half a second.

* * * *

Hey! for a breath and a bench now!

! ! ! !

Ha! Look backward now! Sir, over that vast smoking panorama. What a magnificent built-up innumerable organised stretch around of strenuous stone and lime! Tenements in their thousands,—packed with dwellings in their tens of,—and each of these furnished and equipped in its own particular fashion for human habitation. Shops and Warehouses in promiscuous profusion,—Schools, Colleges, Museums, Churches, Chapels, Halls, Theatres, Libraries, Galleries, Baths, Parks, Hospitals, Barracks, Court Houses, Prisons, Fire Stations, Railway Stations, Power Stations, Markets, Bridges, * * * * !

Ah!—'That din to the left?'

—Why!—That's the din, no less, that reaches round the World of rival riveters at work in the eager shipyards of the Clyde.

'And those tall smoking chimneys that break the skyline everywhere,—but chiefly North and East—?'

!—Hang me, thank you! I had almost forgotten.

These are, in fact, no less than just what I brought you out to see.

Glasgow for short!

All that I have shown you up till now being but the subsidiary shell to the great steam boiler and power engine.

These are the be-all second city's world-famous Factories and Industrial Works—each of them (in itself as you can think) a great big human fortune of bygone labour and busy big fresh fortune maker in its own immediate right.

* * * *

Nay, Sir, ask me rather what they aren't? Cotton Mills there are, (or were,) Worsted, Silk, Lace, Carpet, Hair, Jute, and Sewing Thread,—Blast Furnaces and Foundries, and Steel, Brass, Copper, Tin Plate, Cutlery, Wire, Tool, Nail and Rivet, Metal and Leadpipe, Machine, Boiler and Shipbuilding Works,—Tan, Soap, Glass, Chemical, Calico Printing, Bleaching and Dyeing, Boot and Shoe Works, Potteries, Breweries, etc., etc..

'How many?'

Ah! well, as to that now,—fifteen years ago on an idle summer's day I counted,

of Textile Works, 129,
and of Non Textile, 1,748!

But what there are now I should be at a loss to say. (—Doubled, no doubt, they might have been) but for the disastrous incubus —— ——!

'Yon distant Peak!'

—That, Sir, is Ben Lomond, no less! And under its shoulder lies Loch Katrine, 35 miles away, whence come daily hither 50—60,000,000 gallons of water.

—That little enterprise alone now cost us between two and three million pounds!

! ! ! !

Now will you please, my dear Sir, look for the last around and fill, pack, crush, cram the Continental Saratoga of your imagination till it shiver and burst with the mighty Gargantuan totality of realised human exertion that lies throbbing sounding smoking at your feet.

You and I, friend, as I have said, are penniless beggars, owning but a stick of all that we behold.—And there are doleful croakers, no doubt, who preach to us in abundance about the magnitude of our municipal debt.

Hang debt! The basic inexpugnable fact remains *that all that you see before you*

'IS!'

—Has been constructed out of raw Nature by human labour. And the point of my insistence just is:—*That all that labour is already dead and done with!*

Handed over by the Spirit of Time
as an Royal Inheritance,
(free gratis and for nothing,)
to penniless you and me, and the living present generation!

!—All that there tomorrow to do is: being but to repair it, renew it, extend it.

Take up

The Wings of Magic

now, and the tablets of a Recording Angel, and fly with me high into mid air,—North, South, East, and West!

! ! ! !

Behold!—beneath you lies of the land of our glory

120,979 square miles!

(Of which about 48 per cent:)—

37,156,000 acres

is under crops and grass.

And of this vast cultivable area all, if you will but notice clearer, is not just original prairie: but partitioned off, for convenience, into fields and fallows: every field, more or less, (and oftener more than less) being separated from every other by fences, dykes, ditches,—or other something that is *past* of British labour. And the fields, thus divided up, are grouped again for convenience into farms and holdings: there being of these, over all, of over one acre in size,

1,027,484!

And, as you see, every abstract larger holding has a concrete farm house standing built upon it, and every farm house is already furnished, more or less, with every form of agricultural necessity. (And even still more curious to relate,) apart from the fact that almost every barn yard *is running over with the stacks of last year's produce* all this vast area is fully and even richly furnished with live stock.

—Take your inditer now and record as I count:

Horses used for Agricultural Purposes only,	**2,022,961**
Cattle, - - - - - - - -	**11,376,986**
Sheep, - - - - - - - -	**30,056,756**
Pigs, - - - - - - - -	**3,639,782**

I omit the Goats on purpose because if I began also to count in them I should have to count in all the Free Traders. And there would be no little end to my lifelong labours.

In a shining network over this vast area bracing and lacing it into a permeable organised unity run,—or at least ran when I counted them last:

22,152	miles of	Railways.
1,484	„	Tramways.
180,000	„	Roads.
6,000	„	Streets.
3,907	„	Canals.
and **43,023**	„	Overhead Telegraph Wires.

'And how shall I assess the value of these Shining Railways?'

Put them at

£1,216,861,421!

—keeping out the farthings.

'And the Roads and Streets?'

Many years ago I valued them at

£150,000,000!

'And the Canals?'

Ah, well, as to these now!—the Caledonian Canal, for one, I believe, cost £1,140,000 and the Manchester Ship Canal about £15,000,000! —But to be quite brief and general put them down at an average of £9,600 per mile!

—And tot the total at your leisure.

'And the Tramways?'

These you may roughly reckon at £60,000,000!

* * * *

And dotted here, there, and bewildering everywhere, throughout that vast extent like throbbing nerve centres on a gigantic nervous system lie populous worlds, cities, towns, hamlets, palaces, castles, mansions, cabins and cots, * * * in all say roughly of human habitations about

Nine Millions!

'And how shall I assess all this?'

Please, Sir, we wont attempt it. Little items alone would burn up what remains of our lives in compound useless arithmetic. I should have to be reminding you in regard to London alone that she had spent alone upon her Main Drainage System £10,351,000: upon her Water Supplies £19,641,090: on the rebuilding the other day of one of her Bridges £390,000: on Blackwall Tunnel a million and a half: on the Rotherhithe and Shadwell Tunnel £2,000,000: on her Tramways £7,000,000: on one of her Tubes,—the Great Northern, Piccadilly and Brompton, £6,747,715: on another (the Charing Cross, Euston and Hampstead Tube)—8 miles long—£720,000 a mile. * * *

And if the subject of Gas cropped up, and at present I am full of it, I should have to tell you the story in the country of 710 Gas Companies, municipal and other, *boasting* (no less) a paid up and borrowed capital of

£112,867,000!

! ! ! !

'Ah! most exciting, Sir!

But leaving all this gas-conade upon one side what if you please is the idea?'

The idea, my dear Sir, is, that the great God said one day: Let there this all

BE!

And there, behold!

WAS!

And *the next great idea* is: That with all this—at this hour of the universe for my starting portion in life,—(and I have seen it under-valued at

£8,500,000,000!)

—— o ——

Observe, in fact, how I add to the pyramids!

—— o- ——

Look! See!—I whistle on my thumb! and behold by the mysterious Heaven's almighty most help

628,136 public lamps

flick out * *

The stars divine dwine down, the great sun leaps forward on the Eastern horizon and out of the fresh womb of the Infinite

42,000,000 human beings

arrive on the threshold of this vast Industrial Organisation!

——o——

And look see!

——o——

Even as I speak, they marshal themselves on the far spreading plains!—and behold at the beck of my imperial nod they form up and divide into ages, sexes, nations, hosts, armies, and army corps that are mightier than modern military armies.

! ! ! !

From innumerable harbours,—granite-lined, breakwatered, deepened, channelled, lighted, and often lighthoused,—

* * * *

'You have not given me any estimate for these, Sir.'

Have I forgotten really?—Indite for your contentment then a passing few.

Sums Spent on Docks and Harbours.

Dundee, - -	£ 800,000
Bristol, - -	£ 900,000
Hull, - -	£ 1,200,000
Plymouth, - -	£ 1,550,000
Holyhead, - -	£ 2,000,000
Dover, - -	£ 3,750,000
Glasgow, - -	£ 7,600,000
Liverpool, - -	£18,200,000
London, - -	£20,100,000:

* * * *

Twenty-five thousand fishing boats manned by 106,000 men run out to draw in the shining harvests of the deep:

And 11,000,000 tons of shipping manned by 188,000 British seamen steam out to every nook and corner of the globe,—thence to return with an annual tribute from the obliging foreigner,

—Apart from anything from him due as the result of their own services,

Of sixty—seventy—(and even some whisper)—£90,000,000,

—Free, Gratis and for Lovely Nothing!

But ah! see! you are missing the glory! Inward thy 'scope and mark how they wheel,—my stupendous Territorial armies, into magnificent industrial action!

Even the great Napoleon couldn't but march his invincible armies on their belly and yonder mightier than ever led by him is an army looking after alone my commissariat of

1,301,000.

Another exactly equivalent

(1,335,000)

host of Camp-followers,—masons, bricklayers, joiners, etc., is busy adding to the world of stone and lime.

And look see! into yonder 30,000 schools *which they have already constructed*, yonder quarter of a million drowsy heads will be leading in an hour or two

7,000,000 scholars.

Of equal numbers *minus the million*,—a flank detachment of

322,000

is already astride the railways and in a twinkling later

22,267 furious Locomotives

will be panting—propelling

822,259 laden (more or less) **vehicles**

along these glittering threads.

A like exact number,

325,000,

is even now deploying on the dusty highways and presently

even at this serene distance you will hear them whistling and swearing their crunching carts and slow wagons along.

Greater than the population of absolute Norway,—a Kingdom! behold! of

2,262,000

trudging with slow sleek horse- and hoe and harrow to the fields!

—And 40,000 of them, see! with plaid and crook are already forgotten among the mountains.

But mark in sublime array against the morning sun

THE INDUSTRIAL MAJESTY OF ENGLAND!

4,150,000!—

broad and deep, they stand, awaiting my desire!

And overagainst them: from the sibilant valves and stacks of

109,065 Factories,

where a pioneer (less than) corps of **126,672** firemen have been already hard at work, float waste in the wide air, or throb ghost white, black acres of unused power and spendthrift sheets of impatient steam.

—o—

And behold! at the fall of my baton the conflux divides:

—o—

And one fourth,

1,026,378,

separates out from the rest.

These are the Textile Workers!

And as they wheel into active service these also divide: Exactly in two!

And half a busy million, **523,030,** are straightway pouring through the gates of **2,476 Cotton Mills.**

And hark!

Already you can hear the hum of

48,000,000 spindles

while from **683,620 buzzing looms**

before the day is done a magic bale, 12,000 miles, of cotton cloth shall have rolled out from here to Australia.

—o—

—And the half that remains!

That too divides in two. And a quarter of a million, **261,801,** for the rest of the day,

and **6,679,000 spindles**
and **104,000 power looms:**

—Of these I mean, of course, as many as the Perfection of Freedom preserves still in employment!
are busy spinning and weaving the wool off the backs of one silly section of British sheep on to the Free Trade backs of another.

The surviving Silk Mills,—29,911 workers; Lace,—18,588 workers; Hosiery,—36,336; Flax,—95,879; Hemp,—10,831; Jute,—41,258; Horsehair, Elastic, etc.,—8,744: engulf the rest.

Again the bugle sirens blow:

And

3,112,194,

—the three fourths of my original host, and but a little way short of the entire population of Switzerland, (3,315,443,) parade for a moment at attention and then they also move into action:

And like a giant wheel that casts off countless sparks as it runs so from it—armies, as it moves, and innumerable detachments,—this:

26,006 into 128 Iron Smelting Works:
102,826 into 2,153 Iron and Steel Founding Works:
135,853 into 572 Iron and Steel Mills:

* * * *
* * * *
* * * *

And yet!—Far as human vision carries * * * Cometh yet no end in sight. But ever yet forward still they march like a world that is without end.

* * Emerges out of the morning mist an fresh host of

800,000!

And yonder I number no less than

146,124 Workshops

that await their coming.—(And even of these) ! ! have slipped through the mesh of my tally Domestic Workshops,—Men's,—Docks,—Warehouses !—

* * * *

But Hark ! To the roll of fresh drums go now trundling past my ammunition trains.

Yonder slight column of **30,000** men will presently disappear into

715 Metalliferous Mines,

and in a year's time

15,500,000 tons of Iron Ore

* * will have risen to their credit.

Yonder larger will divide :

91,000 disappearing into quarries,

and **70,000 into other mines :**

And in a year's time

5,261,000 tons of Sandstone,
12,758,000 tons of Limestone,
15,291,000 tons of Clay and Shale,

* * * *
* * * *

will have risen transfigured out of their sodden primeval bed into the sunny service of humanity.

But look, see !—without whom the whole job mighty all National Industrial and Social Fabric would stand stock still ! Last, therefore,—first and most important of all !—

See !—as I sign they sink (sans a murmur out of their sad pale lips)—

882,000 ! into **3,278 shafts** in the earth.

And are seen no more—many. And banners of steam float over their grave.

And at the hard-spent close of a sunless year with intermittent clank and primeval groan

£91,529,266 worth of coal has risen to the surface in

251,067,628 tons.

———o———

But !—But come with your inditer, now, please, and consider !—

———o———

Gravely I read:

"One pound of coal burnt under a boiler and converted by engines into work gives half a horse-power per hour—at a very moderate estimate."

But in one working ton are 2240 pounds. And therefore in one ton of transformed British coal (at this very moderate estimate) there should the locked-up value be at least of 1120 horse-power per hour.

Query?

What, in that case, is the value in Horse-power per hour of

251,000,000 tons?

'Answer.

281,000,000,000!
195,000,000!
743,000!
360!—Horse-powers per hour!'

—Brilliantissimo!—A walking Integral Calculus!

Now further:

Having opened to you in sun-glint the vista reaches of my superlative inheritance and marched in millionic review before them and you the overwhelming muster of my industrial armies I want you to census my forces all first of all up and then average them down,—ages and sexes you know,—into 'average working men': * * * * And then—!

'Yes!'

—With the effective result in your possession multiply the same out with this for a factor:

An ordinary man's ordinary day's work being equivalent to

300 foot-tons of energy,

(and a very hard day's work to 400!)—and there being in the ordinary year of ordinary working days

* * * *

'Ah! Bah! Bah! But that's too many! Cant we dry up rather now,—Drop!

Take off our wings,

AND HAVE A DRINK?

! ! ! !

Ha! well, thanks, to be sure, now!—That's if you like, in a way, more really refreshing!

* * * *

But to resume, Sir, the thread of your consideration! Would you believe it that in spite of the very exalted (and even dizzy) altitudes of eloquence to which (just now together) we succeeded in attaining, I haven't the ghost of an idea (even yet) what in the wondering world the whole of the to-do had to do about Free Trade!'

Really!—Actually!—(Poor! Oh! Poor,—alas! my unhappy lucidity!)—But hither in that case thy blunderbury beetle-headed wits. You are aware are you surely not?

Am I not indeed after explicitly stating!

that all the country over,
innumerable as the sands of the sea,
Free Trade speakers and writers

are continually gloating over the abounding wealth of Great Britain and glorifying its magnificent increase for the last sixty years as a magnificent irrefutable demonstration that Free Trade is the ne plus ultra perfectibility of humanly devisable fiscal systems and cannot on any account, therefore, possibly be

The Rotten Sieve

—responsible:

which we Protectionists allege it to be:

for daily millions of untold British waste.

Very well, then, granted!—Up, I say, to the submerged eyes—absolute all and in full, for peace sake granted!

But in that case, now, please to remark:

Glasgow, of water, about sixty millions of gallons from the flank of Loch Katrine sucks every day in life. Which means a suckage in the year of at least

21,900,000,000 gallons:

and in the time of ten years ten times that.

Verily well, then, I say! but all that being given away gratis in passing:

Here is what happened

In 1885 the Glasgow Corporation took power to raise the level of Loch Katrine by five feet. And in consequence:—as a matter, therefore, now, of actual indisputable historical fact, and in despite the prodigality of an incalculably criminal Glasgow-egian—overwhelming wastage, Loch Katrine to-day contains an infinitely greater volume of water than it did yesterday.

* * * *

Storage Capacity Yesterday: 5623 millions of gallons.
Storage Do. To-day: 9849 millions of gallons.
Being a little difference, therefore, in twenty four hours of **4226 millions of gallons.**

! ! ! !

And what the Free Traders, therefore, come along down and do is this:

They allege that the indisputably abounding abundance of Loch Katrine,

The fact that it is deeper and broader and richer and purer than ever it was,—is an unimpeachable absolute demonstration that Loch Katrine is fiscally intact,

That the Glasgow people, or, to speak more correctly, the Bedlamites, rather, who inhabit that city, must be labouring under some ultra-beyond-ordinary delusion! must, in fact, be washing every morning their dirty faces with moonshine and watering their whiskies of a Saturday night with the aqua pura of hallucination.

! ! ! !

But what, if you please, now,—Oh Perspicuous Spectator! is the deep Spenderian-abstruse and profoundly far-flung philosophical explanation!—of this very odd contradiction?

This!—dear.

'That her gathering grounds are so extensive and the Atlantic 'thereupon rainfall so enormous that she—L.K. is able to distribute 'millions of ingratitude into the oblivious gutter, and yet ever at 'the same-self time come up growing and smiling.'

And so, Sir, in a quite similar way.

My object in ballooning your thickhead into the seventh High Heaven was simply that it might behold for itself with a bird's eye-stroke the stupendous industrial situation as it exists, in facto, in Great Britain.

And, haply, beholding, recognise:

That if this incalculable wealth potentiality were only decently conservo-organised by a proper external and internal economic system:

That in that case we—the whole of us—should, in fact, be all to-morrow multi-millionaires!

But I am under no necessity, please to note, to blow along the sails of my argument with the assistant dubiety of any mere treacherous similitude.

What I have been attempting to put to you in my spread-about way is:

That enormous present wealth on the part of England and even enormously increasing wealth may, so far from being inconsistent,

be, indeed, wholly and delightfully consistent

with enormous present and enormously increasing dissipations of wealth.

———o———

But we know more.

———o———

Perfectly we know as a matter of daily hourly fact that her present wealth (and trans-glorified present Free Trade increase of do.)

is so consistent.

XLVI.

In

DRAINAGE AND SEWAGE,

informed me an American statistician the other day, England throws into the sea annually

80,000,000 dollars!

———o———

(But Mr. Yank often talks through his hat.)

Let us go direct at once, therefore, to the fountain-head of all accuracy and wisdom and economical knowledge!

Let's go to the Final Report of the

ROYAL COMMISSION ON COAL SUPPLIES.

(Part I. General Report.)

"Mr. Beilby has estimated that about 52 million tons "of coal are annually converted into steam power at mines "and factories in the United Kingdom, and it is generally "agreed that the consumption of coal per indicated horse-"power per hour is on an average about 5 lbs. When it "is stated that the consumption of coal per indicated "horse-power per hour

"*should not exceed 2 lbs.*,

"and might even be less,

"THE WASTE AND EXTRAVAGANCE

"of our methods of raising steam will be "realised.

"It is said that if all steam engines "were as efficient as the best

"50 per cent.

"of the coal now used for steam raising "might be saved."

—o—

"In considering these figures from the point of view "of possible economies, we would draw attention to Mr. "Beilby's interesting calculation

"that out of an annual consumption of from 143 to "168 million tons of coal in this country there is a "possible saving of from

"40 to 60 million tons.

"Other witnesses have confirmed Mr. Beilby on "special points."

—o—

"It is beyond question that Collieries are extremely "wasteful in the consumption of coal.

"It was stated by one witness **that if the whole of "the plant of the collieries in the Kingdom were "modern plant of the best description the consumption "of coal would be one half of what it is to-day.** We "think it right to draw the attention of Colliery Managers "and other persons interested to this important con- "sideration."

"Gas engines are now established as the most "economical of heat motors, and it is said **that if the "average steam engine and boiler installation of "to-day, with its average consumption of 5 lbs. of "coal per horse-power hour, were entirely replaced "by gas producers and gas engines**

"the 52 million tons of coal,

"which it is estimated by Mr. Beilby are consumed for "power purposes at mines and factories,

"would be reduced to 11 million tons.

"The possibility of this enormous economy seems to "be established by the results of many trials by which it "is proved that power can be generated by gas engines "in almost any locality and on almost any scale with the "consumption of 1 lb. of average slack per indicated "horse-power per hour."

"Professor Forbes estimates **the total saving in "coal, which might be effected by the use of all our "available water power, to be about 1,200,000 tons "per annum."**

"According to the evidence, economy in domestic "consumption is mainly to be expected from the adoption "of central heating in houses, the open fire being merely "used as supplementary to the general warming by hot "water pipes or stoves, and it is said that on a safe estimate

"**more than half of the present con-**
"**sumption of about 32 million tons**
"**per year**
"could thus be saved."

* * * *

My opinion, of course, of this worthy Commission you already know.

Fools who can prate so glibly as they do about this, and that, and the other,—some of them by comparison twopence ha'penny enough, possible economies of British coal, and have not a word to say,

Or rather have this to say! ! !

about its exploitation by export:

"In view of the extent of the estimated coal
"resources of the country, *and if our anticipation expressed*
"*in Paragraph 41 is correct, viz., that the present rate of*
"*increase in the output*
"*will soon be checked by natural causes,*
"there seems no present necessity to restrict artificially
"the export of coal in order to conserve it for our home
"supply."

! ! ! !

Should have been tried for high treason and hung!

But if the opinion of Royal Commissioners fed up to this *fine* degree of

Patriotic Logicality

is scarcely to be valued against the carboniferous conclusions of a collocation of Baboons:

What are we to think of that other Bedlamite Band of Patriotic Logicians who placidly assure the world *that there is not an ounce of British coal wastefully consumed in the United Kingdom?* And could at any time possibly never have been!

Why?

Because under the magnificent freedom of Free Trade the total export of Coal, Coke, Cinders and Patent fuel has increased from £1,284,000 in 1850 to £38,620,000 in 1900!

Here! In front of me lying, are some statistics of the Glasgow Fire Brigade and out of them I learn that the estimated

FIRE LOSSES

within the city for the last six years were these:

1898,	- - - -	£225,500,
1899,	- - - -	£ 84,000,
1900,	- - - -	£320,000,
1901,	- - - -	£189,000,
1902,	- - - -	£189,000,
1903,	- - - -	£223,500.
Total,	-	£1,231,000!

Now, perhaps, that sum, may-be, doesn't sound very big when you say it all at once in a fire brigade hurry, and yet, if you possessed it all in your own right, you would consider yourself, no doubt, a very wealthy man.

What the Fire Losses are likely to be in the course of a year for the Kingdom at large I have no means of knowing, but I have seen the statement somewhere made that the Insurance Companies operating in Great Britain paid the sum in 1901 for Losses by Fire of

£13,332,096!

(—Not, perhaps, also,) to the mind of a 'prospecting' Carnegie a very big sum likewise considering! and yet if you imagine its delicate proportions repeated for a period of ten years only—it runs out to the very handsome total of

£133,320,960!

Now, of course, all that may be, or it may not be. By which I mean that no statistics whatever will ever give us the *actual Losses* by fire which the country sustains.

But what are we to think, therefore, of the enthusiastic hero? Who comes boldly forward and perspiringly assures us:

That the country has never sustained any damage at all by Fire!

Why?

'Because comparing the year 1891 with 1901 the Profits from Houses (vide the Income Tax Returns) have increased from £143,146,177 to £184,572,687!'

In 1902 there were

TOTALLY LOST AT SEA,

exclusive of vessels of the Royal Navy,

333 British vessels—having an aggregate tonnage of 104,341.

What sort of loss this involved in terms of £. s. d. I haven't the ghost of an idea, but here is a little newspaper sidelight which seems helpful in that direction:

"**UNDERWRITERS' LOSSES.**

"A disaster was reported at Lloyd's to-day which, "it is feared, may prove almost as serious for under- "writers as the loss of the Manchester Merchant in "January of last year. The four-masted regular liner "Yeoman, **a steamer of 7,379 tons,** built in Glasgow "in 1901 by Messrs. C. Connell & Co., is reported badly "ashore at Cape Villano, on the north-west coast of "Spain. **It is estimated that the ship and cargo "are worth over £200,000.**"

From 1888 to 1902,—a period of fifteen years, there were totally lost at sea, exclusive of vessels of the Royal Navy,

5,017 British Sailing Vessels,
and 1,828 Steam Vessels:
In all,—6,845 British Vessels, having an aggregate tonnage of 2,581,506!

Now if these vessels were 'totally lost at sea' it doesn't seem too much to assume that in most cases their cargoes also would be more or less lost too.

It is for certain set down that

21,000 human lives

were lost at the same time—but these, of course, dont count.

What the actual dry money loss, therefore, must have been I do not know, but here is a very startling statement:

"**About 2,000 vessels of all kinds disappear in "the sea every year, carrying down 12,000 human "beings and involving a loss of about £20,000,000 "in property.**"

Now if the loss of 2,000 vessels represents a loss of £20,000,000:

and the Rule of Three holds good:

The loss of 7,000 vessels (namely 6,845) should about represent

a loss of £70,000,000!

(So, at least, I can imagine a man not without some sense of logic concluding.) But however that all may be, the very decided fact remains:

That the referred to loss, whatever it may have been, must have been very great.

But if that be so what are we to think of the Rule Britannia idiot who comes blandly forward and avers? That there must have been somewhere some colossal mistake:

That the country for the last sixty years has suffered no loss whatever in respect of ships lost!

Why?

'Because the total tonnage of British shipping has increased from 4,806,826 tons in 1861 to 10,268,604 tons in 1903!'

The total

NAVAL AND MILITARY EXPENDITURE

for the United Kingdom since 1894 has been as follows:

1894-95,	£ 35,595,000,
1895-96,	£ 38,334,000,
1896-97,	£ 40,655,000,
1897-98,	£ 40,395,000,
1898-99,	£ 44,283,000,
1899-1900,	£ 69,815,000,
1900-01,	£121,445,000,
1901-02,	£123,787,000,
1902-03,	£100,825,000,
1903-04,	£ 72,368,000.
Total,	**£687,502,000!**

In the opinion of thousands upon thousands of Fanatical Free Trade Peace-at-any-Price Cosmopolitan Bigots that very grand total stands for just so much

Utter! Absolute! Indefensible! Criminal!—National Waste!

But suppose, without accepting the grand total just at this, —having the object in view merely of skirting the polemical base of (such a very) Mutual Improvement mole-hill, suppose we merely ask the business question:

Do we or did we for this stupendous national expenditure get Naval and Military Value?

Here are answers:

"Further inquiries show that the Government's plan "of abandoning the military defences at the Scilly Isles "is complete and determined. **This is in spite of the "fact that during the past six years or so something "like a quarter of a million sterling has been ex- "pended in placing the fortifications in a thoroughly "efficient and up-to-date state.**"

"**NAVAL WASTE.**

"**Remarkable Figures.**

"The Blue-book on the Dockyard Expense Accounts "of the Navy, containing the report of the Auditor-General, "shows that nine cruisers, which cost originally £1,476,363, "and on which £165,411 has been spent in refits completed "in 1902-3 and in 1903-4, have now been included in the "list of vessels to be sold. Five cruisers and a gunboat, "which were refitted in the case of the former vessels in "1903-4 and in that of the latter in 1902-3 at a total cost "of £283,950, have now passed into the 'list of vessels "available for subsidiary services,' while three new vessels "—the Fantome, the Merlin, and the Odin—which were "completed in 1902-3 at a cost of £247,575, have also "been withdrawn from effective service. On four torpedo- "gunboats, which originally cost only £253,838, no less "a sum than £201,533 has been spent in repairs. On "the Niger, of which the first cost was £50,572, the sum "of £80,620 has been expended in refitting. In the case "of seven vessels which have been refitted at contractors' "yards the expenditure during the year has exceeded "the original estimate by £320,279."

"WAR OFFICE BLUNDERS.

"How the Nation's Money is Wasted.

"Expensive and Useless Schemes.

"The second report from the Committee of Public "Accounts, issued last night, says:—In connection with "expenditure under the Military Works Loan Accounts, "the Committee's attention has been drawn by the Comp- "troller and Auditor-General to the following instances "of loss of public money due to successive changes of "policy:—At East Bulford there has been a loss to the "public of between £140,000 and £150,000 in erecting "a Mounted Infantry School, which was closed on "July 1, 1906. At Tidworth nearly a million pounds has "been expended in building barracks for eight infantry "battalions, though only four are needed. The surplus "barracks are being altered at considerable additional "cost so as to house a cavalry regiment and certain other "troops. Near Fermoy a sum of £35,000 was expended "in 1905-6 for purchase of Moore Park (843 acres with "mansion and grounds), as a site for barracks and for "training mounted infantry. The idea of a mounted "infantry school in Ireland has now been dropped, and "the mansion and outbuildings are used for the purpose "of providing accommodation for a field company of "Royal Engineers. In the words of the representative "of the War Office, 'a change of policy has resulted in "money being expended without the advantage which "was anticipated accruing.'

"At Stobs, 'the original idea was that it was going "to be a great training ground for troops, but it has been "given up,' the War Office having 'only spent £56,000 "out of the £725,000 which had been intended at a time "when it was anticipated to have six army corps.' The "land purchased is used 'mainly for Volunteer camps "and things of that sort'."

"WAR OFFICE SCANDALS.

"I am told, writes a London correspondent, that the "report of the Butler Committee will be one of the most "sensational Blue Books ever published. Some of its "revelations are of the most scandalous character. It "appears that at least in one case £2,000 a day was "being made by buying Government stores and then "selling them back to the authorities. In another case "a man bought oats at 11s., and a day or two after "sold them back to the Government, without even "moving them, at 18s. There are numerous cases of "the same character."

"THE PRICE OF UNREADINESS.

"The confidential advisers of the Cabinet in 1885 "and 1886 knew that a struggle between the Boer and "the British, if not inevitable, was likely.

"The point thus established is that between 1881 "and 1899 our rulers had eighteen years in which to "prepare for war. When war broke out our rulers were "absolutely unprepared. There was not a single regi- "ment ready to be sent from England. The purchase "of meat for the army was conducted by the fine "gentlemen of the War Office in such a manner that "a profit of nearly £1,000,000 sterling went into the "pockets of Semitic contractors, while men who had "rallied to the standard could not get the pay due to "them.

"Worthless horses were bought at high prices."

"AMMUNITION WASTED.

"In the great public departments there is no "inspection whatever worthy of the name. The best "administered of the services is the navy, but in the "navy ammunition is thrown overboard to save "the trouble of firing it and the injury to paint "work.

"When ships return from abroad stationery, "boatswains' stores, gunners' stores, carpenters'

"stores, are hove overboard to save the trouble of "returning them into stock, so greatly is the red "tape necessary, if stores are returned, dreaded "by the officers concerned."

"JOBBERY, INCAPACITY, INIQUITY.

"Although the navy would come better out of an "impartial inquiry than any other department, I have "not the least doubt that the efficiency of the British "Navy could be doubled without difficulty on the same "outlay as that now voted by Parliament, provided an "intelligent inspection from top to bottom were made "by competent and honest inspectors—if efficiency were "made the one condition of employment."

Now, I think that, without at all knowing what it is, and without, much less, the worry of deciding how much of all this we need endorse, there cannot be a reasonable doubt in any man's mind that there is in connection with these great spending departments a great deal of annual wastage.

But if that be so what are we to do with the furious flathead? Who comes triumphantly forward and patriotically swears:

That there is no such waste at all and never was!

Why?

'**Because in the interval between 1871 and 1901 the Deposits of Friendly Societies have grown from £8,026,894 to £43,232,500!**'

In the Ninth Annual Abstract of Labour Statistics I find this

Appalling Battlefield Roll of

INDUSTRIAL CASUALTIES.

Year.	Number of Persons Reported Killed.	Injured.
1897,	4,262	63,856
1898,	3,810	79,633
1899,	4,619	96,369
1900,	4,753	104,303
1901,	4,622	107,286
1902,	4,515	112,197
Total,	26,581	563,644

If the country awoke some morning to ascertain that in a series of stricken battles the whole active forces of the army and navy had been wiped off the mat, the majority of Britons, I think, would conclude that a great National Calamity had taken place.

These appalling Industrial Casualties, no doubt, are spread over a six years' Industrial Campaign, but even at that, because you must remember, in turn, that the figures *transcend* the immensity of my supposition, most of us would feel, I think, disposed to assume thereby that the country had sustained *some* degree of loss.

—*A very natural but a very ludicrous mistake!*

Why?

'**Because it can be proved to demonstration from the most reliable statistics that the total Fish landed on British shores increased in value from £7,009,000 in 1891 to £9,707,000 in 1902!**'

Here are some remarkable figures in regard to

STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS

which I cull from the same source:

Year.	No. of Disputes.	No. of Workpeople Affected directly & indirectly.	Aggregate Duration of Disputes in Working Days.
1893.	615	634,301	30,467,765
1894.	929	325,248	9,529,010
1895.	745	263,123	5,724,670
1896.	926	198,190	3,746,368
1897.	864	230,267	10,345,523
1898.	711	253,907	15,289,478
1899.	719	180,217	2,516,416
1900.	648	188,538	3,152,694
1901.	642	179,546	4,142,287
1902.	442	256,667	3,479,255
Total for 10 years:	7241	2,710,004	88,393,466

Now if you reckon a working man's working day at eight hours and assess at sixpence an hour the value of his labour these

into one another will bring you to four shillings stg. as the value of a day's work.

But if that little multiplication sum be a fair working estimate: What are we to think of the modern magical arithmetic which can cypher out on top of it—this?

If the lost value of a lost day's work be 4s.—what will be the lost value of

88,393,466 lost working days?

Answer—*Zero!*

Why?

'Because it can be demonstrated beyond the cavil of doubt that the Total Trade per head of British Population has gone up from £19·5 in 1871 to £20·9 in 1902!'

Here is another table of uninherited wealth which I have dug from the same mine:

FLUCTUATIONS IN EMPLOYMENT.

PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS UNEMPLOYED.

(All Trade Unions Making Returns.)

1888,	- -	4·9 per cent.
1889,	- -	2·1 ,,
1890,	- -	2·1 ,,
1891,	- -	3·5 ,,
1892,	- -	6·3 ,,
1893,	- -	7·5 ,,
1894,	- -	6·9 ,,
1895,	- -	5·8 ,,
1896,	- -	3·4 ,,
1897,	- -	3·5 ,,
1898,	- -	3·0 ,,
1899,	- -	2·4 ,,
1900,	- -	2·9 ,,
1901,	- -	3·8 ,,
1902,	- -	4·4 ,,

But a table like this, of course, is only an instalment. It is not quite clear that it is complete even for Trade Unions, and it is perfectly clear that for the great working population which is outwith Trade Unionism it doesn't even pretend to exist.

———o———

Says a writer, the other day, in the 'Nineteenth Century':

"Unemployment is constantly with us, varying in
"intensity between an unemployed army
"of 200,000
"during good trade
"to upwards of 1,000,000
"in times of exceptional distress."

———o———

But even, in turn, were this writer right he also, I am sure, is certain to be quite more or less wrong.

Because in his estimate, while I can quite imagine some allowance having been made for all sorts and conditions of Unemployed in the lower social strata,—casuals, tramps, wastrels, jail gentry, etc., I find it more difficult to think of him making a similar due allowance for the wastrel thousands of Unemployed in the upper crusts of Society, and for the half—quarter—and three quarters employed in every rank of the social machine.

Under these impossible circumstances my own idea out of the wood is to lean back lightly on something which may be supposed—fairly to be at least leanable upon.

With this object in view I go back to the Blue Books, and collating and collecting what is spread about there calculate out for myself the following table:

METAL, ENGINEERING, AND SHIPBUILDING TRADES.

Year.	Total Membership.	Percentage of Unemployed.	No of Unemployed.
1892, -	137,036	7·7	10,551·7
1893, -	140,139	11·4	15,975·8
1894, -	143,380	11·2	16,058·5
1895, -	147,686	8·2	12,110·2
1896, -	158,602	4·2	6,661·2
1897, -	165,322	4·8	7,935·4
1898, -	159,848	4·0	6,393.9
1899, -	165,927	2·4	3,982·2
1900, -	172,007	2·6	4,472·1
1901, -	176,530	3·8	6,708·1

———o———

And thereafter I proceed in this way.

I say:

'Now if I may assume that every one of these Unemployed,—being employed, would have added to the sum of the country's wealth by the close of each year—an hundred pounds,

'How much am I entitled to imagine that the country is like to have lost by their unemployment?'

LOSS THROUGH UNEMPLOYMENT.

Year.	£
1892,	1,055,170
1893,	1,597,580
1894,	1,605,850
1895,	1,211,020
1896,	666,120
1897,	793,540
1898,	639,390
1899,	398,220
1900,	447,210
1901,	670,810

'Total Loss in 10 years,—£9,084,910!'

And with that for a very safe and modest beginning I spread out then my logical wings into this for a further conundrum:

'If the Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding Trades, which had a membership in 1892 of 137,036 and in 1901 of 176,530, stood between these years in unemployment for a loss to the country of £9,000,000,

Query I.

'What are the Total Trade Unions of the country—with a membership in 1892 of over a million and a half and in 1901 of 1,922,780:

And Query II.

'What the unnumbered multitudes who live and move and have their working being outwith and beyond the range of the Trade Unions:

'What are all these likely to have stood for?'

(And then for myself I am done.) I say, I go no further and dig no deeper. I dont worry down the long vista of evaporised years, vulgar or decimal re the ultimate fraction facts of unemployment. I am content to know thereby, simply and humbly, that the loss :

———o———

Because I luckily have never been of those who when they come to reckon in millions permit themselves to think and speak of one, or half a dozen, as if it were a negligible nothing : to me even one million sterling has always been a sterling million whether it stood alone or was drowned in a hundred :

———o———

Must have been colossal !

———o———

But even if there be any one who objects to the speculative portion of my arithmetic there cannot surely be any one who will object to my reading aloud this :

"**The Nineteenth Century and After**!—*

"Without the aid of private charity, parochial assist-
"ance, or Government subsidies, the Trade Unions
"disburse to their members

"**as unemployed benefit**

'yearly sums ranging from £190,768 in the good trade
"year of 1899 to £504,214 in the bad trade year of 1903,
"a sum which it is safe to say will be increased by
"£100,000 when the figures for 1904 are to hand.

"**The figures for the last decade for the hundred**
"**principal Unions for this benefit alone are as**
"**follows :** *

Year.	Unemployed Benefit.	Per Cent of Total Expenditure.
"1894,	£447,248	31·4
"1895,	£415,533	30·2
"1896,	£268,387	21·5
"1897,	£327,732	17·2
"1898,	£237,469	16·0
"1899,	£187,332	14·9
"1900,	£260,655	18·0
"1901,	£324,863	20·0
"1902,	£420,311	23·5
"1903,	£504,214	26·6

* Article by Isaac H. Mitchell.

* Tenth Abstract of Labour Statistics, Board of Trade.

"Coming to closer detail we find that fourteen "Unions in the Metal, Shipbuilding, and Engineering "Trades with an aggregate membership of 180,688 spent "in 1894 no less than £258,620 on unemployed benefit.

"One Union, the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, "had at one period in that year one fifth of its total "membership unemployed. Another Union, the Amalga- "mated Society of Engineers, expended on this benefit "last year (1904) £126,988: **the total amount "expended by this one Society since 1851 "on this benefit being no less than £3,022,669.**"

All of which, albeit, of course, no doubt, meagre and imperfect, appears to be at least moderately clear and definite—and even if you like indisputable.

But if that be so, what are we to think of the Patagonian Free Trade Political Perfervid Cockle? Who can prove to you every hour of the day up to the supreme hilt of incontestible demonstration:

That the country is not now suffering and never has suffered through unemployment the slightest loss!

Why?

'Because the Profits from Colonial and Foreign Securities have gone up from £30,573,706 in 1881 to £63,828,715 in 1902!'

It must also not be forgotten that the statistics of the Unemployed are very largely masked by those of

EMIGRATION.

Tens upon tens of thousands carrying with them the pick of British bone and sinew leave these shores for foreign parts, who, had they remained, would have contributed, there can be little doubt, largely to swell the ranks of the unemployed, and we have so accustomed ourselves to the spectacle

—'A good and happy riddance!'—is the predominant note of our patriotic relief!—

That it comes upon us with a crack of surprise when any one insinuates that the country is thereby suffering a great financial loss.

And yet on record curious eccentrics have been who have actually ventured to assess in terms of £. S. D. the value of an able-bodied British Emigrant.

(And curious more, perhaps still, to relate) these curious assessments to any one who has taken the trouble to bring up a family, seem very ludicrously inadequate.

Here are some of these odd assessments:

Dr. Farr, (for a man of 20,) £234,
Engel, £200,
Mr. J. G. Blaine, £300,
Other Writers, £260.

Building upon this sort of estimate some equally curious Statisticians have argued in this way:

Between 1853 and 1901 from the United Kingdom the United States received in round numbers

5,900,000 Emigrants.

But the J. G. Blaine-ic value of a British Emigrant being £300:—

Therefore between these dates from the United Kingdom the United States have received, as a kind of house-warming handsel, in round numbers,

£1,770,000,000!

Now in this respect, so far, Sir, I am willing to make with you a bargain.—I am quite prepared to allow you, being so minded, to nominate the slumper who reasons in this way,—an Ass!—If you will set about inventing the dictionary that will describe for me in fit terms the fool who swears:

That so far from ever having lost anything by emigration—as a matter of demonstrable fact we have never even lost an emigrant!

Why?

'Because according to the Census Returns the population of the United Kingdom has increased from 27,745,949 in 1851 to 41,976,827 in 1901!'

Going through the 12th General Annual Report by the Board of Trade under Section 29 of the Companies' (Winding-Up) Act, 1890,

I observe that in the year 1902 no fewer than

1629 Companies

went into

LIQUIDATION.

Including 1902 and going back to 1893 I find that **the total number of Companies going into liquidation during these ten years amounted to**

14,538:

and that in these liquidations the following Capital was involved:

Capital subscribed by Public or otherwise in cash - - - - - - - £270,774,754:

Shares issued to Vendors as fully paid up for a consideration other than cash, - £289,877,109.

Total, - £560,651,863.

How much of all this was lost?

The Inspector-General attempting to answer this question concludes his analysis thus:

"On this basis, which I believe is probably a conservative one, it would appear that there has been

a total loss during the 10 years of £203,000,000 as the result of misdirected or unsuccessful company enterprise,

besides £179,000,000 on vendors' shares, in respect of which it may be observed that whatever may have been the value of the property represented by them, a large amount passed into the hands of the public for a cash consideration.

"Besides this, it must be borne in mind that during the 10 years in question about 11,000 companies which did not go into actual liquidation were, for various reasons, struck off the register and ceased to exist; and although it may be assumed that the majority of these represent abortive attempts to form companies, yet I am informed by the Registrar that in many cases, including cases where the assets have been swept off by debenture holders,

they represent a considerable amount of capital which does not enter into the foregoing estimate of loss."

Economically, of course, the Inspector-General may be more or less out in his calculation.

But even if he so be what are we to do with the jaunty critic who comes along jumping and says?

Believe me, my dear friends, there is some huge blunder in the course of perpetration here!

Why?

'Because the Board of Trade Returns show an enormous increase in the number of Companies carrying on business in Great Britain,—no fewer than 38,928 totally new Companies having been registered in the ten years from 1893 to 1902.'

All the National losses, however, which result from Unemployment, Emigration, Lockouts, Strikes, etc., are not to be mentioned really in the same breath beside another kind of loss which is curiously suspect by few,—the universal loss, namely, which takes place hourly through national mal-administration and

MIS-EMPLOYMENT.

I think we are all agreed that the Postal System as it obtains in this country, alike in point of universal convenience and astonishing cheapness, is the ne plus ultra (ideal at least) of an organised economic system. It is also one which brings into the National Exchequer a very handsome annual profit:—in 1902, if I remember, of no less than £5,060,000!

Now under these circumstances it will be quite easy and not unreasonable to conceive of a totally different type of conditions.

At present, e.g., the Postal System is co-ordinated and conducted by one sole Company,—The State,—for the absolute Good and Convenience and Interest and Profit of everybody in that one Company.

It is, on the contrary, quite possible to imagine this same Postal identical business conducted by two Rival Private Opposition Red and Blue Corporations for the primary and particular Good and Convenience and Interest and Profit of these themselves limited Corporations: and the secondary convenience and inconvenience (and indifference) of every other body.

At present the Kingdom has,—or had recently,

22,400 Post Offices.

Under the other new idea the country would clap aloud its hands with the over-joy of

44,800!

At present the Postal Authorities employ,—or did recently,

179,202 hands.

Under the more popular system

358,404

would rejoice in their weekly and monthly emoluments.

Everything else would then run into position with perfect naturalness.

The Red and Blue employees would work longer hours for less pay than do at present the national employees and when they struck work for better conditions the Red and Blue employers would very carefully and (thoroughly sincerely) explain to the Newspaper correspondents that—opposition nowadays being so keen and profits so fine—that—that they had no other option than to resist the demands of the men. Their businesses weren't run for Charity, you know! They had their shareholders to consider,—Poor widows in many cases who had invested with them their last mite.

Instead of keeping as we do in our pocket book or purse at present Red Stamps merely, we should all keep an assortment of Red and Blue. And for every Red Pillar Box that we ran against in the streets, exactly three and a half yards away we should run into another Blue one. And on vast conspicuous hoardings all over the country vast conspicuous bills in crimson blazing league-long letters would confront us announcing a Great Royal Mail Acceleration,—London to Glasgow in 8 hours 15 minutes 14½ seconds,—and inviting us to Post with the Great Royal Red Corporation (Patronised by the Nobility)—and

Postmasters by appointment to His Majesty! And into our refusing palms at every importunate street crossing ill-favoured loafers would insist on crushing blue bills announcing

An Extra Special Christmas Midnight Delivery

by the Blue Corporation!—for Punctuality!—Civility!—Celerity!—and Every Other Business Qualification!—in the World!—Unrivalled!

And in the confident morning at early breakfast instead of the one familiar tintinnabulation coming loud to the front door with all our letters there would first of all come a red ring with half of our correspondence and then, about three and a half seconds after, a blue ring with the other half.

And following hard upon the heels of these primary a great many secondary results would ensue which

———o———

E.g., our housemaids would have four dirty bootmarks to wipe away from the front door steps where now she has only two and would on that account require to dissipate a little more elbow power (for the which) she would not receive any more emolument and indeed never suspect that she had any right to expect any more!

—And two pairs of human soles wearing out fast away where now there is only one, the human shoemaker would be under the necessity of bringing up another little human apprentice to the shoemaking trade,—or putting a little more elbow bootmaking individual grease into his last work!

———o———

—which, as I was saying, I haven't at present time to follow.

But this by a thousand miles the greatest secondary result of all would ensue: Namely that everybody would be delightedly congratulating every other body:

On the lucky fact

———o———

That we had Two Such Rival Opposition Cut-the-throat-of-one-another Postal Systems!

———o———

Why?

Well because, you see, Opposition being the Life of Trade

there is nothing in the world like it for bringing down rates.

! ! ! !

That there was any National Waste involved in the Duplex Postal System,—anything affecting with loss your pocket or mine, would in the remotest degree never upon any human being dawn: and if that very striking original fact did in its dreams to any speculative Philosopher occur, the eccentric Sporad would soliloquise the originality off his chest in this way:

———o———

'What does it really matter? What does the miserable 'matter matter? I get my letters posted,—I,—2d. to London! and '1½d. to Edinburgh! at the cheapest conceivable humanly postal 'rate!—'owing indeed no less) than just to this wasteful competitive 'system: and then, after all, as becomes a philosopher, I post only 'about a dozen i' the year. Concern whom the matter concern, 'therefore, may, it concerns in not the slightest bagatelle me. 'Although, mind you, all the same, theoretically speaking, I am 'philosophically sorry at times to see it!'

———o———

God Almighty having only a very limited measure of human brains to mete out, as it comes along, to each British Generation only an insignificant fractional minority in the country would have

! ! ! **The deep Atlantic going depth of intellect!** ! !

to reason the matter out in this way:

———o———

'Here are those Rival Cut-throat Red and Blue Corporations 'making the daily Devil's own to-do about the utter simpleness 'of nothing, and at the end of each annum, after a poignant bitter 'beggar myself and my neighbour struggle, coining in profit each 'a quarter of a million.

'If the State had taken up and organised this business from 'the first, as I advised them to do, every letter now would be 'costing the Poster less, many more would be posting, and the 'State would be in receipt of an annual profit of between four 'and five million pounds!

Having which of Revenue less to raise, the State would be 'remitting sixpence in the passing lb. of our present Tea: making

'in the kingdom every happy housewife richer:—by a penny 'ha'penny for every quarter of a lb. that she bought.'

———o———

And, morning and evening, for their Utopian trouble in ventilating such a Vision of Impracticability these, in the morning and evening newspapers, would have the delighted satisfaction of hearing themselves expounded from John o' Groat's House to Land's End as

Mole-eyed Visionaries!
Dangerous Doctrinaires!
Split-my-shirt-with-my-neighbour Red-cravatted
Rake-hell Revolutionary Fanatical Firebrands!

—Fresh from the styolent pig-bin of politics and pre-ordained to be buried deep in its ultimate dung-heap!

———o———

Now, dear my 'deep thinking' friends, I am sure that even already afar off you have interpreted my convolvulus riddle.

———o———

The other day, at our own doors, in broad British daylight, not a solitary policeman interfering, a Railway was constructed by the Caledonian Railway Company from Glasgow to Dumbarton, with running powers to Balloch,—in frank undisguised opposition to the North British Railway.

From the Caledonian point of view that line was quite no doubt the most excellent good business,—otherwise, I suppose, they would not have constructed it.

But the Caledonian point of view is a long way short of the National point of view: and indeed, as far as I know to the contrary, doesn't give a conscientious two-penny curse for that point of view, or indeed any other than its own (supposed) particular.

Wherefore I dont mind remarking, referring to that line, this! That:

———

—In so far as it was an Opposition Undertaking and intended to be such!

———

That all the in-human ingenuity that went to its plotting and prospecting and planning: all the monkey-jinking that went to its finessing through Parliament: every prod of every pioneering

pick and every swish of every navvy's shovel and every furnace drop of steel-smelting sweat that went to its construction:—and all the labour that now goes in sustaining it: and all that has already gone in provisioning it with needless locomotives and unnecessary rolling stock:—all the labour that now daily goes in digging up and destroying the coal that keeps these supererogations rolling over it: and all the night and day pitiless work that this will entail for the next (shall I say) half a dozen thousand years:—I say that all this incalculable labour might for any human good that it has accomplished or will,—green unfathomed fathoms down in the sober deeps have been buried of the unoffending Mid-Atlantic.

Only I consent on one condition to modify my indictment and retract. *The condition*, namely, that the United Kingdom, had it owned the North British Railway from Glasgow to Dumbarton, would *of itself*,—that is to say, off its own unsolicited bat and at the gratuitous instigation of its own patriotic inspiration, have assumed and carried through this Caledonian Rival Undertaking.

If you believe, friend, that the State so would, then I do humbly forthwith—apologise to the Caley. But if you believe *that it would not:* then (as I in my inmost heart am certain)—then, in that case,

You had better catch up your breath quick and reflect!

Because, in that case, you admit that a very criminal heart-breaking waste of National Wealth *has* taken place and daily taking place—is: (which means,) whether you can trace it or not, an individual loss to you and me.

☞ But dont be in a hurry!—Please! Take your time! Think it out slowly, wisely, and well!

Because if you admit, my dear friend, *that*,—then! what you do in that case is this:

You lift without further to-do the good old economic stick-in-the-mud sluice-gates and admit the wild wide whirling wastes of the rushing logical Atlantic.

Why?

Well, because well-nigh the whole of the ordinary business of this wasteful country is carried on and conducted on these even ridiculous Principles!

Go down, (as I have invited you to do, now, more already than once,) any summer morning to our beautiful Firth and you will find no fewer than three distinct Railway Steamboat Services, —not to speak of Private Companies, burning acres of coal and painting the West Coast wild with hysterics in frantic reeking rivalry for traffic which one decently organised system could easily and economically overtake.

Go to our docks and harbours and you find the same story

Writ Large in Millions,

—rival Steamships cutting one another's throats on the engulfing high seas to no human intelligible end of the whirling world.

———o———

Go anywhere everywhere into every walk and lane of human life!—

———o———

Why, man, in every little 'tuppence ha'penny' village of the Kingdom you will, if you count them, have two churches and two parsons, and oftentimes more: where one, and perhaps none, might be doing precisely the same amount of good!

And in every petty little street of every little petty town and township,—

Half a dozen Grocers' Shops
and Half a dozen Butchers' Shops
and Half a dozen Bakers' Shops
and Half a dozen Drapers' Shops
and Half a dozen Dram Shops
and Half a dozen Milk Shops
and Half a dozen Sweetie Shops

—idling and dawdling a tedious twelve or fifteen hours a day in where one (for half a hundred) decently organised District Distributing Agency would better in a tenth of the time do all the ludicrously little that is needed!

And to every little one of these insignificant unnecessary

Time-wasting Toy Shops,

(if you stand by their doors and watch) you will see!—come

sorrowful daily sallow-faced respectable hard-upon-one-another's-heels-and-hand-barrows

Triviality Travellers:

From unnecessary wholesale rival ditto:

(Which ditto,) by some inscrutable unalterable, apparently, Almighty God's inevitable decree, in their suffering uncomplaining turn from rival unnecessary so-called Importing and Manufacturing do.—are called upon to sustain the same infliction!

What a World, my masters, when you come to look around *and think on it!*

Look see, over there, into that little *economic* cobweb corner alone!

Rival Mills out yonder in the country!

running acres of God's lovely forest into compound multiple acres of frivolous paper.

Rival Printers

humming day by day, and often night by night, their machinery to pieces!—to be repaired and replaced, in turn, by rival and therefore

Unnecessary Engineers,

—printing those frivolous acres into red white blue and brazen —misinforming,

If indeed not, haply, boldly lying acres of windy advertisement!

And

Rival Bill-stickers,

(no less,) rushing with lifeboat haste and zeal to paste up these frantic unnecessary acres on rival unnecessary hoardings,—erected, mark you, again, my masters, out of planks and nails which have involved in their creation another long batch of unnecessary industries,

by Rival Unnecessary Joiners.

! ! ! !

And running over one another at every street corner

Rival Urchins—

bawling the rest to the waste winds in uncalled-for so-called Editions of

Rival Unnecessary Newspapers

filled as to their overflowing columns with further rival unnecessary advertisements and rotten unnecessary News!—

———"———

Oh great heart-breaking Scott and green stupendous Heavens!

———"———

Whither,—Oh Where—Where shall we find the Man,
The Mahatma,
The Over-man,

The Mighty Superlative Superhumanic
Jupiterian Shakespeare!

that in his world engulfing imagination embrace shall and integrate the roaring stupendous Niagara heart-breaking waste of it all!—

———"———

!—This way, Sir!

———"———

Hither he comes!—the Desiderated!

Mighty Superlative Superhumanic!
Jupiterian Lunatic!

who blandly informs himself and a wondering World:

That there isn't any commercial and industrial Waste in Great Britain at all,—never, since we adopted Free Trade, has been,
and never ever,
as long as we cling to the Beloved,—could, would, will, or shall be!

Why?

Because according to Statistics of the United Kingdom (which have never been impugned!)—

'The Bankers' Clearing House Returns have gone up from
'£4,826,000,000 in 1871
'to £10,029,000,000 in 1902!'

* * * *
* * *

'But isn't the whole of this Tommy Roundhead Tiddle of yours but a fresh case of sky-larking with the moon and blowing soap bubbles through the soft of your hat?—No Free Trader, in or out of Bedlam, ever averred that a mere increase of wealth was indubitable fiscal proof that we were not frittering wealth away!'

On the contrary, my dear Sir, that is what they all do aver.

Have you forgotten Mr. Spender?

* * * *

"The explanations are many and various. One says * * *: another asserts that we are paying the Foreigner by selling out British Capital invested abroad

—or, rather, did assert it,
until it was proved to demonstration
from the Income Tax Returns
that we are increasing instead of diminishing
our investments abroad."

And the omniscient Editor of the Infallible Spectator?

"It is clear that what Mr. Wilson calls 'Invisible Exports' must have been much larger than he estimates **because, if not, our Capital would have been wasting away, and we know that instead it has been increasing.** This is not conjecture but an ascertained fact. The Income Tax returns show beyond any doubt that our capital is increasing, not decreasing. The same is true of the Death Duties."

! ! ! !

XLVII.

Other capsized Free Traders, on the other hand, and they include many distinguished and even learned simpletons, adopt —another drowning method of clutching at the elusive straw.

They say:

'Yes! Yes! No doubt! But even suppose we allow that Imports are being daily redeemed by the dissolution of our Grandfathers' securities what is that just all but the Re-instatement of our Capital?

—'**The home-coming, to-wit, of long-lost Prodigal Millions!**

'Which said beneficent recovered millions as soon as they alight upon these fertile shores do blossom straightway afresh, like the rose of Protea, into ever delightful new fresh forms of radiant utility!'

! ! ! !

You are wonderfully correct, Sir. I have not the slightest intention at this late hour of the fiscal midnight * * ! ! !

* * * *

Indeed, my only desire in referring to the fools at all was to commend to your consideration the comfort of their delightful philosophy—what time you next have the pleasure of pawning your plate in order to buy beans for your broth!

———o———

Ah, yes! friend,—that may be so! But you forget!—And lest you forget any more you should have it inscribed in flaming perpetuity across the looking glass in which you review your fathead every morning!

You forget the very simple vital determining pivot and foundation fact of the whole situation.

The Fact namely:

That the Fact that we have lost an order to America or Germany implies that we had the means,—the capital, the labour, the time, and the overtime, at momentary command to redeem it!

XLVIII.

But even granting your position all through and through I seem to hear

An unconvinced and final Free Trader say:

'But no Power on Earth can prevent, if he so wills, an American Millionaire buying up an Irish County, an English Estate, or a Highland Shooting!'

True! oh undeniable spirit of hyperborean wisdom! Most true!—But already you have misconstrued my argument!—

The economic point of which is not that I need object in the abstract per se to the disposal of such things, although at the same time, mind you, it is no part of my duty to say that I dont, but that we have the power,—**and may, and can, and ought to exercise it,**—to object to their concrete disposal in return for—for—!

'For what?'

For agricultural instruments!

'Bah!—Double-distilled Agricultural Rot! How in the possible name of creation could you prevent such an equation in the gross indiscrimination of International Exchange?'

In the most effectual way in the world!—By the simple economic device, namely,

Of refusing to take such things unless under precise and specific conditions.

'How? Explain!'

Well, by addressing their would-be disposers as thus:—

But stay!

Here comes Sir Jonathan himself!

Get thee behind the arras now, therefore, and hearken while I impersonate England!

'Good Morrow, Good Jonathan!'

'Good morning, John!'

'Excuse my abruptness, Cousin Jonathan, but it appears, at least so I gather from an Ex-Chancellor of my Exchequer who is also a Farmer, and should, perhaps, for anything he knows

about Economy never have been anything else, that you can manufacture Agricultural Instruments a little cheaper and also better than can we in England. Now in the event of my agreeing to admit these Agricultural Instruments into my market, (and I dont say that I wont,) **how do you propose to have them paid for?**

'* * * Here, if you like, are a few price-lists, and if you will do me the esteemed honour to look through the same you will notice among other things that we do a remarkably good thing in Tinned Plates.—Fully 15/- a ton cheaper, I am sure, than you can possibly look at. You used, if you remember, to do us the honour of a very fine line in that goods. In fact, looking over my ledger, no less, I see that you were booked in 1891 for an order of over £5,000,000, and in 1902 for the favour of—£887,432!

—So that you are quite already familiar with our quality!

'What say you to a little opening of £3,000,000 in Tinned Plates, Cousin Jonathan?—A number of our South Wales furnaces are lying stark idle just at present, (prior to going into the scrap heap,) so that, if you like, I will quote you prices that will make your eyes water.'

'Dear Cousin John, I am not just sure that I quite understand. Do you mean to suggest that I should reduce or annul my present tariff on Tinned Plates in order that your Tinned Plates from South Wales may come into my market,—the market of the Stars and Stripes?'

'That is no less than just precisely what I mean to suggest, Cousin Jonathan.'

'Well, my dear Cousin John, in spite of my great love for you, (and as you know my love and admiration and veneration for you was *never greater*,) I am sorry, to put it very mildly and say the very least of it,—that I cannot just oblige you!'

'Very well, dear Cousin Jonathan, (as some of my vulgar friends are in the habit of saying,) 'no harm intended, no harm done.' But here, if you like now, is a little line in the way of Woollens which I can put into you very cheap. I notice that you gave us an order in Woollen and Worsted Manufactures in 1890 to the very handsome value of over £5,000,000, and that your esteemed annual favours went on increasing until in 1902

they attained the significant total of £1,481,461. Shall I say, for the same, and the sake of 'old long since ago,' just a moderate £3,500,000 : or, if you wish it rather,—suppose we make a bargain of it and say £4,000,000? They wont go wrong, you know. Woollens, Cousin Jonathan, have wonderful keeping powers.'

'Really, my dear Cousin John, I wish you would be a little more luminous, so to say, and straightforward in your language. *Am I to understand* that your suggestion is that I am to reduce or abrogate my present 30 to 60 per cent. ad valorem Tariff on Woollen Goods in order that *your* Woollen Goods may come —into the Market of the Stars and Stripes!'

'You have guessed perfectly right, Cousin Jonathan,—'right,' as the song says, 'the very first time!'—I am told they are a bit slack down in Yorkshire just now and only the other day at Galashiels, they tell me, a beautiful mill worth at one time £20,000 was sold for a song. Would you also credit the fact, Cousin Jonathan, that my Exports of Woollens went actually up from £27,182,385 in 1871 to £14,237,368 in 1901!'—

'Well, my dear Cousin John, if the expression is permissible, in a brotherly way, I must really say that I am rather taken than otherwise with the delightful extent of your infernal impertinence. All the same, mind you, I'm very sorry, *heart*-sorry, Cousin John!—but then, you see, unfortunately, as my confounded luck will only have it I'm so *deucèd* busy to-day shipping to London and Liverpool and Cardiff (and even as faur awo as Kir'coddy) a wholesale lot of your confounded orders!—that in point of fact, John, good boy, if you will only excuse me, you might, perhaps, if you please,—call another time!'

'*—And,—and, John,—please, dont hurry!*'

'Very good, Cousin Jonathan! and,—as the vulgar adage 'as it, 'there is no 'arm been intended and no harm I 'ope has been done.' But what say you, in that case, to a little order in Sheffield Cutlery or in Glasgow Machinery?'

'Ha! Ha!—Well, at last, now, *that* suggestion, if you like, (Heavens!) is *very* original. But I'll be double darned to my own best fire-side Sunday socks, John, if the whole talkee, so to speak, isn't getting a bit offside. What the devil do I want with your Sheffield Cutlery or your Glasgow Machinery?'

'Very well, *dear Cousin* Jonathan! But, in that case,

What the Devil is it that you do want?'

'How do you mean?—Want for what?'

'In return for the Agricultural Machinery, etc., which you propose to send to me. *You know you dont intend to give us these Goods for nothing?*'

'Oh, bless you, No! dear John! Certainly not, my dear Comic!—Oh—(ha! ha!) most decidedly certainly not!'

'*And you dont want money!*'

'H'm! Money did you say? Cousin John! Money? H'm!'

'Yes, Jonathan dear! You know you **dont** and **wont** and **cant** get paid in money. It's morally and materially impossible. *There isn't enough to go round*, dont you know! * * * —But you dont mean to say, Jonathan, that you are so ignorant, as all that, of the Principles of Political Economy. I'm astonished, —really! Dont you know, Cousin, that in International Trade **Goods are paid for by Goods?** Really Jonathan!'

'In Goods, did you say? H'm!'

'Yes, in Goods, my dear Cousin. And I was merely wishing you to *nominate beforehand* the Goods which you proposed to take from me in return for the Agricultural Machinery,—*so that I might be in the way of getting them ready!*'

'Very thoughtful of you, John! *Very* considerate! In fact, if I may be allowed to quote the favourite language of my esteemed and distinguished friend Mr. Mantalini, you are getting 'thoroughly demmed obliging' in your old days, Cousin John. *Thoroughly!*'

'Alas! my misfortune, Cousin!—All the same, mind you, I'm very glad to hear it. You see, the fact is, I've *got to be!* I'm getting into the sere and yellow commercial leaf, as you very justly suggest, Jonathan.'

'Well, my dear Cousin John, to be very *precise*, *and very concise*, and at the same time very *finally* polite,—all the same, mind you, I have a sneaking admiration for your 'demmed presumption,'—

'Be it known to you, now, here, tomorrow, hereafter, and for ever more,

—I dont want your Tinned Plates!
—I dont want your Cottons!
—I dont want your Woollens!
—I dont want your Sheffield Cutlery!
—I dont want your Glasgow Machinery!

And in point of double-condensed decisive finality,

—I dont want any 'demmed' Manufactured Article

that you at present make or are ever likely to. Not but that a few pickings from the groaning table of the Stars and Stripes may fall your way, John.—I dont say that. A few stray wind-blown orders are bound to float over the most conservative spikes of the most stringently cunning, best-intentioned, broken-glass-coped human Tariff Wall in the world, *but believe me, Cousin John!*—all that is entirely outwith my economic intention

AND THE NATIONAL PURPOSE OF THE STARS AND STRIPES!'

'Thanks most awfully, Cousin Jonathan. But *in that case*

I dont take your Agricultural Machinery!'

'Miz-Missouri Blugger and—and Pennsylvania Blazes!—What the, how the, why the—George Washington! do you mean, Cousin John?—Have you tint your reason, man?'

'I say, **in that case,** I dont take your Agricultural Machinery!'

'Come, come away now, John, come alive! man!—**be rational!** You dont mean to say you are going to cut off your industrial nose in order to spite your commercial face. By your own admission my instruments are good and cheap? H'm?'

'So one of my Free Trade Ex-Chancellors has been pleased to inform me.'

'Better and cheaper than your own?'

'Nominally so,—perhaps.'

'(Got 'em again!)—How do you mean, now, by—'nominally, John? In point of unfortunate fact I dont understand this new stage falutin of yours? Be plain, John, be plain, and above all, man, be straightforward!'

'Well, you see its much like this way, Cousin. I cant undertake to estimate the *real* price of your goods **until I know how they are going to be paid.** Dont you understand *that*,

Cousin Jonathan? Goods are paid for **by Goods.** Very well then,—*what Goods?* You wont have my Woollens, my Tinned Plates, my Cottons, my Cutlery, my Machinery,—all of which, by your own admission, I can produce better and cheaper than can you. Very well then, what is it that you *will* have? You know you must get *paid*, Jonathan!'

'No doubt, Cousin John, no doubt! But you might surely perfectly well leave all that to me. I give you a very good price, you know, for your old pictures, your old furniture, your old china, your old silver, your old tapestry, your old books, etc., and even for your old houses. And then I assist you to realise your securities, John. And that is decidedly a very friendly turn. Who would do it, if I didn't, John? Why, man, only the other day I bought up I cannot tell you how many million dollars' worth of your rotten old Railway Shares!'

'Thanks for your Railway old rotten consideration, my very dear Cousin Jonathan! But if a grocer, now, were supplying you with ham and eggs and butter and cheese and bread and jam at a nominally cheap rate, but in payment for these refused to take anything in exchange but your old fine art pictures and your best furniture and your railway shares and the ancestral roof over your old fathead, wouldn't that come very near to earning your living with the help and dissipation of your stored-up capital and the collaborative adjuvation of the humble Pawn?'

'Perhaps! Cousin John, Perhaps! I wont altogether deny! —In fact, I dont pretend,—I'm too much of an economic ass, as you know,—to be a competent judge of these high fiscal affairs.'

'Well, my dear Cousin Jonathan, at long last,—I do! And I dont propose to go on any longer conducting my commercial affairs with the adjustive help and Clearing House assistance of **The International Pawn.**'

'Holy Minnehaha!—you dont mean to say, Cousin John, that you would be such a 'd——d' idiot as to give up **the beautiful beneficent Free Trade!** to which you owe your unbounded! unparalleled! prosperity! and turn a measly miserable Protectionist!'

'If I did, Cousin Jonathan, I should only be following up in the footsteps of your noble and instructive example.'

'But I! Cousin John! I'm an ignoramus, dont you know!—an utter impossible economic ass! I dont actually know and have never really understood my own best interests in Fiscal matters. Besides, in any case, at the best, I'm but a very young nation: young, in fact, and foolish, as nations go: and also, moreover, if you will only please to glance at the map you will notice that I am a great and mighty continent while you are only a negligible pimple of no importance. No! dear John, you cannot possibly estimate the digestive capacity of a midge from the requirements of an elephant! The handicap which I carry with giant ease would break in two shakes every bone in your pigmy body. Besides, you know, John!—(if you dont mind me giving away a little secret between ourselves,) I'm prosperous not *because of Protection* but *in spite of it!*'

'Thanks, dear Jonathan. I quite understand.—It's just what *I'm beginning to think* about the relation between Free Trade and my own unbounded! unparalleled! prosperity! But you can hardly affirm, can you? that Germany and France are young nations or that they are very much larger pimples on the map than myself!'

'Pancakes of Minnesota! But you dont mean to say that you would follow the example of a pack of continental European fools who haven't a grain of common sense in manners or morals or any other mortal thing on earth, let alone Fiscal Policy! No, John, be advised in time. Forewarned is forearmed and I'm forewarning you. Besides you know, John,—(if you will allow me to whisper a little possibility that may have escaped your calculation)—if you refuse to take my Agricultural Instruments I may turn about, mind you, in retaliation, and refuse to take some of your Goods.'

'But surely, Jonathan, you wouldn't go away and deliberately cut off your own nose in order to spite your own face.'

'I'm accustomed to it, John. And custom, you know, is second nature.'

'Quite! I quite understand, Cousin, but unfortunately that's just another of the things that's making me begin to *think*, Jonathan.—You have been doing nothing else for the last hundred years but cutting off your own nose in order to spite your own face

and, as far as I see, it has made not the slightest difference on your nose, and none on your face, and certainly none at all on your cheek.'

'But damme, John, I'm a mighty Empire!'

'No doubt, Jonathan! But you are not a patch on the Empire I'm in the mind to stitch together. Indeed, if you will take the trouble to look at the atlas you will observe that you are only a negligible pimple by the side of it. But apart altogether from that, Cousin Jonathan, *I dont much mind if you do retaliate*. You have been doing nothing else for as long as I am able to remember, so that I have grown quite accustomed to the ordeal.—And custom, you know, makes second nature. In a word, Jonathan, I know the worst that will happen to me if you refuse to take a few more of my Goods. It is a worst that happened to me yesterday, is happening to-day, and may happen to me to-morrow morning if the inspiration comes up your back. **And it is a worst which, in any case, is certain to happen to me the day after to-morrow because the inspiration is certain to have arrived by then.** It is also a worst, I fancy, that would have happened to me already, had you seen it to be in any way to your interest to have it happen. Therefore, as I say, Cousin Jonathan, I dont mind. You take at present nothing whatever from me which you can possibly avoid taking. **And whatever I may do or refrain from doing** if there is any other mortal thing that you can avoid taking you wont wait a moment longer than you can possibly help, before you clap on a special tariff and refuse to take that also.

'That being so, what I am particularly anxious about is:

'Recognising the zealous and jealous haste with which, without the slightest provocation on my part whatever, you, Cousin Jonathan, are continually rushing to cut off your own nose in order to spite your own face by refusing to accept my Manufactured Goods:

'Recognising that once you have suffered the agony of this self-mutilation you are invariably in a desperate funk to repeat the injury:

'Recognising, moreover, that all of you Protectionist nations are unanimous in this inordinate mania for cutting and slashing and spiting your own economic noses and faces out of all human recognition, and are only withheld, as far as I can judge, from slashing off your own fatheads as well by the fear of receiving a fresh measure from one another of those injuries which I am constantly receiving **uncomplainingly, without provocation, and without retaliation, from all of you:**

'It has occurred to me that I should like by way of experiment, and if only by way of change from the pain and injury, which has grown so monotonous, of having my Goods shut out of other people's markets,—to endure for once in a while a transitory pang of **that bitterly poignant agony** of shutting other people's Goods out of *my* market, **which,** as I have said, **having once experienced no power on earth appears to be able to keep the unhappy sufferers from repeating.**

———o———

'Also, finally, Jonathan, even if you refused to take any Goods of any kind from me I do not know that I should greatly miss your orders.

———o———

'In any case, looking back into the irretrievable Past I notice that you took from me of British Produce,

In 1872, - - £41,000,000,
and In 1901, - - £18,000,000!

—Being a little differential diminution, namely, of

£23,000,000!

'Jonathan!—I stood it!

'In 1902, again, you were kind enough to take from me of British Produce,

£24,000,000!

'Jonathan Dear! (judging by my powers of past endurance) —*if you had taken nothing at all I'd have stood that too!*

—'In any case, and that's what's vital, I'm prepared to try.

'Therefore, good Cousin, good morning! And when you have taken time to think over it,—call another time, please.

'And—and dont hurry, Jon!'

XLIX.

Perhaps you will permit me, now, my dear friends,

IN SUMMATION,

to lay before you in a single sentence the sum and substance of what I have been urging in desultory illustration.

Everything, as you know, is the soul of simplicity when you come to recognise that soul, and

the heart-breaking absurdity

of our British system of so-called Free Trade, under the existing world conditions, is one of those particularly mysterious simplicities which lie peacefully reposing on the bridge of your nose ready to flatten you out

by their thundering obviosity

as soon as ever you take the trouble to push your investigations as far from home—as the point of that organ.

Let me, therefore, (like Mr. A. J. Spender,) be quite simple.

And—at the same time precise.

First of all, then, in the tense of Time there is always a Past and a Present. And as human Labour energises in Time there is sure to be in regard to its Product, which we term wealth, a Past and a Present. In regard to each of us, therefore, it may be said that our wealth, such as soever it may be, is made up of two distinguishable kinds.

There is the Wealth that is ours

in the Process of Becoming,

by to-day's work, and to-morrow's labour, and there is the wealth

that is ours

by the Labour of the Past,

—our own,—or that of others whom we have inherited or disinherited.

Of course,—We differ very much in our respective possessions in these kinds, but even the poorest has both, if only it has health and a shirt to its back.

But, now, a Nation is an aggregate of individuals and the wealth of a Nation, therefore, is the wealth of its individuals, jointly and corporately. And, therefore, in the case of a Nation, also, we are at liberty to distinguish between these two same forms of wealth :

Current and Accumulated.

Now if you happen to be a very poor man

with only a single shirt to your back (as your sole possession in life) and a strong pair of hands : and any Firm, American or other, chooses to supply you with a galore of the good things of life you are in point of human fact

a lucky pig among four-leaved clover.

If the generous firms who supply you dont want payment,—happy and well ! But if they do, well, in that case, *'tis a free country*, and they are at liberty to come and take it. They wont take your shirt :—b'—because it isn't worth taking.
And there is only *one other thing* which they *can* take.

The Daily Labour of your brawny arms !

So that you are perfectly happy ! First of all, your butter and bread is secure, and then your employment follows.
And all you have to do, in order to keep happy, is simply to keep on ordering goods. And the Givers of the Good Things will, in reply, keep on ordering your employment.

! !—No surely Fiscal Human Philosophy could well be happier ! — No economic earthly (or even heavenly) modus operandi simpler !
—(*And yet even this, no less !*—In its quaint essence—and the delightful simpleness of its simplicity !—Is the subtle simple

scientific International Economic Philosophy of that subtle-going simple Scientific Simon who calls himself a Free Trader!)

But England is in a very different way from The Simple One-shirt Navvy.

England is wealthy: so indeed—that beside the unimaginable stupendous world that we call her wealth—many times million-folded the riches of Croesus—and not the boundless dreams of the God of Avarice gone crazy have even a verbal application.

Her Empire, (her orators are fond of telling us,) covers more than a fifth of the habitable globe, but there are no reliable statistics,—none at least on which I rely, that may set before you the Empire of her Riches.

(Not again that I would dun) your reluctant tympanum with an impossible calculation of her creative majesty as she stoops at this moment on the shoulders of the world, enormous, cyclopean, beating with hammer and thew Titanic time to the plunging surf of her immemorial seas.

That in itself, at least to my poor thinking, is altogether beyond the powers of human imagination.

But far beyond these shores her boundless wealth runs riot into every nook and cranny under Heaven.

Her railroads circumbelt the earth. Her steamships fly and ply in every sea on every inland lake. * *

Themselves!—beside her gorgeous crowns and glittering pyramids of splendour the fabulous mines of Eldorado,—the sea-borne pillage of the sea Cybele,

—'whose daughters had their dowers
'From spoils of Nations and the exhaustless East
'Poured in her lap all gems in sparkling showers,'

pale their ineffectual glories. For hers—? Are not hers—the Diamond Mudgee,—Godavari,—Kimberley, the Ruby mines of Mogok, the Gold and Silver lodes of Australasia, the Sapphire soils of Cashmere and Ceylon, the treasure caverns of the Ind, —the unplumbed glories of the Transvaal?

The impress of her signet ring is on all the adventures of the earth.

Hers or part hers are the Sheep plains of Australia, the waving Pampas of Argentina, the Fur lands of the Hudson, the Spice gardens of the East, the Tea fields of Ceylon, the Coffee plantations of Uganda, the Sugar estates of the West Indies, the Jute alluvials of the Hooghly, the Wheat loams of Canada, the Nitrate soils of Chili, the Oil springs of Burmah, the Forests of Guiana, the Mud-flats of the gold-compelling Nile,—the Ore-pockets of the world.

Her factories hum in every land. Her trading stations rise by every river. Her banks and warehouses are in every town. Her credit is

Un—and In—Exhaustible.

———o———

(Nor is this all,)—please to remember, or at all, the mere summer idleness of Rhetorical Falutin.

———o———

Certainly I do never take into my hand a magazine or a journal or a common newspaper but this is the kind and sort of wonder and astonishment that awaits me.

———o———

"* * * We have been investing immense sums "in South Africa. It has been estimated in this Journal "that in mining shares alone the total investments are "about

"250 Millions sterling.

"In addition, there are the investments in other "minerals and house property, land property, and the "like. And, over and above that, there are the great "advances that have been made to the several Colonial "Governments."

———o———

"The Republic of Argentina—in which there is now "invested upwards of

"£350,000,000 of English Capital,

"principally in Railways and Land * *."

———o———

"I found shoddy manufacturers from Batley and "Dewsbury established in Aachen, Prussia; Lancashire "and Scottish spinners in Rouen; Yorkshire wool- "combing establishments in Rheims; Dundee jute mills "in Dunkerque; woollen manufacturers in Roubaix; "English iron and steel mills in Belgium; and English "woollen mills in Holland."

In a speech the other day Sir Ernest Flower, M.P. for West Bradford, said that he had seen

a list of some 300 great firms

who had removed their enterprises to foreign countries.

"**BRITISH CAPITAL IN CHINA.**

"The amount of British capital invested in China, in "establishments and undertakings of which trade is the "root, is immense. In shipping, in docks, in warehouses, "offices, and banks, in the clubs and private residences of "those who manage and direct these and a score of "other enterprises besides, millions of money have been "invested.

"**In Shanghai alone**

"**(says the London 'Times') it has been estimated "that the fixed capital owned by foreigners—and "for the chief part by Englishmen exceeds**

"**£250,000,000.**"

Etc. Etc. Etc.

These things all, therefore, thus being:

The stupendous absurdity of our present Free Trade position is seen to be this:

That by permitting every nation under the sun to dump indiscriminately upon our British Markets down whatever they very well wish to get rid of, what we do is this:

There is subscribed to the world at large

A BLANK CHEQUE, DULY SIGNED,

which runs out to this effect:

'Pay out of current labour
'or out of the vast accumulations of my
'ancestral wealth inwith and outwith these Islands,
'—without discrimination,
('or in any other way within the bounds of
'human possibility, visible or invisible,)
'to any country or countries on this Earth
'to any value or values
'in accordance only and conformity with
'whatsoever amount of whatsoever Goods
'any one or all of them in the exercise of their
'interest or private good pleasure
'may find it at any time, present or future,
'convenient to dump upon the British markets,

'whenever,
'wherever,
'and howsoever

'it may suit the convenience or the interests or
'the political and commercial policy
'of the Presentee or Presentees of this—
'to fill the same in and cash it.

'For by the strength and to the uttermost limits
'of my inexhaustible wealth and credit,
'God helping me & Free Trade,
'I will make good any such claims,
'and the Greater they are—even by so much
'the better for my economic eternal welfare
'and national patriotic glory!
'As witness my hand any day for the
'next ten thousand years,
'Rule Britannia!'

That is to say:

If Germany, as the result of whatever economic factor, intention, or exigency, suddenly as a matter of fact dumps upon the British market down, say, tomorrow,

£2,000,000!

—in cheaper steel than our British Manufacturers can tomorrow turn out, Germany to that amount derives, thereby,

A BLANK LIEN UPON OUR BRITISH WEALTH:

which she is in a position to liquidate

when she pleases,
where she pleases,
and how she pleases.

She can call it out in gold from our Bank Reserves, if she will.

Exchange of the Precious Metals between Germany and England.†

1896-1905.

	German Imports from England. (Coin and bullion.)	German Exports to England. (Coin and bullion.)	Our net cash tribute to Germany.
	Mill. £.	Mill. £.	Mill. £.
1896, - -	4·8	0·1	4·7
1897, - -	4·7	0·1	4·6
1898, - -	13	3·1	9·9
1899, - -	5·2	2·5	2·7
1900, - -	6·1	2·5	3·6
1901, - -	5·2	0·5	4·7
1902, - -	2·7	0·4	2·3
1903, - -	12·0	0·3	11·7
1904, -	17·3	0·5	16·8
1905, - -	3·3	0·8	2·5
	74·3	10·8	63·5

Net English tribute of Bullion to Germany in ten years: £63,500,000!

She can leave the gold in our Bank Reserves,—accumulating interest thereupon, and call it out at a time of National crisis—in order to subserve some political purpose:—as she did (or threatened to do) the other day.

She can take it out in machinery, which she does not at present make, in order to increase some present dumping process or initiate a new one.

She can take it out in Coal

(or in Coal Mines)

to drive her dumping machinery and impel her rival fleets.

She can take it out in china clay, or coal tar, or any other British raw or semi-raw material which she needs or covets.

She can ride at her imperial discretion far beyond the limits of these islands.

She can take it out in the redemption of any whatever securities, lands, loans, stocks, docks, warehouses, works, railways,

† National Review. Dec. 1906. J. L. Garvin.

mines, etc., which England may possess in the Fatherland, or in Europe, or in Asia, or in Africa, or in America, or in Australasia.

* * * *

But at this just, if you please, perhaps you will allow me to interpolate

A little Joke in passing.

When my friend, the enemy, the—confident convinced and delighted Free Trader, seeks to account for the payment of our vast accentuating annual imports he is quick to inform us all that we derive an official income from our Foreign Investments of

£63,828,715!

(1902!)—But he adds in the self-same breath:

There cannot be any real doubt that our Income from Foreign Investments vastly exceeds that sum.

(As I have said more than once)—I endorse his belief. I believe we are never likely to acquire a true idea of that vast sum which we so derive.

But notice—! ! !

By as much as the Free Trader insists on the magnification of this National Income from investments abroad:

Even by so much

is broadened
and lengthened
and heightened
and deepened

the vast Fortunatus Ocean of Wealth lying outwith the sea-girt frontier of Great Britain!

Into which Germany and America and every other Protected Shylock of the earth may delightedly dip in satisfaction of the claims which they build up against us—even by those very vast imports which do so daily fill with the effervescence of intoxicated insanity the inanity of the Free Trader's inconvincible noddle!

* * * *

She can take it out in the goodwill and material of British Fleets trading at the ends of the world— * * * :

In fine, in a hundred German thousand variety of human ways altogether other than

In British Cottons,
British Woollens,
British Linen,
British Steel,
British etc.,

which she has plainly made perfectly clear that she doesn't in any case wish and will not, therefore, in any way want.

But what does that all mean?

Certain, for one thing, this:

It means, if what I say be true, that already the illustrious controversy provoked by Mr. Chamberlain is among the dead and funny things of the Immortal Past.

The din assuaged! The dust submerged! The ridiculosity and comicality immortally embalmed! Even the Simplest Simon amongst you may see it a little way forward out there: Grinning—Comic and complacent at our grinning grandchildren, from the Punch and Judy cabinet out of which it never need emerged have—if the statesmen who engineered the destinies of England in the days of our Grandfathers had been blest

with the fore-economic thinking of a

Common Cock-sparrow!

L.

Here see! is

Our Village!

'What in the world is up now?'

Well, you see, I am barely quite done. I have been presenting to you in general summation—(You are quite right, Sir!)—With a considerable deal, no doubt, of unnecessary repetition!

—The plight of our unfortunate wooden-headed country armed cap-à-pie with her Rotten Superstition and Impregnable Conceit overagainst the scientific fiscal defence and attack of her foreign protected rivals, and what I was in the idea now to accomplish was to figure up alongside that summation

The case for Mr. Chamberlain's Preference In a little Wooden Parable!

* * *

('And another little wooden dose of 'indispensable' Repetition!')

My friend! dont scoff. In dealing with such British fools as Free Trade fools—God himself could employ no other means!

———"———

And running through '**Our Village**' is the main High Street!

"

And on the North side of this main High Street is a store that will provide you with all that you want in life. And on the South side is another.

These two stores also are identical in this:

That they dont give away their provisions for nothing!

But notwithstanding this odd fact there is a curious difference in the *kind of payment* that they exact.

The **Northern** is quite happy to accept the cabinet work which is the daily outcome of your hands and brain.

But the **Southern** is fastidious: and will not have the product of your daily labour at any price. And yet, (notwithstanding,) is perfectly prepared, (happy—willing—anxious indeed,) to supply you with any amount of the Goods that you want.

(How?)

Ah, well, you see, they know that—*Your security is lovely!*

And under these circumstances, as I say, they are happy and willing to give you whatever Goods you want,—provided, and that is taken for granted, provided they be permitted to take out payment of you and out of all your earthly possessions in any sort of possible way which good from time to time seemeth in their own eyes.

They have ambitions, as I have so often explained to you, in the artistic way: and if you have any old Rubens or Raphaels

or Reynolds or Romneys or Raeburns they wont (in the least) object to providing you with a few pork chops, *and stripping your walls of these in exchange.* If you have any superb old crusted jewel-bound mediæval volumes, any antique art furniture, any priceless heirlooms,—you will find them equally willing to oblige. If, however, you are not in the mind at the present to part with these they will be happy to take a bond over your house: and even if you do not see your way to this they will be delighted to take a liquid hearty draught out of the interest, or the capital, of your invested savings. There is, in fact, no end to the delightful spirit of their economic obligingness.

They will even employ you!

Imagine!

If you dont mind giving up the making of cabinets and digging betimes in their back cabbage garden, or if you are not above the hewing of wood or the drawing of water and the casual carrying of coals (when they want you to) they, upon their part, really wont *(be above)* putting a little job *occasionally* your way. But they have no earthly need for you in your professional capacity as a cabinet maker.

And, indeed, to give the obliging devils their due they are perfectly fair and frank on the subject and tell you so precisely.

Well but, in that case, what is the great Fiscal row on?

☞ Well, Sir, in that case, the great Fiscal row on, the roaring excursions, and the tempestuous alarms, and the pathetic dubieties, and the furious cock-certainties, and (general Babelonian Ruction) of all this inordinate interminable tremendous and stupendous Fiscal-Reform-versus-Free-Trade Hullybaloo,—range all and revolve around this little

Infantile Query:

With which of these two business firms, the Northern or the Southern, would you, of your own independent free good will,—as a business man, incline to do business?

———o———

* * * * —Thank you!

———o———

Well, but if, now, unbeknown to you, your beloved wife, for some weeks past, has been in the habit of taking her require-

ments from the Southern store (on the system of fortnightly deferred tick) and if at the end of a fortnight or so, or a month or so, you awoke some morning to discover your workshop stocked up with indisposable cabinet work and yourself, as a consequence, out of employment earning nothing,—

Well,—in that case, I say, what then?

Would you be satisfied with your wife's philosophy if she came along and explained to you that by going to the South store *she had really been making money*—by saving a penny in the pound over the prices in the North store?

Would you to remind your wife be tempted that while she had been so industriously occupied in saving four pennies on her four weeks' provisions you had with equal industry been occupied in losing three times four pounds on your four weeks' idleness? And all the circumstances carefully and duly considered, would any moral—mortal power withhold you from going out into your backmost backyard and swearing very deeply, if silently?—Do you think?

But if your beloved partner thither joined you and said:

'John, dear, dont worry!' The Goods, you know, which I have bought from the Southern store *have all been duly paid for*, even unto the uttermost farthing. At the present moment, John, you can hold your head as high as ever did the Village Blacksmith under the spreading chesnut tree,

"For Thou ow'st not any man."

—Dear John!'

—Would this gentle, I say, irrefragable economical expostulation of the dearly beloved idiot who was the wife of your unfortunate bosom pour the balm of Gilead into your lacerated political economy or would you feel disposed to relapse into a still more secluded part of your cabbage garden in order to give still more pious vent to the ever still more graphic growing aspirations of your affectionate heart?

But if, seeking relief in this deeper seclusion, your beloved partner joined you once more and said:

'Dear John, I'm very *very* sorry that work is so slack just now. But cheer up, husband dear, "every cloud has a silver lining." How, e.g., we should bless Providence for the crowning

mercy of that South store! Isn't it a Heaven's comfort, John, to be able to get things cheap when work is slack and there is no money coming in?'

—oh! OH! OH! THEN, I SAY,—Would not your breaking heart run over with green envy at the placid beatitude of your peaceful-growing cabbages and wouldn't you wish in your inmost heart to Heaven! that God in His mercy had made either *you* one, or your wife!

But if, in spite of all this restrained enthusiasm and transcendental piety upon your part your beloved partner *persisted* in purchasing her requirements from the South store on the following grounds:

Namely,

(1) That she purchased only *what* she wanted, and *because* she wanted it:

(2) That the Goods in the South store were undeniably a penny i' the sterling pound cheaper than the Goods in the North store:

(3) That the South Firm were decidedly not such asses as to give away their Goods for nothing!

(4) That the already received Goods must undoubtedly have been paid for,—otherwise they wouldn't be there!!

(5) That they had certainly not been paid for by gold because there was never at any time enough gold in the house to go round for them.—(As far as you remember) you had only thirteen pence in coppers four months ago and look! see! here is no less now than one shilling and two pence ha'penny!

(6) That the Goods accordingly must have been paid for by Goods!!!

(7) Etc.—!

And if, finally, (in addition to purchasing provisions,) the deeply beloved idiot into the happy home began importing cabinet work,—on the ground that she was able to purchase it a little cheaper than you were able to sell it:

Would you take the wife of your bosom sweetly on one side and quietly any further expostulate with her:

Or would you hail the most hansom cab you could get in a hurry and take her to the next asylum:

Or would you bang into the back of your bedroom door the largest-sized nail you could get and appeal to the nearest rope-spinner for the choicest hempen cord he had spun for the last five and twenty years * * !!

!! * * * * !!

Well, but to conclude my wooden parable!

—Dear John!—this great big wooden world in which we live is, as you know, after all, a very small place. And therefore it will not surprise you to know that the simple village I have been referring to is

The simplicity of the great big Simon Simpleton England.

The main High only street is no other, I mean, than the frontier line between Canada and the States. And the store on the North side of that street is Canada (and her sister Colonies) and the store on the South side is the United States and Germany and France and many others).

In referring to yourself as a cabinet maker I have been delineating England as a Producer, and in your silly fathead of a wife I have summed up the political wisdom of

Mr. Asquith,
Mr. Lloyd George,
The Cobden Club,
The Fourteen Professors,
and the other million and one economical idiots

who lack the cockatoo gumption to realise the indissoluble marriage bond which unites the producing and consuming functions in the national life.

Coming, therefore, back, now, to my village!

Canada says to you:

Buy my preferential produce. I will make it as cheap as any other produce in the world. And in payment thereof, as far as my best arrangements will allow, I will take from you manufactured Goods: that is to say, I will

accept of the wealth that is being produced by your current labour.

America says:

Buy my Goods. I will not make them a penny cheaper than I can help. And I will take payment,—

(Dear John!) be perfectly Shylock-sure upon that!

I say,—I will take payment out of you and the vast aggregate of your worldly possessions

just how
and when
and where

I particularly well please.

———o———

Now this Great Big Fiscal Fiasco—(as I have so often to you put it) which so many people have believed to be a Great Fiscal Discussion revolves round

this Olympian ridiculous situation:

The Fiscal Reformers, headed by Mr. Chamberlain, back up the Canadians and Common Sense:

The Convinced Free Traders, headed by Messrs. Asquith & Co., back up the Pan-Protectionist anti-British Foreign Conspiracy and would sooner cut your throat than deny the Americans and the Germans the right to exploit our accumulated wealth in any particular way which they very well choose.

! ! ! !

Certainly John!

You may open—both now wide the windows and undo the bolts.

And as for you, friends, I suppose I ought to be thanking you for your beautiful attention, but that I feel that you should be thanking me more for my martyrdom!

But at least, I think, as soon as you have listened to the Fiscal Problem as presented to you in this little narrative even the horses in the passing street can recognise that

The Funeral of Free Trade is Past!

That which remains over to do now being but to smooth down the final clod upon the accomplished grave and then we may all get away home to bed.

LI.

But before we proceed to this ironing out I have

A Promise to Redeem

and

An Omission to Make Good.

You remember a brief little while ago when I was referring to

The World Manifesto of the Fourteen Professors,

—in which they trumpeted to the four cardinal winds this for the Superlative Economic of English Professorial (Twentieth Century) Wisdom:

> "It is not true that an Increase of Imports involves
> "the diminished employment of workmen in the importing
> "country. The statement is universally rejected by those
> "who have thought about the subject and is completely
> "refuted by experience!"

—I promised to tell you what I thought of the manifestants. Well, the time has arrived now: but alas! fortunately or unfortunately, the opportunity is past. Because the exasperated dust of my surprised contempt is laid. And I'd as lief at this moment really rather think—of picking up in cold blood my rifle: and plugging dum-dums into a bundle of corpses.

To better purpose, rather, in consideration, I will run with your attention back and set to right a very

Conspicuous Argumentative Omission!

In discussing with you the Payment of British Imports I have allowed myself to rattle on as if I had forgotten the unforgettable fact that we receive a considerable proportion of these Imports by way of Tribute from foreign countries,—in payment, that is to say, of interest upon capital which we have lent and of services etc. rendered outwith the bounds of these islands.

In respect to this aspect of the Fiscal dispute the Free Trade argument runs confidently out on the usual—familiar—softheaded lines:

'**To forego the interest on your investments abroad is impossible:** ' vide the Duke of Devonshire:

(Although to listen to the prattle of Tariff Reformers one could almost imagine that that is what they actually did want:—Private interpolation:)

'**This interest can only accrue to us in the form of Goods: Therefore to inhibit by Tariff restrictions the freedom of this repayment is to inflict upon ourselves a very serious injury and also a very stupid one besides.**'

To this, if you remember, I promised to give you the Protectionist reply.

This is it.

Yes! Perfectly! Of course!—The Foreigner, no doubt, owes us a great deal of annual interest. But you dont suppose,—do you?—That we are the only happy nation in the world to whom the Foreigner owes annual interest!

Here, see, is a Paper,—'The Statist,' and here is an Extract from a letter which appeared in it the other day:

"* * To supplement my address and further "develop my argument I have requested Professor Paul "Arndt, of Frankfort-on-Maine, to furnish me with his "opinion upon 'The Capital Exportation and Commercial "Policy of Germany,' of which I place a translation at "your disposal, in order that the British Public may "appreciate the important part played by Germany's "foreign investments in building up the wealth of that "country and in adding to its foreign trade.

"**Professor Arndt shows clearly that the foreign "investments of Germany in recent years have been "very large, and that in a comparatively short period "Germany has invested abroad a total sum of no less "than 30,000 millions of marks**

"**(£1,500,000,000),**

"**that her annual income from foreign investments "is now 1,400 to 1,500 million marks (£70,000,000 to "£75,000,000), that her total income from foreign "investments, shipping, commissions, etc., is now no "less than 2,000 millions of marks**

"**(£100,000,000),**

"and that, after investing abroad in recent years an "average of 800 millions of marks (£40,000,000) per "annum, * * * etc.."

It would appear, therefore, that Germany is in the same happy position as ourselves. And (as a further interesting fact) we know that France and the United States are in the same happy position as Germany.

How do these Great Big Fool Protectionist Nations do about the annual interest which is owing *to them* by the Foreigner?

Do they then forego it?

Not any more than would the Duke of Devonshire, or Mr. Asquith, or the Fourteen Professors.—(My dear Sir!) On the contrary your Protectionist, and Protectionist Nation, odd to say, is just as anxious—and unanimous—and insistent as the most convinced of British Free Traders is,—That the Foreigner shall consign to him the interest which he owes!

But how?

Says the Free Trader in his usual confident peasoup way:

Any how!

But the great Protectionist nations say:

As we, the crediting nation, shall determine!

If, e.g., you a thousand pounds were lending to a Cabinet-maker, you being also one, you would expect to receive from him at the end of a year, at five per cent., you and your wife,

50 sterling abstract liquid pounds

which you and she would be free to squander—at Christmas, and other times, exactly as you wanted to.

You would stare very hard indeed and look very 'sold' if your obliging debtor were to dump by way of paying you your annual dividend down into your already over-stocked home, a table, a dozen chairs, a sideboard, a sofa, etc.: things which if you wanted them very badly at all, which you dont, you could as perfectly make as he: and, indeed, in your own private opinion a great deal better.

Well the Great Big Fool Protectionist Nations act on the very simple self-same common-sensible lines.

At their respective ports and frontier gates they erect, so to say,

a scientific cheval-de-frise,

—a tariff (that is to say) netting, where-the-with they screen out the big manufactured foreign industrial whales and sharks which would play havoc with their own industries, and they admit the little unmanufactured and semi-manufactured sardines on which their own big whales may contentedly dine.

Thus if a German owns in England Railway Shares and is entitled to an annual remittance of £10,000 he gets his—that remittance all right, but the German Government very wisely insists on supervising the form in which it arrives.

By putting up a prohibitive tariff upon manufactured Woollens and Silks and Linens and China they can effectively decree that that English £10,000 shall not be paid in these commodities.

By putting up no tariff at all upon English Coal or English China Clay or a modified tariff upon English Yarns they can 'direct' that this English debt of £10,000 shall be paid in forms which will contribute to the further well-being of the Fatherland.

Thus the cunning Protectionist scientific spiders who weave their tariff machinations in the Wilhelmstrasse can and do rule far beyond the frontiers of the Fatherland.

They can guide, as they wish, and coddle and bleed and kill our English Industries. They can shut down our weaving factories and expand our spinning ones and when the auspicious moment has arrived they can close them also and *direct* that the displaced workmen shall go down into expanding mines and dig coals for them.

And the delightful thing about this all is that they can do all this to the hearty unbounded approval and enthusiastic plaudits of Mr. Asquith and the Fourteen Professors in particular and—and that impervious uninstructable self-conceited million-headed ass—the universal British Free Fatheaded Trader in general.

Nor is this all, please to remember, the mere random theoretical falutin of mere Protectionist make-believe.

Here are figures which speak up more eloquent than a hundred Demosthenes!

"Comparative Imports of Raw Material and Manufactures, "1883-1902.

"(1) Raw Material.

	"United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.
"1883,† -	£165,000,000	£ 64,000,000	£ 96,000,000
"1902, -	185,000,000	128,000,000	114,000,000
"Increase,	£ 20,000,000	£ 64,000,000	£ 18,000,000
"Increase per cent.,	13	100	19

"(2) Imported Manufactures.

	"United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.
"1883,† -	£53,000,000	£46,000,000	£31,000,000
"1902, -	99,000,000	55,000,000	31,000,000
"Increase, -	£46,000,000	9,000,000	Nil
"Increase per cent.,	87	19	Nil

"CASE OF THE POTTERY TRADE.

"Exports to the United States.

	Unmanufactured Clay.	Earthen and China-ware.
"1899, - -	106,692 Tons	£656,017
"1900, - -	120,642 ,,	£602,635
"1901, - -	138,909 ,,	£512,364
"1902, - -	155,720 ,,	£498,338

"Between 1892 and 1902 our exportation of china-"ware to the States declined from 100,506 crates to "48,198 crates. Thus America (1) puts a tax of 60 "per cent. on English Pottery ; (2) attracts our skilled "workmen by the larger wages that are possible "under Protection ; and (3) gets year by year a larger "helping of the limited supply of potter's clay ; and "so a once prosperous industry is approaching starva-"tion point. Having no tariff we are helpless to check "these proceedings."

† British classified figures not available before 1883.

‡ Upon the old classification.

"FIGURES AND FACTS.

"A very interesting comment upon the careless use "of trade statistics is contributed to the 'Times' by Mr. "W. M. Acworth. Mr. Asquith pointed on Saturday to "an increase of several millions per annum in the value "of woollen exports, and Mr. Acworth compares this "superficial evidence of prosperity with the facts which "are known to close observers of the trade. If the "monetary value of exports is increasing, it seems that

"**a serious degradation**

"is going on of their industrial character. **Instead of "buying cloth from us, countries like Germany have "been purchasing yarn, and more recently even that "has been displaced by the demand for a still more "unfinished stage of the product known as 'tops.' "Mr. Acworth has made investigations which show "that while**

"**£1 worth of cloth**

"**involves labour to the value of 6s., the same value "in yarn represents only 2s. 9d. in wages, and in "'tops' only 1s. 1½d.** In view of these facts, it is "evident that our exportation of 'woollens' might be "doubled what time the wages paid by British manu- "facturers actually underwent a decline."

———o———

"I do not know whether any of my hearers has had "the opportunity of looking closely into the **German "Green Book*** lately issued and dealing in minute "detail with the course of trade in recent years between "that country and the United Kingdom. If any free "importer can read that record with complete equanimity "I can only envy his stoical composure.

"**From Great Britain,**"

says the German official writer,

"**we take**

"**chiefly Raw Material**

*Auswärtiger Handel im Jahre 1905. I. Teil, Heft xi. Grossbritannien. Berlin 1906.

"and half-finished Goods
"for our Manufacture."

("Aus Grossbritannien bezieht das Deutsche Zollgebiet hauptsachlich Rohstoffe und halbfertige Waren für die Industrie.")

"He goes on to show that Germany exports to us "(sometime known as the workshop of the world) a long "and remarkable list of fully manufactured articles.

"He adds that German raw products and semi-crude "material are now only sent to this country in a very "limited degree. Germany prefers to send to us in a "larger and still larger measure the completely finished "article. In a single generation the former relations of "the two countries have been completely reversed. "They are the bricklayers, we are the labourers. It is "Germany which is now supplying us in the main with "manufactured goods. It is we who are supplying her "more and more with the crude materials for her finished "industry."

Etc., etc., etc..

With these argumentative (infantile) arrears and considerations out of the way the case, in reality, in all essentials, for Mr. Chamberlain is finished. And if this were an argumentative ordinary world in which we live everybody might reasonably go away home now concluding that everything else was finished too.

(Free Trade, of course, is!) And

so ought also to be

the Free Trader.

Unfortunately he isn't.

The trouble with this

the thickest-headed ass in Christendom

being — that he is so essentially ignorant of the scientific (supposed-to-be) basis of the creed about which he prates so loud and so devoid of the ordinary precepts of reason and principles of common sense that you may blow up sky-high

right upon the very front door-steps of his heavy wits

the supreme citadel of his beloved faith and he hasn't the ghost of an idea that you have been doing any other in particular thing

than blowing for your own futile amusement

your own nose.

He with the utmost and most child-like sincerity will point you immediately complacently out and along to the irrelevant dykes and ditches that lie leagues distant outwith the logical ramparts and calmly insinuate *that you haven't even touched the fringe of the subject.*

———o———

Under which circumstances, therefore, as I have said, there is nothing for it but to take up one by one these little irrelevant dykes and ditches and go steadily dynamiting forward until nor one little innocent fiscal molehill remains above another nor one little self-complacent Free Trade pimple is left to tell the sorrowful tale.

(I should and could have wished no doubt,) for the respect which I ought to entertain for you and do entertain for my own intellect, to have dealt with this

Free Trade Argumentative Debris

with some at least appearance of logical sequence.

But as I have found, after the most exhaustive and diligent and impartial and protracted investigation,

not a grain of logic in the whole vast rubbish,

I am compelled to content myself

—taking up

Each Wandering Flounder

as it happens to impinge

on my happy-go-lucky Hay-fork!

LII.

I give you, first of all,

THE GREAT COSMOPOLITAN ARGUMENT!

This argument builds up its imposing loftiness on the divine principle that we are brothers all :—black, white, yellow, brown,—washed and unwashed :—and, in brief, therefore,

Brothers let us be!

Let's sink the Navy!
Blow up Gibraltar!
Disband the Army!
Emancipate India!
Cut the Colonies!

Open our Ports and Poorhouses to the scum of all the earth!

Give away, (as we give away our old boots and cast-off clothing,) our charitable coal in weekly buckets of millions of tons!

Saponify our Foreign Investments and blow them in happy humanitarian soap-bubbles to the blue fraternal winds of a philanthropic Heaven!—

Turn our smug cheek to the universal smiter,
And live for ever happy, thereafter,
On the Fruits of Cosmopolitan Free Trade,

—and another kind love!

———o———

Happily this is one of the sort that are no sooner stated,—than they dont require to be answered.

I admit, of course, I have seen replies,—elaborate even,—pointing out that modern Industry and Commerce, so far from being a sequestered meadow in Paradise where the flowers of human love sprout heavenward to the lilt of angelic allurement, is in reality a crimson frightful war-to-the-remorseless-knife Armageddon by the hecatombic side of whose annual humanic slaughter and wastage the mighty battles of a bygone world write themselves invisibly down as the humble scratchings of infants at play! ! ! !

I have heard the rhetorician back up his inconsequence with such little rumours as these:

"THE STEEL TRUST.

"A War for the World's Trade.

"Mr. Charles Schwab, the President of Mr. Morgan's "billion dollar Steel Trust, will resign at the next meeting "of Directors.

"The Steel Corporation will inaugurate a war "for the world's trade during the next few months.

"The Steel Trust will fight England for its trade in
"South Africa, and will enter Canada to get the benefit
"of the Dominion bounties.

"It has a fund of 50,000,000 dollars for the contest
"with Germany and England for the outside markets."

—and perorate home with the caustic comment:

That Free Trade, the angelic, was a standing invitation to this fratricidal war: **And an unsolicited accentuation of its devilry!**

But the most effective reply of all that I have seen is the one that spares me the need of any:

The reply, namely, which was made by Sir Henry Fowler in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on October 12th, 1903:

—o—

"**Why Were They Free Traders?**

"**From the most selfish motives!**

"(cheers.)

"**There was no sentimental love for other nations:**

"**There was no Little England desire to put money**
"**into the pockets of their rivals** * * * *"

! ! ! !

LIII.

I pass on now to

THE GREAT ACADEMIC ARGUMENT!

In the exalted consideration of this aristocratic argument your experience is a curious one. Out of the invisible depths of the Blue Cerulean a long lean patronising arm descending, appears to tap you affectionately on the back while a stage whisper into your wondering ear explains ironic:

'My dear economic Whipper-snapper, whence all this furious spume and fiery splutter? *You presume and are presumed to be attacking the classic Doctrine of Free Trade!* But what you are really wasting your vicarious fury upon is the bastard one-sided system which at present obtains. As well pink your dagger into the laughing ocean's flank. "Free Trade," smiling!—dwells with the supernal Gods and is above all human contention!'

And the 'supernal' thereof being finished,—both the hand and the whisper withdraw—into the silent land!

But this also happily is another of the argumentative larks that once they have expanded their wings into the air—can be left to whistle aloft unmolested into the theoretical abysm of unoffending space.

The "Spectator's" Editor is this time the considerate Samaritan:

> "We are Free Traders **because Free Trade, even "when there is no Reciprocity from other Powers, "represents the conservation of economic energy, "and Protection means waste."**
>
> Editorial Note, 6-vi.-1903.

> "Free Trade on both sides might be the greatest of "blessings, **but 'one-sided' Free Trade is also a "blessing and one which it would be utterly foolish "to throw away.**
>
> **"Therefore, even admitting as we do, that we "are most unlikely to see Foreign Powers adopt "Free Trade we remain convinced advocates of "'one sided' Free Trade."**
>
> Leading Article, 27-vi.-1903.

LIV.

I go on swiftly now to

THE GREAT TROUBLE ARGUMENT!

This is a little item out of the select argumentative armoury of Lord Rosebery: who in sombre vaticination adjures us to pause in our flaming zeal for Protection because of the mighty trouble,—the great army of customs' officers, inspectors, etc., which it must involve.

No one doubts.

But what then?

I thought we were agreed all, long ago, that the Factory Acts were a beneficent advance on the old time "Let-alone Ideal" of British Economic Government.

!—Mistake!

According to the New Philosophy of Lord Rosebery we should have been wallowing still—on account, forsooth, of the army of inspectors, etc., involved in getting us out of it, in that early Victorian devil's quagmire of industrial abomination.

Lord Rosebery lived through, I think, the Compulsory Education Acts.

Did he therefore arise from the crimson benches of the House of Lords and make the rafters ring with the wrath of his denunciation of these iniquitous measures?—Because!

Because of the mighty army of janitors, clerks, inspectors, School Boards, etc., which their enactment would entail?

What a philosophy! for a supposed-to-be statesman!

By its indulgent ingenuity we should refrain from washing our faces of a morning and being found going home of an evening in a horse-pond should subside there, because of the trouble involved in reaching the shore!

———o———

By the power and operation, tomorrow, of the same logic Lord Rosebery should abolish himself and the class to which he belongs.

Why?

Because of the mighty army of flunkies and universal trouble and inconvenience on its surroundings near and far which class-distinction entails.

LV.

I go forward now to

THE GREAT PIKE ARGUMENT!

That great argument ripples out into poetry in this way:

In ornamental artificial (and therefore protected) ponds in order to prevent

The luxurious deterioration of the Gilded Perch

a Great Pike by the knowing is frequently introduced on purpose to keep the lazy lively.

In a quite similar way in an artificially protected country its manufacturers, owing to the absence of external competition, become like the Gilded Perch—slothful and indifferent in business, —whereas in an Empire like England where the happy winds of heaven blow free

And the Great Pike of Free Trade roams unfettered

every manufacturer is stimulated by the needs of his position into unprecedented activity and even the Would-be-take-it-easiest gets the Free Trade Fever into his blood and becomes fervent in spirit, diligent in business,

Serving Mammon with the most up-to-date zeal!

—All of which, as you can hear, sounds quite remarkably pretty (and to the ignorant also, perhaps,) not unprobable. Certainly it has been a great theoretical stand-by to the Free Trader in the past.

But alas! Old Time has done with it as Napoleon did with his correspondence,—(replied to it by the chiels ye canna ding!)

For what, my dear friends, are the palpable undingable present-day facts of industrial life?

These!

—That the most active go-a-head industrial nations of the present-day world are just even the highly protected nations—Germany and America,—while amongst the sleepy-headedest, (no less,) are just even Free Trade England—Turkey and China!

Take any, e.g., of those great new Industrial adventures—Electric Engineering, say, or Motor Car Construction, which owe the very breath of their existence to modern energy and initiative, and compare therein the electric feverism of English Free Trade activity with the paralytic stagnation of Foreign Protectionism!!!

Why, man,—you cannot board an electric car in our world-renowned own city here but you are slapped across the face with the legend

Pittsburg, U.S.A.!

scrawled in bold brass letters along the top of its control gear: while for every motor car we are supposed to manufacture here in England, they are manufacturing, they tell me, half a dozen in the United States.

Certainly, at anyrate, no one can dispute these for suggestive facts,—namely, that we imported in motor cars from despised France and similar sleepy-headed countries in 1902 and 1903 to the tune of

3¼ Million £!

And in 1900 from the green-mantled stagnation pools of Foreign Industrial Weary Williedom in Electrical Goods and Apparatus

1¼ Million £!—

But hear to Mr. R. B. Haldane!—

> "There was something **which was not very satis-**
> **"factory in the condition of British trade to-day**
> "and he rejoiced that this Fiscal question should have
> "come to the front. (Cheers). His proposition was
> **"that the cause of a falling off in certain trades**
> **"was due to our want of method.** * *
>
> "In comparing us with other countries we must bear
> "in mind that
>
> **"they were running us close**
>
> "in education
>
> **"and Manufacturing Skill.**
>
> "He instanced the manufacture of electric appliances
> "and the chemical trades as those in which Foreign
> "competitors had the advantage: **it was in their more**
> **"scientific methods."**

Now if I were an unattached philosopher studying this curious phenomenon, as the astronomer studies Mars, I should be much inclined to reason in this way:

'Here are we, just at present, after the undisturbed enjoyment of the sixty years' inestimable boon of a glorified Free Trade!

'But in the course of that prolonged experience the Free Trade Pike ought by every principle of logic now to be a pretty fair-sized whale producing by the merest wink of its sublime tail a whirl-winding world-resistless whirlpool of go-a-head industrial and commercial activity which without ever knowing it, or trying it, or wishing it, ought to be able to suck from round the farthest ends of the world and sink in abysmal annihilation any and every Protectionist attempt at rivalry!'

And when I discovered that that was not so :

When I discovered that so far from being so, —that it was in reality the fact, namely that these Rotten Protectionist Nations were jabbing us in the industrial wind so painfully fast : —leaving us behind in the great scientific basic industries **as a Modern Liner leaves on the high seas her tug,**—and in every other department of commercial and industrial activity—in our own and every other market of the world—

pursuing us
pressing us
rivalling us
beating us ! —

that had brought about the storm and stress of this inordinate discussion :

And when I further found that a supposed-to-be-clever man like Mr. Haldane could get up as the chief speaker at a Liberal Meeting held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Nov. 12th 1903, and submit :—

" **That there never was a time when we more needed**
" **Free Trade than we did now** —(cheers) **as a stimulus to our**
" **energy : and he for one looked upon as nothing short of**
" **disastrous the proposition to substitute the deadening**
" **Drug of Protection for the energy and life, etc.**"

(without even suspecting the excruciating immortality of his deliverance :) then I do think that I should at last begin to wonder whether, after all, the energising Whale of Free Trade wasn't perhaps a great big flat of a flounder, or even perhaps a very moderate-sized Red Herring. (**and a rotten one at that !**)

LVI.

I pass on now to

THE GREAT UNEMPLOYED ARGUMENT!

Those who use this argument seem to reason in this way :

' The great Modern Social Problem is just as pressing for solu-

'tion in Protected Countries as it is in the United Kingdom,

'Therefore Protection is not any good!'

And having argued the matter out so far, they appear to conclude that they have completely disposed of the whole position of the Neo-protectionists. And certainly, I admit, no doubt, that if I were an unattached angel winging my way through the divine ether with power and purpose to set up a new civilisation in the dim recesses of a Jupiterian moon:—this way of putting it would appeal with some degree of power to me.

But, unfortunately, we are all of us at present but humble citizens of the simple terrestrial British Empire—obliged, whether we like it or not, to take an active responsible part in her present hand-to-mouth go-along-with-you-from-day-to-day polity, and *under these circumstances* the conclusion which my Labour friends, because it is they who chiefly use the argument, have arrived at is

A particularly lame one!

In effect they say:

'Free Trade and Protection—neither of them in the ultimate being of any use,

'*Therefore let us cling to Free Trade!* and continue to solve the ever-present problem of the Unemployed by charity,—taxation, and the breaking of stones!'

Now there is not the slightest doubt that Protected Countries have an Unemployed Problem just as well as we have.—(Whether a worse or a better it is no part of my duty to discuss.)

Statistics, as far as they go, seem to prove that it is not so pressing in Protected Countries. In any case one is constantly meeting in the newspapers such items as these:

"Curiously enough, in the 'Labour Gazette' for November, published by the Board of Trade, there was a statement culled from the corresponding publication in Germany. The percentage of unemployed in England was 6.8. There could not have been less than 35,000 skilled trade unionists unemployed in this country during the past 10 months of this year. That meant that those unemployed men had lost nearly two millions of money in wages. Going to Germany, and quoting from the Board of Trade Returns,

the percentage of unemployed was 1.8, as compared with 6.8 in England. That was an odd commentary on Protection and Free Trade."

"In Mr. Chamberlain's speech there was (says a London contemporary) one point which should not be left unnoticed. That is the remarkable fact as to emigration from Germany. It is difficult to impugn Mr. Chamberlain's conclusions as to the value of Tariff Reform when we see that **whereas years ago German emigration was nearly as great as emigration from this country, it now stands in the proportion of six from that country to thirty-four from this, though the population in Germany is so much greater than our own.**"

UNEMPLOYMENT.

(*Standard*, Oct. 24, 1908.)

A REPLY TO MR. ASQUITH FROM MR. ELLIS BARKER.

"To the Editor of *The Standard*.

"Sir,—Many Free Trade writers and speakers have lately told the country that, though employment is bad in Great Britain, it is very much worse in protected countries, such as the United States and Germany. Mr. Asquith has apparently endorsed their statements. In his speech on the 21st inst. he spoke of unemployment as of 'a temporary dislocation of the machinery of production,' and he maintained that unemployment prevailed 'not in this country only, nor in this country mainly.'

"Mr. Asquith's statement is scarcely in accordance with fact. Great Britain suffers not from temporary, but from permanent, widespread, severe, and constantly increasing unemployment. The state of employment in a country can best be measured by its emigration and immigration. Unemployment is the principal cause of emigration and good employment is the principal cause of immigration. People leave a country where employment is bad and go to those countries where employment is good. During the

last eight years the net emigration from Great Britain and gross immigration into the United States—I have no figures of American net immigration—compared as follows :—

	Net British Emigration.	Gross American Immigration.
1900	71,188	448,572
1901	72,016	487,918
1902	101,547	648,743
1903	143,036	857,046
1904	126,854	812,870
1905	139,365	1,026,499
1906	194,671	1,100,755
1907	237,204	1,285,349
Total 1900-1907,	1,085,881	6,667,732

"The foregoing table tells its own tale. Whilst Englishmen are fleeing in great and rapidly increasing numbers from Great Britain as from a blighted country, foreigners are flocking by the million into the United States. During the last eight years emigration from Great Britain and immigration into the United States have almost exactly trebled. America is as attractive to the foreigner as Great Britain is unattractive to the Englishman. These figures suffice to show that employment is, as a rule, very bad in this country, and very good in America. Notwithstanding the enormous inflow of foreigners the American industries have complained of a shortage of workers.

"It is true that there is at present some unemployment in America, but the figures which are constantly given by our Free Traders apply not to all America, but merely to New York. As 80 per cent. of the foreign immigrants land in New York, the high percentage of New York unemployed is by no means representative of the whole country. Besides, the New York unemployed, so far as they are not immigrants, belong chiefly to the open-air trades, especially the building trade. New York has an exceedingly severe climate and a long winter. The eleventh special report of the American Commissioner of Labour says, on this point, on page 266 :—'Weather conditions interfere with out of door work. In New

York, for instance, it is estimated that bricklayers are able to work during only 150 to 175 days in the year.' Free Traders who are stating that unemployment is far greater in Protectionist America than in Free Trade Great Britain are cruelly deceiving the people about the real state of affairs.

"Whilst from 200,000 to 300,000 people emigrate every year from Great Britain, only from 20,000 to 30,000 people emigrate every year from Germany. As Germany's population is 50 per cent. larger than that of Great Britain it follows that for every German emigrant there are 15 British emigrants: that the pressure of emigration is 15 times greater in Great Britain than in Germany. In Germany unemployment is, as a rule, practically unknown. The German Socialists will scarcely paint the conditions of labour in Germany in too roseate colours. Yet we read in the election manifesto of the German Social Democratic party, which was published on January 15, 1907: — **'We have in Germany not too large, but too small, a number of workers. This may be seen from the fact that every year foreign workers are imported into Germany by the hundred thousand.'** The foregoing statement is literally correct. Although the German population increases by 900,000 a year, whilst ours increases by only 380,000 a year, Germany suffers, as a rule, acutely from lack of workers. The lack of workers is so great that every year about 500,000 workers migrate from Russia, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Belgium, France, and Italy into Germany in order to find there temporary work. During the last year for which official figures are available, 1906, 600,000 foreign workers migrated into Germany. Although the German population grows by 900,000 every year, and although she receives every year about 500,000 foreign immigrants, Germany suffers usually from lack of workers, as reference to the reports from our Consuls in Germany and to the reports of the German Chambers of Commerce and Chambers of Agriculture will show. These confirm the foregoing statement of the German Socialists.

"It is true that in Germany, as in America, there is at the moment some unemployment, but, compared with unemployment in this country, it is quite insignificant. Mr. Asquith's statement that unemployment in Great Britain is merely 'a temporary dislocation

of the machinery of production' is not true. It is likewise not true that, as Mr. Asquith asserted, unemployment prevails 'not in this country only, nor in this country mainly.'

"The foregoing official figures with which Mr. Asquith ought to be acquainted, and many other official figures and statements, which I am able to give, prove that in no industrial country is employment habitually worse than it is in 'the Paradise of Free Trade,' and that in no industrial country employment is habitually better than in the United States and Germany, which are 'groaning under Protection.' These facts should give much food for thought to our advocates of free imports in Parliament and in the Government, and especially to those people who sent them there.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ELLIS BARKER.

Constitutional Club, London, W.C."

"**At question time on Thursday Mr. Winston Churchill stated that 'there is at the present moment somewhat more unemployment in this country than in Germany.' This admission, so completely contradicting the statements of practically every member of the present Government, caused consternation in many quarters of the House.**"

Etc., Etc.

But, as I say, I am not in any way concerned to prove that such is so.

What concerns me.—What I see with unfaltering perspicuity is that the institution of Protection in England at the present moment would completely dissolve as by the stroke of a magic wand

The Problem of the Unemployed,

by setting up on the down-hill roll a boom of prosperity such as at no time, perhaps, England has ever seen.

But it needs not the wisdom of the very wise, surely, at the same time, clearly to foresee under our present conditions what the end to that all is like to be.

What is the inevitable sequence of a great spell of industrial prosperity? As trade booms, marriage booms, immigration booms and emigration is arrested.

In a word, Population booms!

But in the blind process of time, therefore, if that be so, again the supply of labour exceeds the demand and you have

A recurrence of the Problem of the Unemployed.

But in that case what have you then gained by Protection?

—Already, so enormously, Sir! that itself the question marks **you down for a Fool.**

Why does Germany no longer fear France?

Because she has given her population free reins *and been able to support its fearless incrementation by the protection of her industries!*

Hear again.—if you have any doubt, the German Government!

> "**Strengthened by protection our industries have been "able to increase considerably their production, and have "thereby afforded fuller employment and rising wages to "the working classes. Emigration has very substantially "diminished.** The effect of the growing wealth of the "nation may be seen by the visible progress in the conditions "and in the life of the broad masses of the people, "especially of the working men. **This improvement is "especially striking, as a considerably increased population "has had to be provided for, the inhabitants having increased "from 45,000,000 in 1880 to 56 000,000 in 1900."**

11,000,000 souls!—(an increase greater than the combined populations of Scotland and Ireland,) **in 20 years!**

☞ Well, Sir, there, I think, is your answer: and in letters so loud that he that hears them surely will never forget. *And Great Britain if she had the sense to follow in Germany's trade road to-morrow could perform a similar miracle.* And would by so doing, and that is the vital business in front of her just now, so fortify and strengthen her defensive resources that Herself and her Empire might be secure to Eternity!

—Very important, also, is this reflection,—and as against my objecting friends the discharge, I think, from this angle is crushing :

'That the Problem of the Unemployed can never be 'solved,—and never even an attempt at solution can be 'made on Laisser-Faire Free Trade Lines of Industrial 'Policy.'

And therefore what I say to my Labour friends is in three counts : namely that—To adopt Preferential Protection in Great Britain at the present moment :

(1)

Would solve by a stroke of the pen the immediate problem of the Unemployed :

(2)

Would by enormously enhancing the population and wealth of the Empire solve *in the very nick of time* the Problem of its Defence :

And (3)

Would by destroying the last citadel of Laisser-faireism in this country pave the preliminary *indispensable* way towards the ultimate solution of the Industrial Problem.

LVII.

I pass along now to

THE GREAT EXPECTATIONS ARGUMENT!

'Suppose we foolishly agree,' runs the point of this attack, 'to change our Fiscal Policy in order to oblige our Colonies

'What are we going to get in return ?

'*They aren't going to give us Free Trade!* On the contrary, it is 'their profound and settled intention to go on protecting their 'rising manufactures,—and,

Subject to this condition,

'only are they willing to give us a Preference over the Foreigner in 'their market.

"First of all, they Brick up with care the Garden Gate and, 'then, (for a consideration,) with very grateful Colonialism, sell 'us the key!'

The simple answer to this is

—**NO!**

Our Colonies *will have to*, **and will,** do a little more!

But who are *you*, please, that *you* should object if they didn't?

I thought that by this time we were all moderately agreed that

The Economy of National Labour

was the whole and sole raison d'etre of Free Trade.

But if that be so, consider!

Under a regime of undiluted Free Trade no manufacturer in a young undeveloped country like Australia could possibly hope to stand up against the unrivalled industrial resources of an old established economy like that of Great Britain.

Who in Australia would risk to try?

Would you?

—Sink your Colonial all in order to purchase the 'dulcet and decorous' charm of patriotic ruin!

As a matter of fact, man, you merely wouldn't! And consequently under the benign institution of your Free Trade Economic, so-called, you would be calmly asking Australia to transport her raw wool 12,000 miles across the burning equator to the looms of the Tweed, and—having been woven there into cloth, to burn coal by the economic square mile in order to weave it back again 12,000 miles to the scientific land of its origin.

More.

You would delightfully, deliberately, and light-heartedly,—ordain that this delicious illustration of trans-imperial economy should go merrily forward for the next

20,000,000 years!

And this would be Free Trade!—and being Free Trade, (as one or other of the immortals would say,)—**'What is there more that human words can say'!**

But *would* this kind of thing be really economical? If, on the

contrary, you, being a bona fide practical economist, really set your brains to steep to invent *a less wasteful* process wouldn't you be inclined in Australia to soliloquise in this way !—

Here are we, having here—**Abundance of Raw Material !**

To weave wool into broadcloth does not seem a profoundly difficult business. And might be done surely just about as well here as 12,000 miles away in Galashiels. In any case,—couldn't we try ?

For the purpose we require Capital !

That we can borrow.

—Machinery !

That we can buy with the borrowed capital.

Next I fancy we should require skilled Labour ! in order to give us a send-off.

That we can immigrate.—And aren't we, in any case, just at present, in urgent need of colonists ?

But obviously we need something more.

Because if I am to undertake all this trouble, and risk financial ruin into the bargain I could not possibly manufacture at first as cheaply as the manufacturers in the home country (whose mills have already recouped themselves, perhaps, twenty times over) and even if I succeeded in doing so the Yorks and Border Weavers would quite certainly at once cut their prices in order to cut for good my industrial throat and retain for the rest of time the monopoly of the Australian Market.

Therefore, as I say, something else is needed.

If I am to do this thing for the ultimate Common Good, or you are to do it, or some syndicate is to do it,

We must be protected in the doing of it !

(Undoubtedly) it seems a little odd that the Commonwealth should go out of its apparently obvious way in order to give to a purely private individual *like myself*, or to a private syndicate, such a start in life, which in the magnificent sequel might, in fact, end in our fortune. But what can the Commonwealth do ? If it took up for itself the spinning and weaving of wool the apparent anomaly would vanish. But industry cannot,—in any case, does not, develop along these lines at first, however it may be with it after.

And so it comes about—in statecraft that it is deemed not unwise to delegate this Industrial Patent into the hands of capitalistic individualism.

Also! if it doth so out-fall that the Australians have to pay a little more for their woollen goods than they might apparently otherwise have been doing, *then they must just so pay*, just as they may require to pay a little more for the making of their roads, or more in boot leather for the want of them: or for Government schemes of irrigation, or in lost crops and stock for lack of them: —just, in fact, as their children have to walk usually further to school, and themselves to fetch a doctor.

It is,—just part of the price which a young Empire has to pay for its growth!

Now everybody can see, even in his day, I suppose, John Stuart Mill through the smoke-dimmed spectacles of his Free Trade prepossessions, that Protection on these lines is Economy in the real and living sense of the term. And that Free Trade would spell on the same lines

An Eternity of Waste!

Therefore our Colonies in their protectionist ideas are perfectly wise and right, and we with our fatuous notions of Free Trade pseudo-economy are foolish and wrong.

AND YET THERE IS A WISER AND DEEPER ECONOMY LYING STILL IN THE BACKGROUND!

For example, we of the Protection-Preferentialist Persuasion can approach our Colonies with these for the terms of our logic:

> **'Dear Colonies!**
>
> 'Your Colonial economic ideas and arrangements 'are perfectly just and scientific, and at home here we agree 'with them entirely. But the problem that lies before 'you is not just so slate-easy as appears. It has been 'wittily said that we in the home country founded you in 'a fit of absent-mindedness. But the absent-minded-'ness was possible just because *the world was asleep*. The 'world is wide enough awake now. *And therefore, even*

' *now, as to your destiny, what is written in the Book of Fate*
' *is not just quite legible.*

' One thing, however, is quite certain. Your most
' *imperious* imperial need just at present is just

' **Another Century's Undisturbed Security!**

' Now it's a wise calf that sees that it's mother gets grass.
' And it becomes a question, therefore, for you and your
' statesmen to consider, whether for you the most economic
' mode of purchasing this security mightn't just be by
' making your economic development, even at the cost of a
' little accentuation there and *retardation* here,

' **Ancillary to the considerations of an Imperial Whole,**
' **and more especially to the present needs of the present Im-**
' **perial 'Power-House.'** '

* * * *
! ! ! !

The very widely odd prevailing influence which the argument we are now discussing appears to enjoy springs from the fundamental basic inalienable British notion, that Free Trade is a Beneficence in itself *and so much of one* that all that we really need in this country is only more and ever more of it. Multitudes of perfectly sober people you will even, indeed, hear affirm: that, *being as we are, and situated as we are,*

Free Trade is our only National Hope!

Curious always that it should have struck me *exactly* in the inverse way! Indeed, I sometimes think that if even our most obstinate of Free Traders could only be got to see the facts as they really exist, and not *as they think they exist*, of our industrial position,—I say, I think that even they would either be for ever dumb on the merits of their idol or, at least, whisper them with bateder breath.

No country, as a matter of fact, has been more protected in the course of its industrial history ever than England,—or virtually needs it more than England now.

When will Free Traders learn
that Free Trade is only for the strong,
that is to say,—for the already protected!

But where shall I look around, now, for Britain's strength?

A pyramid to rest secure must rest upon its base. And in like manner the industrial fabric of a nation, to rest secure, must rest upon its agriculture.

But the industrial fabric of Great Britain does not rest upon its agriculture. As indeed calculated out in terms of that long ago we are a hugely overpopulated country. Which means, industrially speaking, that we are a pyramid set upon its apex. And the pyramid of our prosperity is supported in position solely for the present by the accumulated wealth of our forefathers and our current foreign commerce.

The maintenance of this foreign commerce, therefore, is an absolute sine qua non if the whole fabric of our national position is not to topple down about our ears one of these days.

!—But where are my guarantees as to that?

I look everywhere around!—but, alas, find nothing nowhere that will justify me in any optimism.

Try!

Take any day—the train of an afternoon to the neighbouring City of Paisley! and look for yourself *critically* around. Examine the air, the soil, the citizens: the salubrious Cart, and even the charm of Glenifter Braes, and tell me honestly, now, *if there's anything about them all* that could justify you in imagining for a moment **that Paisley is likely to remain for all time the centre of the world's thread industry.**

Take Jute.

Jute grows in but one or two circumscribed areas in the wide world.

!—**Unutterably more silly,** now, from an economic point of view, has anything ever occurred to the mind of man than the idea of transporting this Jute from the banks of the Indian Hoogli to the banks of the Scottish Tay and, into bags having woven it there to re-tranship these back to the Indian Ocean and the ends of the earth?

Any Christian sense of economy would teach any ordinary human fool that there was a great deal of unnecessary work in all this. Labour is very much cheaper at Calcutta than it is at Dundee. Machinery and skill are importable—and the raw jute is at hand.

Why not erect the Dundee Mills at Calcutta and weave the jute there ?

Well, but this also is not the mere ex parte interjection of an invective visionary. Because the identical idea (no less) has struck the canny themselves Dundee Juters,—with the result that mills, erected out there with British capital, **are even now being run with success by British skill.**

—**(But what in the meantime of Bonnie Dundee ?)**

I am just after pointing out to you the magnificent economy involved in transporting raw wool from Australia half round the world for the purpose of weaving it in Galashiels, and then re-transporting it woven back to Australia :—**and the very urgent likelihood that this will go on for the next twenty million years !**

But take even also our great Cotton Industry. Wherein consists the economy of transporting raw cotton from the Southern United States to the mills of Lancashire and re-transporting the calicoes, woven out of it there, back to the Americas, North and South ? Economy would suggest to the most unreflective ass that ever journeyed upon four legs—to erect cotton mills a little nearer the source of supply, and thence to distribute to the world, including England, the manufactured product. Well but an idea you may be sure so thunderingly obvious has not escaped the shrewd Yankee ! and therefore mills for the purpose are sprouting up like mushrooms in the Southern States !

Some one suggests, perhaps, that the humidity of our climate in England here is especially helpful to us in the spinning and weaving of cotton. Very likely. But apart from the countries that beat us naturally even at that, and I am told that Japan is at least our equal, there is the fact that in these scientific reproductive (astonishing) days 'climate,' even, is not beyond the range of scientific manufacture, and therefore, if I were you, I would not build too much on the humidity of our climate.

———o———

Come away therefore, now, please, and excogitate the matter from the inside out.

———o———

What are these great earthly natural Great British advantages that cannot be equalled or excelled in other parts of the world that you should go on hugging to your innocent hearts the extraordinary delusion that all that we need for the retention of our industrial supremacy is Free Trade ?

According to the very basic idea in your Free Trade Theory an industry must go and ought to go to the country that can turn out the product best in the cheapest way.

Well, but in that case your Dundee Jute industry should be off to the banks of the Hoogli, your Lancashire Mills to the Southern United States, and the Looms of Galashiels to the plains of the Southern Cross !

The question of Child labour, Women's labour, Negro labour, Indian labour, Chinese labour, Monkey's labour—has nothing to do with the case. Free Trade sans phrase, (in Mr. Haldane's immortal phrase,)—and no questions asked, is all that we need, or want !

(Well, but come away, fast, I say,) and tell me now what are these wonderful advantages ? (I'm burning to hear them !)—these mighty national assets, on the back of whose assistance you hope to retain your industrial greatness under Free Trade.

You have **Capital,**

You have **Cheap Coal,**

You have **A humid climate,**

And **Skilled Energetic Labour !**

But—I know of absolutely nothing more ! and if *you* do, it is your Christian patriotic duty to enlighten me at once.

I admit, of course, there is our British Nobility, and have already referred to it as one of the really most reliable assets in the country in the way of redeeming the ruin of a vicious economy, but even it my radical friends are crying aloud to abolish.

Well, but leaving that upon one side,—There is your **Capital** then !

But Capital can rise and take wings and fly away, and is doing so in fact every day of our lives, to countries offering better prospects of investment than our own.

Then there is your **Coal !**

But that we are digging up with lightning rapidity,—squander-

ing at home and scattering abroad to the four wide winds of the world with a criminal prodigality unparalleled in the fool history of Time.—And the delighted Free Traders radiantly affirm that we are gloriously right !

Well but in that case we cant be leaning very long on a support that is going rapidly from under us,—and going too, **at the express and urgent desire of our Free Traders !**

What comes next ? **Our Climate !**

Well, but as to that, now, I should say that one's chief best regret is that it isn't just like coal,—an exportable asset. Because, otherwise, most of us would vote for sending it gratis to the infernal regions to-morrow.

And what next ? **Skilled and Energetic Labour !**

Well but *that* to rely upon, surely, in wisdom's name, is a rotten enough reed.

Skill resides in a human skull, and to every human skull ordinarily is attached a pair of ambulatory organs which can shift at a moment's notice the skull and its skill to the uttermost bounds of the habitable earth. Millions of these skulls have already left these Free Trade shores and thousands are leaving them weekly !

And you have **Energy !** Have you, indeed ? And *cheapness* conjoined with it, I suppose ! Well,—strange now ! I have always been taught to believe that the Chinaman, value for value, was far and away the most energetic worker in the world.

And you think, do you ! that a factory in China or Japan erected by British capital, directed to begin with by European brains, and wrought by Chinese or Japanese cheap labour couldn't face up to a British factory manned by Trade Unionist British Working Men !

Why, man ! – The best in the British World, to my thinking, such an enterprise would knock out of sublunary existence in the first half round !—

* * * *

"**My 'Schroff'**

or salesman, who speaks enough English to do business, secured me an order for these goods, but the price forbade me taking it.

To compete with the native-made article I had to make and sell these goods at three shillings per dozen f.o.b. at British port. No Sheffield workman could turn out this razor in the style wanted. There is absolutely no 'finish' on the whole article. Again a razor grinder would want three shillings per doz. at the very lowest for grinding them, and this item alone would 'kill' the job.

This little illustration shows the trouble forthcoming if once the yellow race is allowed to gain a firm hold on white territory. As I have stated elsewhere, given the same kind of tools, John Chinaman or a Japanese is the equal of the white workman, and he will work for one-third of a white man's wage. Again, he will work for seven days per week for fifty weeks out of the fifty-two."—The Magazine of Commerce.

———o———

Alas! Alas! my poor blind, brainless Free Trade Brother Bats! Many fools in the world cannot see beyond their nose. But you dont appear to have the faculty of seeing even the feeble *length* of yours!

LVIII.

I pass on now to

THE GREAT DOCTRINAIRE ARGUMENT.

This very famous clincher is usually expressed in this succinct way:

> 'By directing the total national energies into those 'channels of industry for which the general resources of 'the nation are pre-eminently adapted, Free Trade sub-'serves the highest national (and international) economy.'

Now, of course, there is nothing very curious or striking in a sentiment like this. The curious thing is that:

Having relieved himself of this magnificence of economic wisdom the Doctrinaire has an absolutely fixed idea that there is nothing economic further to do or say under the blue dome of heaven: The affair is over and done with.—(Unless indeed to pass

on with your head in the Heavens) and bless the merciful God that one's mighty intellect is not as other asses' are.

I say it is hopeless to look for any further illumination.

If you pull up the Doctrinaire by the sleeve upon one side and say:

'**Dear Doctrinaire,—**

'What you are pleased to say I know is very deep and wise, 'but please tell me this:

'Here are some goods, see! Woollens they seem to be,—made in 'Germany, and they are displacing certain Woollens in our market. 'Are we thereupon to permit this displacement to go forward on 'the Doctrinaire Hypothesis that Germany is the country par 'excellence which is adapted for this specialty and that England 'isn't?

(No reply!)

* * * *

'On making personal enquiry into this matter I find that really 'England is by no means *unadapted* for the actual manufacture, '—the, in fact, only difference in favour of the foreigner being:

'**That he works longer hours,**

'**In less ideal surroundings,**

'**For fewer dibs!**

'Is it therefore your Doctrinaire Idea that this displacement is to 'go forward: or—That England in order to make herself the 'equally or better adapted country is to reduce the conditions of her 'workmen to the foreign level?'

(The very Sapient Solomon, I say, has no reply!)

———o———

'**Dear High Fountain-Head of the Be-all—End-all of English Economic Theory!**

'In my lessons in logic at school and college I have always 'been taught to believe that if either of the effective premises went 'wrong **the conclusion went rotten.**

'Now in the classical sequence of Free Trade I have always 'understood the two reciprocals to be:

'**That each of the high contracting parties plays the game.**

'But if one high party plays the game and the other high party 'plays

'**The Diametrical Opposite!**

'What becomes in that case of the classic conclusion?'

(The very Learned Logician has no reply!)

'**Dear High Sole Understander of the one high sole scientific secret of England's destined-to-endure-for-ever-greatness!**

'We are undoubtedly, as you are so fond of telling us, *a Coal 'Country*: and our coal, as you are equally fond of insisting, is 'going to last us for at least a hundred or thereby years. But if 'every ounce of British coal that lies beneath the soil of England 'lay at this moment on its surface we should undoubtedly be a 'coalier one. But if that were so, unanimously, I think, **the 'Wholesale World-Export of Coal** would be the Industry par 'excellence to which 'the climate and soil and resources' of Great 'Britain were best adapted.

'Would you have us then therewith arrest our laborious agri-'culture—damp down all the rest of our multifarious industrial 'activities and pour out our immediate national forces upon these 'superterranean resources:—and purchase all that we humanly 'required for the next hundred years—abroad with the exchange 'value of the same?

'Until we had exported the last remnant of our patrimony!

'And then resume (haply) the labour of agriculture, etc.,—and '*with the thereby proceeds in turn*—re-import—our future needs in 'coal—from the New Hebrides?'

(The Arm-Chair Coal-Exporting Theoretical Enthusiast has no reply!)

'**Dear** * * * * !

'I am not a particularly brilliant Geographer. But I have 'learned enough to believe that countries in differing zones of 'latitude (northern or southern respectively) are more or less in 'their industrial qualifications complementary. And therefore a 'doctrine which applies, or might, with a semi-mathematical

'beauty between a country in the temperate zone and one in the 'tropics or sub-tropics I can quite imagine to be when addressed 'to adjoining countries in the same belt of latitude—neither in fact 'very much fish, fowl, nor good salt herring! Isn't it just possible 'that your exalted Theoretical Highness might without any discredit 'to your lofty intention plead a little guilty to something **of this Exaggerative Fallacy of Geographical Orientation?**

'That is to say, when it comes to assimilating green ordinary 'grass, (watching a weaver's shuttle or wagging the tail of a steam 'cock!) —and chewing the general every-day cud of common 'ordinary every-day industry, isn't about one country cow in the 'temperate zone, in a practical general way!—about as good as 'another?'

(The Latitudinarian Geographical Expert has no reply!)

—o—

Dear Benign, by command, Epitome of all terrestrial fiscal attainability and indefatigable Dispenser of unasked-for counsel to His Majesty's World Dominions in chief!

'I do never pretend at any time, and can never, to your profound of economic wisdom. I can and do but endeavour to use the economic eyes merely with humble sincerity which the mighty God hath given me daily. And gazing around me on the industrial life of England as it exists and exhibits itself at this hour and day in this policeman's age, that which overwhelms my sense of the inscrutable in human things is, with super-amazement,

The *civil* Industrial War

that goes unremittingly unmolestedly forward, morning, noon, night, (unamazed at but by four or five others i' the 100,000!)

'If you were in the middle of the mid-Atlantic, (oh Beacon Light of all Futurity's Illumination!) and saw a mighty Liner steaming majestically along,— and then witnessed without any further consideration

The Liner's bow and funnel and engines

making a frantic endeavour to part company with the cargo, — succeeding, steaming ahead, and then as if suddenly bethinking

that it wouldn't be altogether human to leave the wretched derelict to its useless fate,—reluctantly returning,

running out a poor-law hawser,

and towing it, thereafter, *grudgingly*, along: eternally forgetting even this unforgettable fact, steaming strenuously ahead, and then as strenuously repenting and steaming behind,—

'You would undoubtedly be thrown into an extraordinary great fit of considering wonder!

'But you could not wonder half as much as I do, watching this long time back the movement of England through the centuries.

'(Have no fear!)—I have not the slightest intention. But take for yourself down now the nearest history, and turn up 'The Industrial Revolution': —and there you will see depicted for all time in lurid crimson one of those God-astonishing struggles to which I have given Atlantic similitude. Capitalism tugging, armed for the first time in the world's history with 'iron and steam', to race ahead of a superfluous derelict proletariat and the latter in wild reprisal striving to burn Freak wreck and kill the to it ruthless Capitalism's rotten machinery.

'And too-whoo!—too whit!

'I say!—How many and many's the idiotic poor tale we have all been invited to swallow! adorned with the Sunday Economic Evening School 'va-sans-dire' pronouncement that the misguided poor wreckers were *wrong*, and giving as a proof paralytic the fact that this very rotten machinery was shortly to make work for twenty men where work before was only for one.

'But the wreckers, pace these Sunday Economic School Teachers, all the time were *right*. And were they here with us now would very placidly interject: **That the problem which they sought to solve is not solved yet!**

'Because what in effect these misguided poor people said was:

'Machinery *in itself* is a very beautiful and useful adjunct to 'civilization: but when the Locomotive insists as its sole obligation 'and function in life to dance along the high rails at high speed 'with its own tender and a few first class carriages attached!—and the

'rest of the Parliamentary side-tracked): what the Locomotive 'wants above all is a very wise driver,—and until it gets him a 'Westinghouse brake!'

'And the ruction over this very point is even now but half begun! Because what happened in the heights of the hill-tops then,—is every day all the same just happening now below, in the valleys! —the only difference being that the newness has a little worn away while fresh tactics are in use and a longer-ranged artillery separates the combatants.

'A captain of modern industry never at any time employs in his crew half a man more than he can help. And he is continually tugging at his weary wits' ends to try if he can help to employ some centesimal fraction of a man fewer. And in this high civilised human endeavour he is daily reinforced by the sleepless efforts of thousands of the brilliantest brains in the kingdom.

'Looking at the whole modern situation, therefore, with the eye of synthetic fancy one may say that these things all:—mechanical reapers, mechanical stokers, linotype machines, hydraulic riveters, grain elevators, coal cutters, capitalistic amalgamations and automatic agencies of a hundred thousand varieties!—are a nefarious vast international anti-proletariat conspiracy steaming **ahead night and day in the never-ending large-scale production of the Unemployed.** And in rear-guard action battling to retard this nefarious advance of the Economic Legions of Ingenuity—are marshalled in multiple battalions the great Trade Unions.

'(The only difference, as I have said, in the workers' mode of warfare) being now that instead of burning and wrecking the new machinery in the light of day they endeavour to spike it by insisting

that British gum is the best of all British lubricants

and endorsing every other impossible obstacle in the way of its acme fruition!

'No one who has not been *behind the scenes* is able to form the ghost of an idea how far this kind of thing is carried.

'The most antediluvian unexpected rules are laid down with mediæval precision in regard to the minutest details of Economic Life, and hundreds of thousands of spies and Spanish Inquisitions see them carried into effect.

(Myself have been an eaves-dropper behind the curtain and can speak with some degree of knowledge.)

The Chairman.—Will you be seated! You have been invited here to-night, Mr. ———, to answer certain charges which have been made against you.

The first charge is that you go to your work in the morning half-an-hour before the time. Are you paid double time for that?

Accused.—No, Sir. I go in 15 minutes earlier except on Saturday and I am paid time and a half.

Chairman.—Well, in future, *you will see that you are paid double time.*

The second charge against you is that you shifted the position of the ——— machine to suit your own convenience. Is that the case or not?

Accused.—Am I to understand that this question is from you or on behalf of the Committee?

Chairman.—The Committee, certainly.

Accused.—Well, the question is a very silly one whoever puts it. But I will answer you notwithstanding. No, Sir. I deny the charge emphatically. I never shifted the ——— machine which is under my charge to suit my private purpose.

Chairman.—The next charge against you is that you were seen carrying A, B, C, to the X, Y, Z. Is that the case?

Accused.—Yes. I have carried one or two occasionally, but I have never made a habit of it.

Chairman.—Why carry them at all?

Accused.—Well, on the occasion on which I was reported it was just before the dinner hour, the job was in a hurry * * * and, in a word, I dont think I did anything detrimental to my position as a machine man.

A Member.—Is the X, Y, Z, near your machine?

Accused.—Immediately behind it.

A Member.—How many boys have you?

Accused.—Two.

Chairman.—You ought to have three.

Accused.—Mr. —— — is of opinion that two are quite sufficient.

A Member.—While you may be able to carry these things at times, other men whose machines are further away might not be able, and I think when they get three boys in other shops you should see that you get three also.

Another Member.—This is just the thin edge of the wedge. When it gets known that they work the X, Y, Z, in ——— with two boys then we will have to do it too. I think our friend should see that they get three boys after this.

Chairman.—That is just it. And I hope that Mr. ——— will see to it that he does not carry any A, B, C, any more.

Accused.—You have a new bye-law to that effect and I will be as careful to keep it as I have been with all other rules.

* * * *
* * * *

'Now, my dear Theoretical Arm-Chair Philosophic Lighthouse,

—That is not, (as you might be forgiven for thinking it,) a comic episode out of some mediæval romance. Much less a cock and bull fiction out of my own head. But *an absolutely authentic* chapter out of the ordinary every day butter and bread existence of the ordinary Trade Unionist British Working Man !

'It is, of course, easy to laugh at these apparently childish dog-in-the-manger cantrips of the B.W.M. : easy to be angry,—which is the chronic (much-to-be-sympathised-with) attitude of the ordinary British Master : and still more infinitely easy to be scornfully contemptuous, —which is the passing patronising attitude of ninety-nine out of every hundred of those who never have to strip their coat for their daily toil. But he is a very shallow-pated citizen who does not see that the British Working Man is perfectly right.

To him Work is the Means of Living,

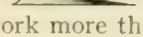
and his anxiety is the very healthy human one of distributing that Means of Living as widely as possible.

'This is the skeleton key to all his Chinese elaboration of rules and regulations and agitations in regard to

Overtime rates,
The abolition of overtime,
The objection to female labour,

The limitation of apprentices,
The limitation of output,
The objection to pay for spoiled work.

"**Should it be known that any member has paid or has agreed to "pay for so-called damaged work he shall be fined the sum of £1.**"



The objection to work more than one machine,
The objection to piece-work,
The objection to the acceptance of a premium or bonus,
The perennial recurring demand for reduction of hours,
The eight hours movement,
Etc., Etc.

'*And this is so whatever some working men leaders may say or pretend to think to the contrary!*

'Also that the British Working Man is not unconscious of the inner psychological 'What's why' of the whole modern industrial situation (as it lumbers for the present blindly forward pending the arrival of a statesman) the following semi-private document I think will make clear :—

"LONDON, ———

"To the Association of Master ———,

"Gentlemen,

"As representing 2,250 members of the above "society I desire respectfully on behalf of my committee "to approach you to seek revision of the existing agree- "ment between ourselves as an Association and the Master "——— of London and districts concerned. As you are "well aware the existing agreement was drawn up and "ratified in 1801 **and to those conversant with the trade it is "clear that persistent evolution has taken place in regard to "our own branch of the industry.**

"**When we last approached you we had occasion to "speak of the vast change in machinery so much so that "the machinery of 1891 was of an entirely different class to "that upon which the previous agreement as to wages was "based.**

" We find now that machinery of many kinds and speed " have been placed on the market: in fact the whole sub- " stance of our particular work has undergone a remarkable " change since 1891, productive of greater claims, risks and " responsibility.

" I therefore beg respectfully to submit this memorial " dealing with the following:—

" 1. Reduction of Hours,
" 2. Re-adjustment of Overtime Rates,
" 3. Limitation of Overtime,
" 4. Abolition of the present jobbing system,
" 5. Classification of Machines, and
" 6. Apprentices."

———o———

'Well, but now, and that is the point to which I am leading, notwithstanding all this sleepless vigilance on the part of the Trade Unions and all these petty eternal rules and vexations, the problem with which they try to grapple eternally overmasters them. Standing armies of Unemployed have to be maintained all the year round even in the Trade Unions themselves. While it is within the power of no man to reckon up the hungry legions of Unemployed who dwell outwith the tents of Trade Unionism.

'All that we know for certain is that the canker festers along every level of human activity and affects all classes.

"The want of employment is probably (a London correspondent believes) as great among **clerks** as in any other class of the community. The number of clerks out of work in London just now is very large, and the prospect of any improvement is much less than among labourers or mechanics. **Recently an advertisement was inserted in a London paper for a clerk at a moderate salary, and over 2,500 applications for the position were received.**"

"Quietly but energetically they are working away at the new Liberal Daily Paper, "The Tribune." **As indicating how overcrowded is the newspaper calling, it may be mentioned that the organisers of the venture have been approached by over a thousand newspaper men in quest of jobs.**"

"**March of the Upper Unemployed to the East End** is a headline which may be expected soon to figure in the newspapers. Our great schools train boys for the army and the civil service but competition now continually confers the appointments upon men who have studied elsewhere. **The West End therefore is full of men who are without employment and are unable to earn their livelihood.**"

"How very urgent the whole immediate anxious situation is becoming may be startlingly realised from the fact that one of the canniest most conservative organs in the world has been able to break in a crimson Leader out the other day into this revolutionary remonstrance:

The Glasgow Herald, Leading Article.

"While men and women are actually threatened with starvation no man dares frown on these municipal efforts. But statesmen ought to ask whither they are tending. The crisis will be tided over or muddled through.

"**Our statesmen should be concentrating on the fact that there are always unemployed.**

"**In every town there are always men who would work and cannot get the chance. The problem of unemployment is perennial: at present we are groping after a method which may solve it roughly at times when the percentage of out-of-works rises above a certain figure, but which is apparently not intended to touch it when the ratio is what we heartlessly call the normal.**"

"Now, (at last,) my dear Abstract Arm-chair Theoretical Enthusiast, the point, I think, is bare, to which my lance has been couched to come home.

"That is to say: When I listen to the glib recitation of the virtue of your invaluable Theory and set the recitation — even if I believed in it) —over-against the hard and hungry facts of every-day life all the guts somehow seem to empty out of the application, and I feel as disturbingly impressed as if I were listening to the gibberings of

some paralytic baboon. Nobody, man, doubts any more the virtue of plain water. That is a virtue that will compare any ordinary day, (even in your own estimation,) with the virtue of Free Trade. By which I mean to say, that if thirsting people are penned in a pit and you give them water in moderation they will bless you, and perhaps even God: but if swept away into excelsis by the abstract passion of your aqueous enthusiasm you turn upon them the race of a mill dam—even the teetotallers among them will unanimously shout: 'For Heaven's sake, chuck it!' And so, in much the same manner, when you suggest to me (even, as I say, if I believed you) that fifty men in Germany will do in Woollens what fifty and a half men do here, *and I have a thousand men crying and dying*—and sometimes even weeping to be allowed to do that 'half man's work.' I feel disposed to join in the teetotal chorus—'For Heaven's sake, chuck it!'—

———o———

'However, I have much too much respect for my own philosophy of human economy, and am too nearly acquainted with the exiguity of yours, to lay an unusual stress upon this aspect of my case. I will, therefore, take you up rather at your own valuation.

'Your idea and affirmation, then, is—That by permitting Industry to have its own unfettered Free Trade swing you do thereby achieve in the most scientific easiest possible way the highest National and International economy.

'But the driving power behind the throne of Free Trade is

Competition!

And Industrial Competition, both National and International, Is Industrial Waste!

'And consequently your scientific affirmation amounts to saying:

'That one Brick,—one Bicycle,—one ton of Steel,—one yard of Woollens being required, the most economic way of meeting that requirement is to construct two: or one and a half: or one and a quarter: or one and a tenth: *as the indeterminate may determine!* Nor do I know—(to the best of the most impartial judgment at my command,) that there is any way round the corner of this dilemma for any one of your convinced opinion.

Here, *e.g.*, in England are, making competitive skittles, a number of firms, and in Germany are many more. (And, by supposition, England and Germany are the world.)

In each of these countries these skittle firms are making more skittles than anybody in either of them wants.

Result, Indeterminate Wholesale Poly-National Waste!

Germany now begins to make still more, and floods England with her product.

Result, Indeterminate still more National and International Waste!

If this condition becomes chronic *which is the Doctrinaire's undoubted (scientific) ideal*: what is the then beautiful scientific result?

The then beautiful scientific result is:

—An unending Criminal Eternity of Cosmopolitan Waste!

If, on the other hand, Germany bursts up the English Firms, which is Germany's ideal, and they go under: why, then, again!—

!—Result,—Indeterminate still more National and International Waste!

The only left supposition now, therefore, is: That Germany supplies all England for good with all her skittles.

But, in that case, Germany being immune now from English competition, Free Trade, for her at least,—is already non-existent.

And if, therefore, Germany supplies England with future skittles at a reasonable figure—that reasonability must be due to the competition of German Firms, one with another, for the English market. That is to say,—

To a Perpetuity once more of Wholesale National Waste!

But Germany being absolutely screened from all foreign competition, internal competition, according to Free Trade ideas, cannot any longer exist. All the immediate skittle interests, therefore, having pooled their petty jealousies there of necessity must a vast German Trust arise:

—Which will bestride like a vast Vampire industrious England and bleed her white!

But if now England for the purpose of self-defence begins to erect fresh skittle works—? What then?

Ah then, we are back once more at the Beginning of Genesis: —to start delightfully all over again

A Fresh Cycle of National and International Waste!'

* * * *

(As delightful as ever!)- The imperturbable Doctrinaire has no reply.

Why?

Because the fool, and the fool's philosophy to which he subscribes, *has never even considered the point!*

LIX.

I pass along now to

THE GREAT MUTILATION OR AGONY ARGUMENT!

!—The dreadful Horrendum at the palpitating heart of which is:

That if we recklessly (really) *dare* to shut out these Foreign competitive Goods,—at once with the umbraged Foreigner an inglorious war of Tariffs is certain to ensue in which irredeemable millions will be incalculably lost— ! ! !

There is not any doubt at all, confess these lugubers, (and never was,) that Foreign Tariffs *do injure* our Industries. But if other nations are so foolish as to inflict upon us injury by refusing to take our beautiful goods, why should we be such indescribable idiots as to 'self-inflict on our beloved selves' another palpable injury —(cut off our intact nose in order to spite our already mutilated face!)—by refusing to take theirs?

———o———

Well, I acknowledge to you frankly, friends, that I am on earth the last man made by God who should attempt to reply to an abortion like this of an argument.—And that because of two reasons,—or rather because of one which is two-fold:

In the first place, I utterly disbelieve in the sincerity of four fifths of those who use it. And as for the remaining fifth—who, I am charitably willing (with an effort) *to assume*, may be sincere, I recognise that the depth of their sincerity must spring from a

depth of imbecility which renders the idea of getting into contact with that which (by another trespass upon charity) might be termed their mind, by any process known of human speech, as ludicrous to me as would the idea be of setting up an argument on evolution with a cow or a cabbage or a cockle.

The Foreign Nations, forsooth, who injure us by their tariffs

DO ALSO INJURE THEMSELVES!

How beautiful that these people should know all this with that super-uper human omniscience which belongs on earth, as far as I know, alone to convinced Free Tradeism: **When not a solitary single sympathised-with one of these suffering Nations either knows or feels the fact!** On the contrary they seem to be enjoying so well their suffering and thriving so on it magnificently that the fools apparently have made up their steadfast minds to go on thoroughly suffering in the same way till the crack of doom.—Their sole anxiety, at present, being, as far as I can make out, lest England should also take it into her head

To begin Suffering in a Similar Way!

And no doubt:—When you are enjoying in another man's garden the fruit of his apple trees and the owner appears and kicks you out—I say there is no doubt about the serious injury, and it is possible even to sympathise with it, which the foolish proprietor has at the same time inflicted upon himself—and his excited toe-cap.

The proprietor even himself would be the last to deny it! And yet as he locks on your behind the garden gate I think he is more than ever likely to count his (self-inflicted) injuries

A really profitable investment!

What a spectacle!—How many a poor Tariff Reformer would pawn his last chance of Heaven to enjoy it!—If one of these days some benevolent Deity—having arrived at the considerate conclusion no longer to allow the stupid German

To perpetrate this cruel injury upon himself

should forthwith remove the sluice gates which prevent his market being flooded with foreign goods!—(among them our own beautiful British!)

* * * *

!—I say! ! !—How!—How the good grateful Germans would sit smoking down and—and love and worship and sing psalms to that divine Benevolence! ! !

* * * *

My Rt. Hon. Friends are continually referring with a shudder to this historical Tariff war and that.

They seem never to understand that a Perpetual Universal Tariff War as between Tariff countries is perpetually going forward.

America, e.g., is at present warring to the knife with the wide all world, and appears to be very happy and content in the waging of her eternal conflict.

In 1890 upon herself she perpetrated the appalling injury known to history as the M'Kinley Tariff—which was necessarily a declaration of War against all the World, and after suffering stupendously for seven years she, instead of suing for peace with the antagonised world, **calmly and deliberately committed a further still more appalling mutilation of herself** by passing the Dingley Tariff, and as far as any ordinary two-eyed human being can judge she seems to be carrying onward the heavy horror of her accumulating calamities (lightly as a flower) and to be (under them) forging ahead

Like a green bay tree.

Germany, too, is in the same unhappy hole. Every suffering moment of her waking life she is blackened and blued and blooded over with the hammer and tongs of a World Tariff-conflict by the side of which Armageddon is going to be mere —child's play. And in consequence of the heavy commercial losses which she sustains per this universal war she is overtaking us industrially hand over hand,—and preparing a great fleet for our final transportation to a warmer world.

(One would imagine that these incontrovertible appalling facts) would make at least some little impression on the hide of the convinced Free Trader. But (alas!—alas!) the man who thinks so doesn't know—its thickness.

Only consider for a moment, please, the divine innocence that underlies their subtle idea.

Foreign nations do injure us by rejecting our Goods.

But we must on no account, therefor, by a tariff discriminate against *their's* because that also would injure ourselves.

Here is, you see, the whole argumentative position not merely begged but coolly and calmly annexed without any begging about it!

☞ Because to block just by means of a tariff your competitive enemy's goods from coming into your home market is by the universal consent of the Tariff Nations

The superlative cream and gold redemption mine of the whole situation.

That, say they, (and they speak with some degree of knowledge and experience, is where the good and interest and profit and money of the whole transaction comes in.—The loss side of the ledger is struck when your neighbour does ditto.

And all this heavenly while,—our beloved Motherland,—because that is where the tragic humour arrives for us poor Reformers,—**(England the mutton-headed!)** submits with the gaping helplessness of a fresh-boiled mussel to all the incalculable loss that is going hourly forward and steadily stolidly refuses to open the profit side of the ledger!—even to the extent of spitting her refusal in the face of her entreating children!)—**We take all the hearty kicks and refuse the happy coppers!**

But they will tell us, and do tell us, that without any effort upon our part (or sacrifice!) we get what they call

The Most Favoured Nation Treatment!

—which is more, they seem to think, than the most exacting angel in its wildest economic dreams would have dared to wish for.

Well—but even in all cases do we?

I understand, e.g., that Portugal grants certain favours to other nations which are not given to us.†

† "For example, the Portuguese duty on British jute or linen cloth for packing is 210 reis per kilo.; on Dutch cloth of the same character the duty is only 180 reis. The duty on British sacks is 450 reis, on Dutch sacks 225 reis; on British cheese 300 reis, on Dutch cheese 200 reis; on British candles 120 reis, on Dutch candles 90 reis. These favours which Portugal concedes to Holland are enjoyed by Russia also, and in addition Russia enjoys certain further favours. Russian tar is admitted at 10 reis a ton, whereas British tar is charged 100 reis. Tea, mineral oils, timber, hides, and leather coming from Russia are all admitted into Portugal at lower rates than the same goods coming from the United Kingdom or from other countries."

Also I am made to believe that Germany receives certain little shipping advantages from the United States which are denied to us.

And certainly I have high enough authority for this:

> "Neither the United Kingdom nor British Posses-
> "sions, however, at present receive the benefit of the
> "reduced duties on certain articles conceded to France,
> "Portugal, Germany, and Italy under Reciprocal Com-
> "mercial arrangements concluded under Section 3 of the
> "United States Tariff Act."

And this:

> "Earl Percy, replying to Mr. Brigg, writes that the
> "United States and Britain do not interpret the most-
> "favoured-nation clause in the same way. **The United**
> **"States hold that a treaty right to most-favoured-nation**
> **"treatment does not entitle its possessor to participate in**
> **"special privileges granted to others in return for reciprocal**
> **"concessions."**

And if even in all cases we did!—What's much the good?

What are to me

The Lean Leavings

of the markets of France and the United States *after the French and the Yankees are done with them?*

What is the profit to me over any nation in the world by the most favoured treatment in the market of France in respect of Raw Cotton which I dont grow, or in the market of the U.S. in respect of Wine which I dont produce?

What I really want, first and foremost, is—

The Most Favoured Nation Treatment in my own market!

—which you are never done telling me is worth about five times the combined foreign: and, after that, favour for favour in the markets of others—in respect of the things which I really can produce.

But even if indeed it be all that you say and we get this wonderful favour *from such very dear friends, without any effort, (and without any asking,)* how much more mightn't we get *with a little judicious coaxing?*

The painfully humble resignation of these international Uriah Heeps and economic Quakers fills me at all seasons of the year with the sense of the super-divine. They seem to have so meekly made up their lowly minds that once a Dingley or a M'Kinley Tariff has been made into law the whole transaction is over and done with.

(We are injured of course.) (That is, alas, our unhappy misfortune!) But that's the clear end of it. And, as the years pass on and over, the injury is forgotten and they even begin to think of it as you and I can't help thinking—of Cressy and Hastings and battles long ago. Until in the end distinguished Christian-minded Critics are able to write in the Leading Columns of the Glasgow Herald: Pious little tags like this:

> "*We have not condescended to hate* the Americans on "account of the M'Kinley and Dingley tariffs, *which hurt* "*some of our industries at the time very much.*"

These folk never seem to realise that the Dingley and all other Foreign Tariffs constitute an actual living weekly daily hourly succession of vital injuries to our Industrial Life and Prosperity.

It isn't quite just a case of being once struck and nursing to normal again your black eye. A constant battery of economic negation is perpetually raining and ringing down upon the hull of our heads and we aren't to lift our little finger in retaliative self-defence.

Burglars are busy in our dining room smashing our furniture and abstracting our plate and we aren't to cheep, *because they might resent our interference* and injure our furniture worse, and because in any case we could not possibly obtain relief unless by inflicting upon ourselves the fresh patent sacrifice and outrage—of going downstairs to attack them, or crying aloud from the window to alarm them.

It does not ever appear to have dawned upon these long-suffering logicians that by our very actual Passivity we invite the tattoo of these Tariff blows.

If I am tramping on another man's corns and *he* doesn't complain, why should I? It suits my interest, my convenience, my feelings. And amn't I really, moreover, a providential god-

send to the man?—increasing the Spartan flavour of his moral rectitude by giving him occasion to endure without blaspheming and re-turn, (if he so desires,) to the smiter his unoffending cheek!

If you are buying a fool's horse—or, which is much the same thing,

The Freedom of the British Market,

and the fool is content with a cypher (when he might have demanded a ransom) why should *you* complain? Why give the fellow more than he asks? The British fool's idea is that you are actually conferring a favour upon him, the fool, by accepting the favour which he the fool gives you.

Indeed I am never quite sure but that the Free Trade British Ass goes further.

I'm not quite certain but that he,—did you but speak him fair, would be even disposed to pay you handsomely, (in cash,) *for your kindness in kicking him.* Everything, you see, so works out for good to those of the Faith Divine! *Your supposed adverse* Tariff, e.g., *in the temporary rebuff* which it administers is merely an economic angel in disguise,—energising the industrial invention and commercial enterprise of the beloved lucky country whom it affects, and in the happy end deflecting capital and labour (which else had been beating wild straws against the unremunerative wind) into ever **and ever-more** seductive channels.

———o———

How very oddly outre comic, too! (as if it had dropped in a meteorite from Mars,)—that lovely in the Free Trade curious skull

Delightful other calm assumption!

—that if haply at any time *we do turn* in self-defence and try to ward off these foreign blows the nation against whom we turn, instead of hurting us less, will re-whet the keen edge of its Tariff and injure us more!

It does not ever seem to occur to its progressive infantile infatuation that the nation in question has already done and is doing (and means to do) to the best of its knowledge and conscience

Its level Dandie Dinmontest

against our Industrial and Commercial Interests.

Take any of these Protectionist countries, as a writer put it

mordantly the other day,—And suggest to them *any possible way* in which they might further injure our Trade to their own aggrandisement and tomorrow by day-dawn *they will have had the injury inflicted* without in the slightest way worrying about *you*.

!—What is *stone-obvious* to every other body in the world makes no appeal to the heavy obtuseness of the Free Trader. —namely, that Foreign Nations, and especially our great industrial rivals,

Are shaking in their very shoon

lest Great Britain change her commercial policy and demand her legitimate rights in the Comity of Commerce.

> "We do not like Mr. Chamberlain's proposition." (New York Press, Oct. 9, 1903.) "We do not like "it because it strikes at our foreign trade, since "Great Britain and the British possessions (Colonies "and Dependencies) are our greatest, our richest "and our best foreign customers, taking much more "than half of our total foreign sales.
>
> "But the man who does not see that Mr. "Chamberlain's proposition is for the benefit of "the British market, and the markets of British "possessions, is a fool.
>
> "He is a 'fool,' because it means to take away "from us and others a rich gift of trade and com- "merce, and to keep it for British subjects at home "or in British possessions."

When Germany, the other day, was on the eve of penalising Canada for that Colony's adverse discrimination against German Goods and when indeed (mounting her highest horse) she had actually begun to threaten the mother country!—

What was it arrested the mailed fist of the German Michael?—Why did the arrogant threat fade fast away into thin air like the baseless bubble of an unsubstantial vision?

Abject Fear—(just no less!)—lest its implementation would feed the flames in England of Mr. Chamberlain's agitation,—the success of which would have been as the (risen) knell to your Germanic Industrial Competition.

———o———

But granting—granting that the Feeble Knees (which is my politest way of saying—Feeble Heads) have some really little *genuine* doubt of the world-obvious, can they not muster up by arduous striving courage enough for a simple *single* experiment? 'Tisn't very much (this) surely to concede to the logic of the great big outside world's common sense.

I say,—Why not take some country and try?

There is no occasion really, you know, to attack the slumbering universal forest *all at once*. But one might try surely what a grump might do in the way of frightening a bat!

Why not select some country,—some insignificant chit of a little land like Holland or Belgium, e.g.: or with larger courage,—Russia, if you like, or even Germany: and for once in a lifetime retaliate!—and with a penny pocket diary in your trembling hand and a ha'penny watch,—hour by hour, note the astounding Result!

(And thereafter,)—repentant resile!—

Or with the (mighty courage and daring) inspired by the issue

* * * * ! ! ! !

LX.

I now come (by myriads of miles away) to the **really most popular powerful Stand-by** in the whole repertory of the Free Trader's defence,—the mighty Ass's jawbone, to wit, with the which he mows down the cheering innocents by the enthusiastic thousands,—

I mean

THE GREAT BAWBEE-SCOTCH OR CONSUMERS' ARGUMENT.

That argument runs out in general in this way:

Under a system of Protection every article, or nearly every article, becomes enhanced in price:

That is very nice for the Producer!

But we are not all Producers:
Therefore we cannot all hope to become Millionaires!
But decidedly we are all Consumers, even down to our cats and canaries:
Therefore, under Protection, Everybody, without the least exception, must suffer.

But relative to their means of Production the Poor are the Greatest Consumers:

☞ —Vide the Duke of Devonshire at the Guildhall, 8.2.04:

"Every one of us, and every class from the highest "to the lowest, is a consumer,—(Hear, hear,)—and in "proportion to their means the working classes are the "greatest consumers of all. (Hear, hear.)"

(And relative to their Powers of Consumption the Rich are the Greatest Producers:)
Therefore, under any system of Protection,
The Poor are bound to become Poorer,
And the Rich Richer!

It may be quite true,—and I believe that it is, that the convinced Free Trader doesn't always set forth his argument

With the assistance of such lucent logic!

—But in essence and effect that logic is present in every Free Trade harangue,—and certainly (I think you will bear me out when I say)

THE ETERNAL REFRAIN IS ABSENT FROM NONE:—

That, under Protection,—'The Poor must become Poorer

'And the Rich Richer!'

But—Now before I touch with the solvent detail of a little common-sense this great argument I can foresee that it will contribute not a little to your understanding (and much, at least, to my polemical ease) if you will permit me to digress for a moment out of strict logical sequence in order to establish beforehand

THREE PRELIMINARY PROPOSITIONS!

The First of these being:

That a Nation in imposing a Tariff upon Foreign Imports stands (as a Nation) to lose Nothing!

And the Second:

That a Nation in imposing a Tariff upon Foreign Imports stands, on the contrary, decidedly to gain!

—(Or, in so many other familiar words,) because that is really what the colloquialism comes to:

A Nation on the eve, may repeat, of taxing Foreign Imports, to itself with philosophical equanimity,—

Heads I win!
Tails I cannot lose!

My Third Proposition is one whose delicate proportions have completely so far eluded the most exalted Free Trade debating apprehension and even seem, if I am right in my judgment, in a measure to transcend it.

It is this:

That a Nation like Great Britain in substituting so-called Protection for so-called Free Trade, so far from exposing itself to some rash experiment with some wild Red Indian principle which is alien to its present daily life and of which the consequences, therefore, in its specific instance cannot be foretold, is on the contrary merely extending and developing and completing a principle which is here and now in active operation,—on indeed which, two-thirds, three-fourths, four-fifths, nine-tenths, or whatever the case may be, of its actual existing political economy is already solidly based and built, and the characters, characteristics, accordingly, and consequences of which (in all their ramifications) are as open to critical inspection as the British air which we breathe,—can be seen, e.g., in every shop window in Buchanan Street, felt and smelt across every counter in Argyle Street, and run over at every street crossing in the United Kingdom.

———o———

But—you will, of course, keep easily in mind that these are not just select Propositions out of one or other of the Books of Euclid,—Are indeed not intended to be any broader than the commentaries to which they have been fore-erected merely to function as Rhetorical Pegs! But, (that all notwithstanding,) what I am anxious to say to you Free Traders in a friendly way is, that if you will only take (for once in a lifetime) the time and trouble

to master and fix in your craniums for good what they do actually mean:—Then!—Well, I wont just say that your present attitude towards Fiscal Reform (perhaps) will suffer a sea-change, but at least I do make hope that you will feel under some compulsion (of common decency) at least so far to alter *your attitude of debate* as to provide, perhaps, less justification for that exasperated compassion (which-everybody-feels-for-a-lunatic—which we poor Protectionists,—night in and day out, feel **for all that you are saying and have hitherto said upon this subject.**

In the

FIRST

place, then,—**I take up the Proposition that in imposing a Tariff upon Foreign Goods a Nation as a Nation stands to lose nothing.**

Consider in this association—**The Income Tax!**

How is it, please, that we all, and more especially my Radical Friends, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer overnight has imposed an extra penny on the Income Tax,—how is it that we take in all so philosophically the morning newspapers?

Merely in this way.

—Because we all of us recognise that the Income Tax imposition is one of Internal Principle and Pure Policy.

Even my Labour Friends will admit that the tax is not a very pleasant one for those who pay it, and that after these have finished paying it they are none the richer.

But then everybody recognises that the tax was never intended to be pleasant, and that it was never in any way designed to make people richer.

Well, but all that being so, if at this juncture, now, some Fourteen Hundred Thousand Learned Professorial Economists came marching along and (without in any way being asked to) gravely manifested before the country that the Income Tax is (and must be) economically injurious:—

Why?

Because it diminished the spending capacity of the

'Consumer.' And, therefore, diminished in the country employment!—

Well, in that case, what I say is: That even the most convinced Free Trader would recognise that there was some degree of hanky panky in the argument and a very large amount of unusual sawdust somewhere:—

(In other words)—that my true First Proposition held. Namely:—That Great Britain, by the imposition of an Income Tax, (however it might be with that section of Great Britain which paid it,) stood as a Nation to lose nothing!

Take—Tea!

But a Tax upon Tea, as everyone may recognise, is just another—(albeit an extended) form of Income Tax.

It touches a great many more pockets than does the ordinary Tax upon Incomes but it is not just universal. It affects only those who imbibe Tea, and passes on the way to Jericho by—those who prefer coffee or milk or brewed ginger: and it affects, of course, the income most—of those who consume most Tea.

It differs also in the mode of its collection. The Government derives it directly from the Tea Importers, and the Public pays it by little instalments daily across the counter of the Grocer who passes up the tax to the Wholesale Grocer who in turn reimburses the Tea Importer.

In this respect, therefore,—That being paid under cover of a Grocer's charge it is not recognised at the time being as a tax at all, the Tea Tax stands out in formal distinction in the schools to the directness of the Income Tax which is recognised and resented as such by all who pay it: But in this fundamental respect the two taxes quite agree: namely,—That all that the assessees pay of both—leaving out of consideration the official cost of Collection, arrives ultimately into the pocket of the Public Exchequer.

—It may be not quite!) It may be that the Tea Importer and the Wholesale Grocer and the Retail Grocer burden the public with a supplementary tax in respect of profit upon the extra capital turn-over which the tax involves. But this possibility apart the two taxes bear the resemblance referred to.

Consider now, by way of further adjuvation,—**Alcohol!**

Alcohol differs from tea as a tariff subject in this respect, That whereas Tea arrives wholly from abroad Alcohol arrives only in part from abroad,—being produced in greatest measure at home.

Consequently, if a mere Customs Duty were levied upon Alcohol, exactly as in the case of Tea, all the internally-produced Alcohol would escape taxation and the popular object of the Exchequer which is to raise revenue on the spiritual consumption of the people would be for the most part defeated.

But the Exchequer gets round the odd corner of this simple difficulty by supplementing the Customs Duty by what they call an Excise Tax, i.e. to say, by a tariff levied upon the home-produced article: with for its result this, That all who use Alcohol of any kind in the Kingdom contribute to the Public Weal.

Up to so far, now, I think that everything is quite clear.

These that I have given you are actual existing Three Imperial Typical Taxes. But notwithstanding that each is a tax upon the British Consumer everybody is agreed in regard to each,—That, however it may be with the people who pay these taxes, Great Britain, by their imposition,—as Great Britain, loses nothing!

I give you now by way of a revolutionary change

A Real Protective Tax!

Annually we import into this country in considerable quantity **Agricultural Instruments.**

Suppose, now, that some Chancellor of the British Exchequer took it into his bucolic head to levy an impost of ten per cent. upon these Imports,—what is it then that exactly would happen?

But, One Moment! please! In order to prevent the slightest possibility of misunderstanding allow me to adopt, sans phrase, the theory and language of the most block-headed of FreeTraders!

What in that case then will happen will be this:

The British Public Exchequer will be richer by ten per cent.

of the value of the imported agricultural machinery and by this even amount the pockets will be poorer of the swindled Farmers:—just as when they or their wives purchased from the Grocer Tea they paid also in the act of purchase to the British Government the British Government's impost upon Tea.

But betwixt the two suppositions there is this Atlantic depth of difference. Agricultural Instruments are articles which we manufacture in this country, and behind the ten per cent. Government Tariff, therefore, the British Agricultural Instrument Manufacturers will raise in harmonic simultaneous co-correspondence their prices, so that the unhappy also farmers who purchase these home-produced implements will have to pay this unauthorised Excise, and grin to the British (happy) Manufacturers.

Well but suppose, now, that all this has indeed happened,—the point of the question which I again put to you is:

What will the National Result be Nett?

Answer:

The Nett-All National Result will be this:

That whereas in the case of the Income, Tea, and Alcohol Taxes the pockets of certain broad sections of the community were depleted in order to increase the income of the State,

—In the case of the Protectionist Imposture the pockets of a particular section of the community were bled in order to do two things:

(1) To increase the general Customs Receipts of the British Exchequer,

And (2) To line the special pockets of the British Agricultural Instrument Manufacturers.

But even if indeed that all be truly, as I say, so:

What then?

———o———

My contention, you see, holds still,—
Gt. Britain, qua Gt. Britain, has lost nil!

———o———

I give you another but a broader Protective Tax. Namely,—**Wheat!**

And the query which I put to you again in the case of it is:

What will the result be if a tax, say, of 2 - a quarter is levied upon all that is imported?

Well, in this case, as a result, the Exchequer will receive a large sum of money from the Wheat Importers, who in turn will refer the imposition to the Miller,—who in turn will transmit it to the Baker, who in swift turn will convey it to the Bread, which in final confiscation—will extract it from the pocket of the purchaser.

But we produce also wheat at home.

And therefore behind the shelter of the Protective imposition every Farmer in the kingdom will raise by 2 - in the quarter the price of his wheat: which 2 - will go in the first place into his private pocket.

But the probability is a very strong certainty, that this 2 - will not remain long in the Farmer's pocket: because the Landlord quick to recognise the unexpected grist which has come to the Farmer's mill will at the earliest opportunity raise the Farmer's rent and in the end nobble it.

But even all this up to the supreme hilt of the most convinced Free Trade voracity having been humbly and duly granted,—to the end with perfect truth none the less, you see, my Proposition holds!— Namely:

'That the Country, (as a Kingdom,) has lost nothing!'

Sums—considerable—certain of money which might in the needful pockets of the general community have remained fruitfully otherwise, including in this case the very poor, have found their way,

(1) In part into the British Public Exchequer:

(2) But in part also into the pockets of the British Farmers and thence into the pockets of the British Landlords.

That is to say,— as one would say in the Science to which I belong,)

There has been a Redistribution of Matter:

In this case the matter of wealth.

But the Total Matter remains the same:
And remains in England!

I pass along now to

PROPOSITION No. 2:

Namely,—**That a Nation in imposing a Protective Tax stands in reality to gain.**

But alas! And alas! The consideration of this brings me (tired and wearied and worn as I am,)—slap into the roar and rattle of that extraordinary disputation which has deafened the darkened Heavens so long with the weary interminable dust of its infantile-monkey irrational clatter,—I mean as to the incidence of a Protective Tax.

Pro-di-gi-ous!

Heavens! when one thinks of it! What a smashing and clashing of empty argumentative horns! What a Bellowing of Bulls and Fools of Bashan! What Frenzied Lashing of Free Trade Tails and Furious Thunder of Thickheads!

Most, I say, extraordinary!—

I am so certain, e.g., that any ordinary barn-yard rooster would and could decide the point for you in a pair of seconds if only you could and would adjust the problem down to it in fowl enough language.

For what is it really!—all the wind and fury been about?

Here, see, is Hamburg, and there, over there, is New York!

And on Goods passing from England into these ports a tariff is levied.

World-bursting tremendous conundrum!—Who pays the Tariff? Not me! roars the Island Thunder of the Thickheads. —The German Ass pays the duty,—and the *Yankee* Fool!

(Well, my dear Sir,—may-be!) Personally, in fact, I have little doubt. But let us not jump pell-mell into flying conclusions like a bounding grasshopper.

—But draw up, rather, to the subject gravely with ratiocination!

Well: I should say,—That looking for the first time into this odd conundrum the first thing that ought to strike the most unobservant observer, for certain, is: That when a Tax is

imposed upon Goods at a Foreign Port of Entry.—The duty that is imposed is quite definite.

It may be half a dozen marks on this or a dozen dollars upon that, but the marks and the dollars and the fractions thereof are perfectly understood. They can for your religious inspection be—and *are* set down in scientific black and white.

Also they have in hard cash to be paid.

Also, moreover, in cash they are hard paid: quite without doubt, and a due receipt, stamped and signed, to the payer is returned in the lieu thereof.

Clearly, therefore, from the forthwith moment that that cash duty has been paid, these duty dollars (and these duty marks) become an indefeasible factor—patent and detachable—in the, so to say, article's cost of production—or, if you like to put it so, in the production of its cost, and whoever in the importing country purchases ultimately for consumption that article *he and no other* for the said import duty has to foot the ultimate bill.

Now but all that having been taken for said,—the heart-rending inquiry remains still:—Whence all the fury of these frenzied tails!!! Because—All this already, you know, is since the last thousand years ago by Protectionists—been given away gratis for granted!

There *is* no doubt, *and never was* any at all, that, under these terms and specifications, the consuming Importer pays the Protection Tariff.

If, therefore, that is briefly your contention the disputation is with perfect concord concluded. We are agreed! But if, in brief, that *is* your contention, it means, briefly and simply, that you haven't in the world even begun, friend, to *comprehend* what you are cackling about.

Let's—Let's scrape deeper!

Listen! Here are you,—being a British Manufacturer! in the habit for many years of exporting your wares to Germany: and between yourself and the door-mat—although it would barely have occurred to you to mention it,—you have had a lively good time. All last year, no less, you had a profit of £15

nett on the value of every £100 transmitted to Hamburg, and, with you, the British Shipper has been thriving on a paying freight.

But sour one day the stupid German Government claps on a scientific tariff, so that the exported goods by you which used to sell in Germany at £103 (freight included) now cost in Germany (with the German duty included) £113! And, in the meantime, happy behind the tariff, your German Rivals (who couldn't undersell you before) are offering your identical goods in the German Market at £108.

Clearly—(I mean, of course, goods of identical quality!)—Clearly, I say, the German customer who gave for your goods formerly £103 rather than £108 for the home-manufactured article, this same man is not going to pay for your Goods now £113 when he can get equally fine Goods for £108. Therefore, as I say, the onus agendi rests with you. —But, in that case, what are you going to do?

Well, I think there is not the least doubt as to what you will do,—being the wise man that I take you to be. Two alternatives shine decisive in front of you.

First,—To dismiss a portion of your workmen, derelict part of your works, and throw the general oncost of management, etc., on to a diminishing output,—while perhaps you seek around for a fresh market.

Or (2)—Cut your export profits and retain the German Market.

Being a Free Trader (and therefore, as I say, a wise one!) you elect to buy your alternative in the cheapest market. That is to say, (without any more to-do) you cut your price, so that (Freight and Duty included) your Goods can sell forthwith in the Fatherland at £107 10/-.

But, *now*,—in that case, Friend!—**Who pays the German Duty?**

Technically, you see, the German Consumer, still.

!—God bless my good looks, man! have no doubt about that. *Here*, see, is the German's receipt for it in official black and white. There, in gross, is the sum that he paid for the Goods and visible therein, and detachable therefrom, like a fly in amber is the actual

£10 that was paid to the German Government by way of German Duty.

Curious,—isn't it?

But notwithstanding the irrefragable fact that the German Consumer paid the German Duty—(swears that he paid it! *(and can prove that he paid it!)*) you to the same have made a contribution of no less than £5 10/-!

That is to say, you, a British Manufacturer, have been bled—fleeced—jockeyed by the German Government, and forced

As a Loyal and Patriotic British Citizen

to contribute that amount to the creation of the German Emperor's fleet!

By another turn of the Tariff screw the German Government can bleed you a little whiter. By still another turn they can force you to bleed the Shipping Agency in turn by compelling you to appeal for a reduction in freight.

By a penultimate turn they can force you to disgorge the whole of your trading profit and supply the Fatherland at cost price,—or even below it.

And by a final Dingley twist of the thumb-screw they can at last

Smother! and Coffin! and Bury you!

Well but now, Thickhead, even if you have followed me so far, (and I dont suppose that *willingly* you are a bit the wiser.) —but in any case one great point has been gained for all future discussion.—You cannot pretend to misunderstand or afford to misinterpret our meaning any more! For just it is this, and nothing else, that we poor Protectionists humbly mean when we affirm that the Consumer does not at all times necessarily pay an Import Tariff:—Just only this—that Mr. Chamberlain implies when he desiderates that the Foreigner should be made to pay something for the privilege of selling in our market: And just only also this, and nothing else, that long ago the cute Yankees meant when they determined—'as a measure of distributive justice to force England and France to pay their share of the expenses of a rebellion (American Civil War) which they maliciously encouraged.'

But please, again, now!—**No mistake!**

Recollect that the Protectionist undertakes no cast-iron statement as to the Incidence of any Import Duty.

He recognises very well that only people with the profound economic wisdom of a Mr. Asquith, or a Secretary of the Cobden Club, or the Editor of the Spectator, can settle the whole subject in a sentence with truth and finality.

What we merely, as Protectionists, say is:

An Import Tariff may be paid wholly by the Importing Consumer.

An Import Tariff may also be, and very frequently is, paid in part, and also in whole, by the Foreign Exporter.

And then we adject this:

If the Import Duty is paid by the Internal Consumer it is paid to the Internal Consumer's own Government and therefore (among others) to the Internal Consumer's own self.

If it is paid in whole or in part by the Foreign Exporter then the Importing Country, in that case, has received a beautiful external contribution in delightful relief of its internal Taxation.

—It has in the betty language of my proposition stood to gain! (And got it.)

'But isn't all this like playing theoretical marbles on the floor of the Atlantic or shooting green peas at the falls of Niagara? Have you any living proof to give that an importing country does or can or may levy tribute from foreign countries in any such way?'

Reams!

Sir Michael! Please!—Someone calls!

(Midland Hall, Manchester, 5th November, 1903.)

"Take another case. You know that last year I imposed "a shilling duty on corn. Very well.

"**Part of that duty on grain and flour was paid by "some of the great Railway Companies in the United 'States who lowered their rates to a certain extent in**

"order to relieve the flour producers in the Western "States of America in order to place them on an equality "with the home producer here. (Hear, hear.)"

Mr. Brodrick!—If you please!

India Office.—Deputation from the Indian Tea Association.

"The increase of price to the consumer had apparently "been much more moderate than the duty. The speeches "to which they had listened had a most remarkable signifi- "cance. They had been told over and over again that any "increase of duty on a necessary of life must fall on the "consumer ultimately. **They had brought the best possible "evidence to prove that, to a large extent, if not a "greater extent, it had fallen on the producer.** (Hear, "hear.)

"That was a most serious and important addition to their "store of fiscal knowledge in regard to the question whether "an import tax would fall on the consumer or the producer."

Canada! Ahoy!

"One thing the new Preferential tariff is understood to "have done, it has cheapened the cost of British Goods to the "Canadian consumer, **and compelled American manufac- "turers to cut prices in the Canadian market below "their quotations in the United States.**"

America!

"Abundant evidence in contradiction of the theory is sup- "plied by the actual experience of enlarged tariffs in the "United States.

"A tax of 2 dols. a ton was put on Canadian hay. "It was, of course, found that at the frontier the price "was 2 dols. higher on the American side; but it was "proved that this had been caused by a fall in the "Canadian price, not by a rise in the American price. "It was proved that 'the duty of 5 cents per dozen "'imposed upon eggs was paid by the foreign producer, "'not by the consumer;' that 'the foreign producers had "'dropped the valuation on most farm products just

"'about the amount of the duty imposed by the M'Kinley "'Bill;' and that 'they had to take 30 per cent. less for "'their horses.'"

(Professor F. Y. Edgeworth, in the Economic Journal, Vol. IV., p. 45.)

Scotland!

"One instance, out of many which might be given, that this "statement is incorrect, will suffice. Every five or six years "the crop of potatoes in Scotland is greater than the require- "ments of the country for human consumption. As soon as "this is realised the value at once falls to 22/6 to 30 - per "ton, their value for cattle feeding. In most years when this "was the case, the value in the U.S. was from 60/- to 90/- per "ton. The duty latterly has been about 20 - per ton, although "some years ago it was much higher. Our farmers cannot, "however, take advantage of these prices, unless the value "here is less than 30/- per ton, or that on the other side is "over 60/- per ton, the difference being necessary to meet "duty, freight, insurance, commissions, etc. **Growers here "consequently pay that duty, or, at least, receive a sum, "equal to the duty, less for their produce than they "would do, if it did not exist.** If there were no duty our "growers would send a quantity almost every other year."

The Hartford Mills Co., Ltd., and The Gregson Lane Mill Co., Ltd., Gregson Lane, near Preston; (per Albert Simpson, Chairman); Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers.

"The duty of 5 per cent. levied upon English cotton "goods imported into India has, in fact, been paid by "the English manufacturer. Before these duties were "levied, we exported the bulk of our produce to India. "When the duties came into force, the writer wrote to "Lord George Hamilton that the duties would be disas- "trous to our firm. As a result, we have lost money "on our exports to India ever since, and have gradu- "ally been forced to abandon our trade with India."

Wm. Aykroyd & Sons, Ltd., Oakwood Dyeworks, Bradford, Yorks; Dyers of Cotton Goods.

"If we purchase any article for export it can always "be procured at about 15 per cent. less on account of "the tariff than the same article for home consumption, "showing that we pay at least 15 per cent. of their "tariff, and this, in some cases, goes up to about 50 "per cent."

Firm No. 10,128. Cotton and General Merchants.

"All our exports are to South Africa. The preferential tariff "of South Africa is not large enough to benefit us. A firm of "candle manufacturers in Belgium agreed, when the tariff "came into force, to allow us an extra discount to "equal the concession of duty on British stuff. Other "instances like this have occurred."

Bruce & Son, Brunswick Mills, South Wigston, near Leicester; Elastic Goods, Braids, Webs Merchants and Manufacturers.

"Twelve years ago, when France put up the duties "cent. per cent. and Belgium 50 per cent., we never got "a penny extra for this; it came out of our profits, "besides a lessened export trade."

Etc., Etc., Etc.

I go back again now to my illustration.

When I left you, the Foreign Tariff and the progress of the Foreign Manufacturer, working behind the Tariff, had in the end proved too many: and you had thrown up the sponge.

Well but, in that case, what now? By any means, you know, you are not a ruined man. Your works are extensive. The German is not the only foreign trade in the world, and your firm does a very large home trade as well. All and for all, in fact, you are a fairly wealthy man, indeed only the other day were projecting plans for extending your works, and even thought of starting a new venture. But this German Tariff has come along and hit you badly.

I say, under these circumstances, what then?

—**A happy idea!**

The great and growing trouble has been to get under (or over) the German Tariff. Why not go Right Wheel About!—turn the problem upside down,—cut your loss here as quickly as may be, carry your spare capital over to Germany, erect a works behind the Tariff Wall, and revenge yourself at first hand on the German market?

! ! !—Lives not such an Inspiration in the same street with Hesitation!—And so your surplus capital, which might have blossomed in a British colony, or further fructified upon the mother soil of England, is quietly diverted like a Father Christmas Gift to the Fatherland.

And the potent instrument that performed this unostentatious miracle was not the German Emperor: and not you:

But the Bramah squeeze merely of the Tariff,

which first of all fleeced you, and then bled you white—in respect of profits on the German Export Trade, and then sucked you and your best workmen and your best capital into the Fatherland to enhance its employment, multiply its population, and add a permanent valuable asset to its rateable wealth.

———o———

But now,—for one moment, please look back and consider!

———o———

Once upon a time you had admission into the German market (just as now all the world has admission into yours) without let or hindrance. You sent your Goods there (just as hundreds of thousands send their Goods here) got your money and—there you were! You paid for this privilege nothing, just as all the world pays at present do. for the privilege of sending their Goods into Great Britain.

But now what?

Now for the privilege of selling in the German Market (because the Tariff in the end, you know, was made *intentionally* prohibitive) you have had to plant down a golden security of 20,000 English pounds which has been expended upon the German labour which built your mill. Hundreds and thousands of pounds weekly in wages you have to disburse to German workmen

and German clerks and German travellers. Even the wages which you pay to your British foremen — the major portion of — these in their turn have to spend in Germany. In like manner all your general charges you have to leave in the Fatherland — repairs, insurance, etc., your personal travelling and hotel expenses when you are over inspecting, rates and taxes (including even as a final straw) the German Income Tax :—

And only the Balance that remains can you at last take back as Profit to England!

'Good! But isn't this another case of ploughing the Antarctic snows and turning graceful Dolphins in the Summer air? Have you any living proof to offer that an ingenious impecunious country by the device of a tariff may bleed a foreign competitor of its capital in any such way?'

I have already given you hundreds.

'No, Sir! You have already given me merely the suggestion of a few English Firms who own works in Foreign Countries. But were these, then, forced by the Foreign Tariffs to take their capital thither?'

Ah!—Give me time to consult my notes!—

* * * *

"Mr. J. B. Maple

"told us the other day that he had to open a workshop "in France, as it was impossible to carry on his busi- "ness with that country and pay an ad valorem duty "of something like 25 per cent.

"This result has been proved in France,

"which imposes a duty of 1·50 francs per kilo (about "7d. per lb.) on aniline dyes, in consequence of which "German and Swiss makers have erected large works in "that country, bringing work and wages to thousands."

"A Significant Incident.

"The Hon. Thomas Cochrane, M.P., speaking at a Unionist "demonstration at Broughty Ferry last night, mentioned that

"he received the following letter from the firm of Coats, of "Paisley:—'I am instructed by my board to say that it "'is a fact that the heavy import duties charged on "'our goods in protected countries have compelled us "'to establish a factory in a number of those countries, "'where we now produce large quantities of goods which "'would otherwise be manufactured in Great Britain.'"

"An Important and Significant Movement "has been made by Messrs. Thomas Firth & Sons, of the "Norfolk Works, Sheffield, who are amalgamated with the "firm of Messrs. John Brown & Co., of Sheffield and Clyde-"bank. They have purchased the Salamander Steel Works "in Riga, with the express object of retaining and "developing their trade in Russia. For a great many "years Messrs. Firth did a large business with that "country, but owing to ever-increasing tariffs it was "being most seriously affected. Three years ago they "established a file manufactory in Riga, and from "thence their Russian customers have been supplied. "Now, to keep hold upon their steel trade, they have "found it absolutely necessary to produce on the other "side of the Russian tariff wall, and so they have "purchased the works named. They cover an area of "about 40 acres, and include crucible and Siemen's furnaces, "hammers, rolling mills, and all other plant and appliances "necessary to the obtaining of a large output."

"Bradford Spinners Removing their Business to America. "The Yorkshire Daily Observer has received a letter from "Messrs. Joseph Benn & Son, spinners, of Bradford, in refer-"ence to the published statements concerning them and con-"cerning the removal of their business to the United States. "Messrs. Benn say that 'American manufacturers have "'recently made such vast improvement in the manu-"'facturing and dyeing of the finest classes of goods "'we make, bearing 100 per cent. and upwards duty, "'that we are confident our present American depart-"'ment will not be able to pay its way for more than

"'three or four years at most. As we do not like to "'sacrifice the labours of a lifetime, we have decided to "'erect mills in America, for which market the looms "'are only suitable. We intend transplanting hundreds "'of looms, with their complement of combing, drawing, "'and spinning machinery, and have already begun dis- "'mounting the same. It is no pleasure to contemplate "'taking work from the British working man.'"

"With reference to Mr. Chamberlain's statement "on Wednesday at the meeting of the organised labour branch "of the Tariff Reform League that the manager of an estate at "Manchester had told him that he had had applications for about "half-a-dozen sites for factories, if the proposed fiscal changes "were carried out, Mr. Marshall Stevens, managing director of "the Trafford Park estate, and first manager of the Ship Canal, "in the course of an interview, says four firms, three of them "American, have definitely said they will take sites in the park. "One firm were candid enough to say they would have no use "for the sites so long as their imports were duty free. Mr. "Chamberlain has had in confidence the names of the firms."

I go back once more to my illustration. When last I left you the Bramah squeeze of the German Tariff had compelled you to freeze up in England, emigrate your spare capital, and build with it a mighty mill in Germany.

But the power of the insidious Imposition goes further.

Because no sooner have you built the mighty mill in Germany than one day a curious inspiration strikes you.

You say: 'Why should I go on running two mills? And keeping up the twin general charges involved in such. Here in Germany I am secure from the World's competition. Over there in beloved England I am exposed to everybody's. Suppose I, therefore, rather,—'take the tip from common sense:' accentuate my German enterprise, extend my plant,—work it day and night if you like, but in any case double—treble—quadruple my German output. By doing in this way I shall very sensibly reduce my German cost price and therefore kill

two beautiful birds at one go off, magnify my German profits and at the same time burst my old time English Rivals—sell 'em up in fact, and with the Cheap John bargain of their derelict machinery still further cheaply enhance the growing mightiness of my German adventure.'

But no sooner has all this been said and done than another fine day **another fine inspiration** makes you hum and palpitate with its divine afflatus.

Thorough ignoramus that you are, like all the rest of your countrymen, in matters of political economy, at last at least with perfect indubiety you apprehend that the whole ground plan of your neo-industrial existence is inexorably bottom built and based on the continued worship and adoration of the Free Trade Fetish by England.

And therefore with all the carnegie logic of an inexplicable skull you all at once understand with a flash of Damascene sudden patriotic completeness (and for the life of you cant understand how others cant understand) that however Protection may be and do for a few rotten countries like Germany and the United States and France the one and only and for all time salvation of the Mother of Empires is and must be absolute Free Trade—'sans phrase.' As, as I have so often said, our only Mr. Haldane has immortally put it!

And with a crimson enthusiastic fervour which shakes you on the platform till the actual hairs drop out of your side whiskers you pour out the molten lava of your indignant scorn and super-boiled vials of vitriolic contumely on the rotten-hearted self-seeking industrial sharks and needy commercial jackals, (and time-serving politicians like Mr. B. and Mr. C.) and nincompoops like myself who advocate Protection in this country—'in order that the poor may become poorer and the rich richer!'

And as you wend perspiring home beneath the shining stars hugging to your altruistic heart the heartfelt interests of the beloved British 'Consumer' and intimating to the invisible world and all whom it may concern that while you draw the breath of English life England's Free Trade starving poor shall not be made poorer and her rich richer,—you realise with a growing perspicuity which astonishes and overwhelms you

that the pillars of British Industrial greatness and all the bright future of her Imperial prosperity *rest on the private coffers of the Great Cobden Club, and the very grateful exchequer of the Great Liberal Party*, and the great return of an unprecedented Free Trade majority to the British House of Commons!—

* * * *

And after that, for a long time to come, what has been called 'a nod to a blind man' is as good as a periwinkle!

I pass along now to

PROPOSITION THREE!

But this, happily, in view of what I have said in the earlier part of my address need not detain us but a moment.

Proposition Three makes out in brief: That we, so far, in point of fact, from living in a state of happy innocence, are as wise as wisdom can make us—already to the smallest detail in this Land of Freedom with all the supposed-to-be horrors which people are supposed to endure in a supposed-to-be Protectionist country.

But by a long way, to me, in comparison, the most delightful thing about Proposition Three is *that it doesn't require to be argued*. It is already—parboiled and ready for immediate consumption, given away, without asking, by the acknowledged guns of the enemy.

Hear Sir Henry!

But before we hear him I should like just to observe, as a little subsidiary reflection of my own, that if ever Posterity comes to grub among the historic remains of this inane controversy it will seek for no other evidence of the intellectual helplessness of the mis-educated political flounders who tried to wreck the fiscal fortunes of England at the beginning of the 20th century than just their utter universal inability to grasp the very obvious implications imbedded

– **In this that Sir Henry is about to give you!**

"The Promise of Increased Employment.

"Let me say a word or two on the alluring promises that he "has made as to the great increase of employment in consequence

"of the adoption of the Protective system. There are large "classes of workmen who cannot conceivably benefit by Protec- "tion, for they are engaged in trades which are not subject to "any foreign competition. Let us see for a moment how many "these trades are. The coal miner cannot hope for more employ- "ment, for there is no foreign competition against him. There are "650,000 persons engaged in that trade. How can the workmen "employed in the building trade expect to derive any benefit? "In that trade there are 945,000 persons employed. How the "transport workers, the railwaymen, the carmen, the seamen — "there are one million and a quarter of them. These three "categories of workers in our midst amount to 2,800,000, "and they are ruled out of any possibility of benefit, but not "ruled out of the damage, because they will have to pay more "than at present for nearly all the things they require to buy. "(Hear, hear.) Then, there are the cotton operatives—they will "have nothing to do with it, and there are 582,000 of them; and "then I come to the persons of all classes and ranks of society "with fixed incomes, paid by salaries, clerks, men in the public "service, and so forth. These must be counted by the million, "and when you have gone through all the trades in this way not "appreciably affected by foreign competition, and therefore not "standing to gain in the way of increased employment, how "many, I want to know, would be improved? (Hear, hear.) "Mr. Chamberlain has never told us that. (Hear, hear.) I "think that as the labour leader and universal provider— "(laughter)—he must have gone into a simple detail of this kind."

———o———

Now when you behold, haply, a philosopher punching—or trying to, the head of an opponent,—even if he comes off second best, at once you admire and congratulate the old fellow on the ardour of his pluck.

When you see the same old Johnnie triumphantly punching the air under the hallucination that he is actually punching his adversary's head you can still enjoy your little joke and say: 'Go it old chap!'

But when you behold the old Potato busy punching his actual own swollen fathead and fairly out of wind

Through enthusiastic jabbing at his own Corporation

you know at once that you are in a lunatic asylum and witnessing the ne plus ultra exhibition of poor human imbecility.

———o———

Consider now *really* for a moment what the rigmarole that I have read to you means.

It means, in the estimation of Sir Henry, that most of our industries and all our professions **are already highly protected.**

But if that be so, what is it then that follows?

It follows that the poor unhappy people whom he is commiserating, and warning, (and soliciting-the-votes-of,) are *themselves* the atrocious vampires who are already battening to the verge of mortification on the life's blood of the rest of their fellow-countrymen, and that the greedy designing Fiscal Reform poor devils—their unhappy victims, *whom he is warning them against*, have been enduring uncomplainingly all these many years and are asked to go on enduring to eternity **the agonies of this Protection** while they are to be refused forever the least hope of redress upon their own.

* * * *

The situation,—* * * in fact, is so comic that only cruelty would press it further!

———o———

I am anxious only by way of expansion to Sir Henry's discovery so far further to observe:

That such a thing as Free Trade in Great Britain in the Pure Free Trader's aspiration does not exist and never has.

You have only to bear in mind that England is an island. And that, therefore, nothing that has not sailed the sea can touch her shores.

But the sea means shipping, and shipping means freight.

And freight,—what is just freight?

Freight is an impost, a customs duty, levied before they land upon all external incoming goods from which internal goods are free.

Freight therefore is Protection. And there is not a single imported item into this country, therefore, be it a needle or an anchor, that has not come under the Devil's harrow.

Therefore to talk about 'Protecting Corn' is absurd.

Corn is protected: has always been and always for ever will be!

And the only question that can ever really arise in regard to any import is:

Shall we with some definite public end in view take it into our power to do—what the shipowners have the power to do tomorrow for their own ends without asking anybody: Shall we *enhance* the Tariff upon the import *that at present obtains*,—or shall we retain it as it is?

In two minutes more, by my reckoning, you will be out in the storm-swept street.

Your skulls are protected already, *naturally*, most of those present by hair, or at least hairs, and some by thickness as well.

Will you, in view of the wind and the wet, with the specific idea in your heads of avoiding a catarrh there, enhance this natural protection by an artificial super-imposition, or will you brave rather the competitive elements, (trusting to the thickness,) as members of the Free Trade Hatless Brigade?

☞ Because that is really, friends, our agitation in plain and in short.

What you do and insist on doing as the most natural sensible thing in the world every hour of the passing day of your individual lives need not necessarily be—we humbly ask you to *try to* believe, so very utterly absurd when carried out in your corporate commercial and industrial life.

There is only one other passing point that occurs to me that perhaps merits your attention.

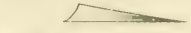
It is a common enough observation in industrial affairs that quotation for export is often on a lower scale than for home consumption.

Free Traders frequently dwell upon this fact with great delight in so far as it relates to Protected countries. But the practice is perfectly familiar in our own country, and may be exemplified any day in almost any industry.

But what is the inner philosophy of this old phenomenon? It means very briefly,—if what I say be true that freight is a Protective Tariff,—it means that the exporting country pays it.

* * * *

And—and I wish you merely to add this point of view to Proposition II.



With these now three Propositions imbedded serenely in the preliminary back of your head I go on now with my dissecting knife to the corpus vile of

This Great Cheap John Argument!

By Protection Everything is made dearer for the Consumer!
But we are all Consumers:
Therefore everything is made dearer for everybody!

—(Excuse me rejoicing for the second time in its syllogistic sunshine!)

Therefore Protection is Rotten!
And those who desire it Rats!

Vide The Glasgow Herald,—Leader,—19th Dec. 1903.

"Because Mr. Chamberlain has got a following which, if it "is not checked, will certainly utilise the 'unity' which Mr. "Balfour is so anxious to re-create, **for the purpose of making "the rich richer and the poor poorer in the alleged interest of "the unemployed the stricken capitalist and the impoverished "landed interest.**"

Now speaking for my humble self I should have thought that even a common cockle gathered promiscuously from the sea shore—on the threshold of an argument like this, would have noticed its gaping fallacy.

BEHOLD!

Gathered together is a vast audience in the Guildhall of London! Composed of sprats, shrimps, minnows, crabs, cockles and whelks, and—on the platform are a few porpoises, a variety of sharks, and one very large and ducal whale.

The Whale speaks:

'Ladies and Gent.,

'The members of this vast audience (including myself) differ

very largely in politics, religion, and a hundred other human respects, but in one thing we are all unanimous,—Every one of us, and every class from the highest to the lowest,

Is a Consumer!

(Hear, Hear,)—And, in proportion to their means, the working shrimps and sprats are the greatest consumers of all. (Hear, Hear.)'

———o———

Now the point which I wish to make to you, Sir, is that I with perfect ease can imagine up to and as far as *this*. But what I find it difficult to imagine is,—that the sentiment should be cheered even by a solitary created cockle.

And what leaves all the powers of my imagination utterly and hopelessly behind me—is to conceive of any clout of a whelk, even an English one, so helplessly devoid of all rudimentary sense of the comic as to be unable to respond:

'True! Oh Whale! We are all consumers.
We have all to swallow to live.
But that doesn't make us all Dukes!'

———o———

Now this great Cheap John argument runs with the illustration on absolute all fours

That is to say, the obvious answer to it is: that while we are all without doubt Consumers **we are not all Consumers of Everything.**

Compare, if you like, my consumption with yours. I consume a white starched collar nearly every day of my life and a four guinea suit of tweeds in the year.—Some of you consume, perhaps, an unwashed muffler in five years and a suit of moleskins in ten! I have a gaudy carpet in my drawing room worth about £13, and on my sideboard an Austrian lady worth six.—You, gentlemen, who have the privilege of putting in life in a single apartment—might inform me, how many of these you have in your best kitchen?

Well, but on the other hand, I wonder, how does the homely waterfall of my Tin Trumpet Extravagance compare with the Niagara Go-Bang of an English Duke's?

An English Duke consumes,—Well, what doesn't he?—

Motor Cars!
And Splendid Equipages!
And Magnificent Mansions!
And Pleasure Estates!
And Special Trains!
And Steam Yachts!
And Theatre Boxes!
And Continental Sojourns!
And Great Libraries!
And Scores of Servants and Attendants!

And, in fact, a world of inconceptual luxuriance outwith and beyond the farthest bounds of my humble wants and even wildest wishes!

! ! ! And yet one of these Noble Spenders can rise before a great English audience and say blandly,—

We are all Whales!

And a Consuming crowd of Free Trade English Lobsters,—impervious to the joke, can cheer the sentiment to the echo!

! ! ! !

But suppose, for the sake of an argumentative quiet life, that we take this idea at its absolute best.

Suppose we Suppose that under Protection the price of *everything* does go up!

Well but in that case,—as, perhaps, I may have forgotten to inform you, I am the Grand Vizier of England!—and with a stroke of my irresponsible pen up goes **A Protective Tax on**

MOTOR CARS!

In 1903 we imported of these:†

£1,988,553!

and the tariff I put up is ten per cent.

Very well, then!—But in what way very much will this tariff of mine matter to you?

You Dont Consume Motor Cars!

The Duke of Devonshire, perhaps, and Lord Rosebery and

† Motor Cars, Motor Cycles, and their parts.

Mr. Asquith will have to pay a little extra fifty pound note or so —for *theirs*.

But suppose they do! —To whom then do they pay it?

They pay it to the British Customs,—the British Public Exchequer: that is to say, to you, and me,—and partly to themselves.— And being patriots, in any case, they dont and wont grudge it.)

I say, suppose they do! This great audience, if I have the honour of not misjudging it, is a bristling Brigade of Radical red-tipped Enthusiasts. **Every man and mother's son of whom believes in A Graduated Income Tax!**

Well but a Tax upon Motor Cars —what is that now just but the very idea? It wont affect your income and it wont affect mine but that of those only (merely) at whom a Graduated Income Tax is intended to strike!

———o———

But behold! With another stroke of my autocratic pen the Tariff upon Motor Cars has become prohibitive. And—And what then?

———o———

Well, in that case, then, if the Duke of Devonshire desires a Motor Car he must place his order with a British Firm.

But in that case, then, in the year 1903 a lovely deluge of £2,000,000 in motor orders would have fallen upon the British Motor Car Manufacturers and the thereupon piles of unovertakeable orders and racing arrears would have forced to the front a rapid expansion of the motor industry in Great Britain,—which like a sponge would have mopped up many of the unemployed, and relieved, in so far, the pressure upon the Labour Market.

———o———

But not so fast please!—Under cover of this prohibitive tax the British Motor Car Manufacturers **have forced up their prices on the British Consumers!** And,—And what then?

———o———

Well, but, in that case, then,—This extra price, merely, will have passed out of the pocket of the Duke of Devonshire into the pocket of some equally undeserving Motor Manufacturer.

But equally in this case as in the other, *that which has left the Duke's pocket will not any more on that account have left the country.*

Of course, if the brilliant Editor of the *Spectator* were with us now he would immediately remind us : That by raising the price of motor cars on the British consumer we do thereby diminish his power of consumption,—and do, in so far, thereby, therefore, merely inflict injury upon other British industries !

—(My Lord Fitznoodle, that is to say,) having paid away under Protection £50 more for his motor car than he otherwise would have done will have £50 less to spend in some other way, [illegible] on his annual spring sojourn on the Riviera, or on his racers at Epsom or by way of some benevolent contribution to some impecunious Dog Show.

But the answer is run over daily by every wheelbarrow.

What my Lord loses in consuming power is gained by the British Government, who on the strength of it can remit your tax upon tea **and so increase your consuming power,** and mine,—and my Lord Fitznoodle's, even, at the same time. And if the British Government dont get it some British motor car manufacturer and some British workmen will.

But the heavy magazine Doctrinaires, they affect another line of attack :

They say :

' Obviously the British manufacturer being unable to compete ' with the French in motor cars—other than behind the shelter of a ' a Tariff, the French manufactured article is the better and the ' French industry the more efficient.

' Therefore if you protect the British Industry you reverse the ' organic industrial laws of Nature,—you protect the inefficient and ' divert,—(**This is the unanswerable way in which they bowl you ' over !**)—You divert British Capital and British Labour from the ' more efficient, more remunerative channels into which, under the ' natural beneficent regime of Free Trade, they otherwise would ' have followed, **into less efficient, less remunerative channels.**'

! ! ! !

Well, when you catch it full in the face like this, (thick and blubby like the squelch of a sea-jelly),—I say, it makes you—even

an old stager like myself, pause and look around for an economic breath.

But a moment is sufficient.

Nothing, as I have before said, is so really conspicuous of the Free Trade argument than just these windy otiose (pseudo-scientific) generalisations. The brains that produce it and the minds that accept this sort of twaddle seem utterly devoid of even the most rudimentary powers of analysis.

What in this instance, *e.g.*, would the jargon really mean ?

Are we to believe that in England we dont have the materials, – the coal and the iron, the machinery, the labour, the current capital, the mechanical skill, and the inventive genius, for the successful construction of motor cars, or are we to understand that their manufacture is in some way unadapted to our British soil and infernal climate ?

Well, but that would be an ' odd man out ' extraordinary surely argument to employ, would it not ?—in the home of the Locomotive ! —Especially at a time when the very next Free Trade ebullition apprises you that of all our British Industries the manufacture of machinery is par excellence the most flourishing.

Also I seem to have heard in my dreams—when bemoaning the loss to Coventry of her silk trade,—more than one jubilant Free Trade ghost explain that what Coventry had lost in silk **she had regained in cycles.**

But if that all be so, I beg you now to think of locomotives and cycles with one side of your head,—and with the other of motors,— and then tell me as fairly as you can if you actually think that a country that was supreme in the manufacture of locomotives and cycles would really be diverting its labour and capital into an unadapted channel if it took up the manufacture of motors !

—No ! Sir !—Speaking quite candidly, I think we may rest, on the whole, happy at that.

But even so,—(Mr. Haldane will still assure us !) that by surrounding the motor industry with a tariff we are but setting up Incompetence on a Pedestal,—removing the incentive to energy

and initiative, and endowing with a perpetual premium sloth, indifference, and inefficiency.

But it didn't in Protected France !—Curious, isn't it ?

I mean,—that Protection in France should be producing all this very competence, efficiency, energy and initiative, which in your estimation is so complete and final that you recommend us rather (in the paradise of coal and machinery) to divert our capital and labour into other more remunerative channels.

! ! ! !

' Yes !—Yes !—That is all very well, but if you start on the ' inclined plane of Protection with Motors *you could not possibly* ' *stop on this side* —**the yawning gulf of perdition !** '

But why not ?

The perennial charm to me of the Scientific Protectionist's position is that he can begin exactly when he wishes—and leave off precisely where he will.

Your extraordinary position—and proposal is : That you cannot begin anywhere !—and you for ever insist on ending where you began. More. On this mandamus you expect to go back to power at the General Election, and therefore with that mighty engine of arrest in your hands so absolute that you *can refuse even to begin*—why couldn't *you* arrest Protection at motor cars ?

—But in any case your statement is a statement only, and if I admit that it is an argument at all it is certainly not an argument against Protection, but against yourself rather,—and myself, and British human electoral stupidity in general.

For myself personally, and it is all that I am able to do, I repudiate the offensive proposition. And as *for yourself*, well, I think your future task and duty must become a little different.

In addressing on the next occasion your fellow-countrymen you *must become honester* and say :

' For myself, perfectly I believe in the feasibility and desira- ' bility and practicability of imposing an import tax upon motor ' cars—*and would impose one to-morrow* but that I know before- ' hand very clearly *that you fools wouldn't and couldn't stop there.*'

That, at least, would show some returning evidence of some return to the common pathway of Common Sense,—And I feel sure that your insulted audience would assist your further progress !

—— " ——

However, I quite admit that you are quite right. **You certainly cannot stop at Motors** ! —(Unless, indeed, haply, you can stop the further clockwork of your benighted reason !) Because what is true of Motor Cars is true of much else.

Take, *e.g.*,

SILK.

From France alone in 1902 we imported in value of Silk Manufactures

£9,077,302 :

From Holland

£1,910,131 :

And from Belgium

£1,628,253 :

—a very handsome all-round distribution of the Labour of Charity !

Well, but suppose now that we adopt a tariff upon Silk.

What then ?

Well, then, the English consumers will, of course, pay that tax,—because that is the argument, and the silken bales will flow in as before. **But who are the English Consumers and to whom will they pay ?**

Speaking the other day* at Victoria Park Mr. Frank Warner of Braintree said :

' Since 1860, when the duty on foreign silk was removed, this ' country had imported foreign silk goods,—the luxuries of the ' rich, to the value of

£509,486,931 ! †

' —on which not one farthing of Customs duty had been paid : ' whilst on tea, of which they could not grow a single leaf, and ' which was the daily necessity of every poor person, the Govern-

*8/6/1905.

†In reply to enquiry Mr. Warner informs me that this total is derived from the Board of Trade Returns, refers to woven goods only, and comes up to the end of 1904. Since then the Imports have been as follows : 1905, £13,010,766; 1906, £13,059,588; 1907, £12,802,834.

'ment levied a Customs duty last year of £7,012,856! By such a 'system they had ruined the home silk industry and imposed a 'heavy burden on the working classes, and also injured the tea 'growers in India.

'**A duty of 15 per cent. on silk goods imported since 1860 would 'have brought into the British Exchequer a sum of**

£76,423,040!'

Well then, my question is: If this be true—if a tariff of 15 per cent. on the silken goods imported since 1860 would have enriched the public exchequer by £76,000,000—*out of whose pockets would this colossal sum have come?*

The Duke of Devonshire is of opinion—in point of consumption, that we are all whales. And so, no doubt, many of us are.

But we are not all Whales upon Silk!

The noble Duke may give, and probably does, to his wife a dozen silk dresses in the year. In that case he will have been

A handsome contributor to the £76,000,000!

I have not as yet unhappily been able, (since 1860,) to afford my wife a silk dress, and in that case the hypothetical Heaven-send to the British Public Exchequer will not have impoverished me.

And I dont also think that **the 453,000** who live in one and two-roomed houses in Glasgow—I dont think that the 'might-have-been tax' would have fallen very heavy upon them.

But suppose that the tax proves *inhibitive* or *prohibitive!*

The *Glasgow Herald* is never done pointing out that we poor Protectionists cannot have it both ways. If we are going to grow rich on the increased Customs Revenue, then we cannot go about mopping up the unemployed with the unprecedented boom in our home industry: and if our home industry is going to boom without precedent, then the Customs Revenue must pay pension out—and, therefore, Good-bye to Old Age Pensions, Free Breakfast Tables, and such like.

Yes, but who in the name of Heaven ever said that we wanted *or expected* it both ways?

This is decidedly one of the many arguments in this controversy that roll me out speechless as a pancake. The *Herald* says it all so soberly, with such intellectual point, and spice, and power, and pride, and satisfaction, as if it were really the cleverest clincher that any one could think of.

Well, Sir, then, in that case, the silken manufactured bales will merely cease to roll in. But in their silken stead silken mills will run up all over the country —(and perhaps the one which had to close its gates a few yards away from where I now speak will re-open.) or another will rise in its place, and the silk industry will boom all over the country, and thousands of unemployed will find employment, and human beings who had never otherwise have visited the glimpses of the moon will rise up out of no-man's-land to weave it (and wear it), and also all the tributary industries will boomwith it—and the wages and incomes and salaries of all those who are engaged in these, and even—wonderful to relate, the Public Exchequer, out of sheer gladness and sympathy, (and pace the *Glasgow Herald !*) will be compelled to boom and blossom likewise—(if only with the extra whiskies imbibed) and the extra pennies involved in the extra receipts which a hundred thousand extra exchanges will necessitate !

And, therefore, in short, by the imposition of this silken Tariff a hundred thousand happy homes in the country will directly benefit, and the Government of the country indirectly, (and in particular, of course, the Silk Manufacturers) because they, sitting behind the Tariff wall will raise their confederate prices and grow rich at the expense of the English Silk Consumers.

That is to say, at the expense of the Duke of Ben Nevis and My Lord Tom Noddy and the Dowager Duchess of Dantzic and of all the illustrious people who love to sit at great feasts clothed in fine linen.

But they wont grow rich at your expense, and not very much at mine, and they wont grow fat at the expense of the 453,000 who inhabit the one and two-roomed houses of Glasgow. (More indeed likely.) rather, the inhabitants of these will grow rich, or at least richer,—in the sense of an assured living out of those who delight in the rustle of rich raiment. Because, as I have just said to you,

while it is hopeless for you and me ever to hope to glide about in our charming motor, accompanied by a beautiful silk dress, even the poorest unfortunate in the country may help to rivet the one and spin the other.

And yet they will din in our ears, forsooth, these Holy Willie Nincompoops from the platform and the press, 'That the Poor will become Poorer and the Rich Richer!'—as if it weren't to be about as reasonably certain—just the other way about.

No, Gentlemen! 'Tis for this just reason that Mr. Chamberlain is so emphatic in his asseveration that this great fiscal issue is a Workingman's question.

Absolutely Mr. Chamberlain is right! And the Workingmen of Great Britain in spite of transient appearances to the contrary will master the fact in good time.

But, hark! I hear a cuckoo voice in the corner!

—Reminding me that if we refuse to take from France this £9,000,000 in Silk Goods, France will refuse any more to climb down our garden wall,—wont, in short, take the £9,000,000 of some other goods *which she is at present taking from us in return for the Silks*.

But this cuckoo surely has come into the garden late! Or perhaps he has been asleep, Sir, and missed the charm of my eloquence!

Well, but, in that case, friend, you might inform us, now, as to this £9,000,000 worth of goods which she takes from us in return for the Silks. I dont personally know of them and I dont know of any other body who does, or even pretends to.' All I do know is that she takes no manufactured goods from us *of any kind at all* that she can possibly help. And if, to-morrow, or next year, she can help taking a few millions less *she will at once set about the doing it*. And she wont in the doing of it worry her little finger about what you may *think* and still less about what your workmen may suffer.

But now at least that you have been so lucky as to remind me, I can understand, if you like, this.—If only you would pluck up a little courage and go to France and say to her very politely

'Dear France,

'We have got into the extravagant habit of taking from 'you about £9,000,000 in Silk Goods in the year. *No doubt you get*

payment for this, at least I cannot imagine you giving us all these 'beautiful things for nothing' in some way which is very convenient and agreeable to *you*. But I am by no means certain that the 'mode of payment which you affect is the best for our working 'British men and British indispensable industries.

'Now if you wish us to continue to favour you with this very 'beautiful and remunerative custom you might sit down quietly 'one of these days and (after rumination) charitably nominate to 'us the goods which you propose to accept in exchange,—in other 'words, *the tariffs which you propose to lower in our favour*—and 'remove.

'Dear France!

'—We have a wonderful wide universe of eligible goods, and a 'world of variety in every selection, out of which you may study 'your future election.—*And the price lists will be sent to you post 'free!*'

Now *even that*, as I have pointed out to you thirty times over, would be something like the beginning of business.

But you stiff-necked Free Trade do-nothing deadheads you wont do even that much! Therefore, again, I think you will admit (all the possibilities having been weighed up) that if we institute a tariff upon the Silk Goods coming into this country, (whoever is good enough to pay that tax,) -and you and I and the very poor wont,—and to whomsoever the tax may be paid (whether to the British Government, or to the British Silk Manufacturer and his British Employees,) or to both, the Kingdom of Great Britain, as Great Britain, stands to sustain no loss.

———o———

But alas! and alack! to be sure, I was forgetting!

———o———

(Hamlet's ghost once more!)—The Doctrinaire! The Doctrinaire, of course, will, as usual, aver that we *are* sustaining a loss, because we are diverting British Capital and Labour into uneconomic silken channels. (The fool would say the very same thing if my proposal had been to arrest the £5,000,000 of Woollen Manufactures which we got from France in 1902.)

But you and I, Gentlemen, are just as competent to form a judgment upon this, as all the Doctrinaires in the world.

We can build mills, surely, as well as they can in France or Belgium or Holland. We can erect machinery. We can dig the coal to drive the machinery. We have surplus capital and surplus labour, and if we have lost the silken skill *we can re-import it.*

In fact this kind of balderdash is so utterly trivial and so utterly falsified by the Industrial History of Nations that it—ah, well! it needs the inexhaustible abysses of an immortal patience like my own,—even to allude to it!

Well, but that is so far well enough now for Motor Cars and Silk Manufactures!

—But you wouldn't ever dream of stopping, would you? (on the toboggan slide to Perdition) at these!

What about

PERFUMERY, *e.g.*, and LACE, and EMBROIDERY and NEEDLEWORK, and ARTIFICIAL FLOWERS, and KID GLOVES!

I note that we imported of these in 1902:

Of **Perfumery** to the value of	**£60,505**!
Of **Lace** to the value of	**2,493,179**! *
Of **Embroidery and Needlework** to the value of	**1,156,697**!
Of **Artificial Flowers** to the value of	**641,862**!
Of **Kid Gloves** to the value of	**1,719,592**!

* * * *

And what about

WATCHES, and MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, and TOYS and GAMES!

Because of these we imported respectively, in 1902:

£1,211,788!

£1,368,911!

£1,240,480!

Now, but I say,—suppose that I as the Grand Prime Minister of England have put up an import tax upon all these things—in what

*Includes £90,111 of Silk Lace.

way very much will all this concern you and me and the poverty of England ?

In what mystic way *is it going to make the poor of England poorer and the rich richer ?*

Your women folk dont at any time wear a great deal of precious Parisian Lace, and certainly they dont wash their faces, even on a Sunday, with **Eau de Cologne.**

The majority of you have got along through life so far without the assistance of a grand piano, or even a gold-framed harp, and very, (very few of you,) I am sure, oil your engines and feed your furnaces clothed as to your horny hands—in Kid Gloves.

Nor are the 'buts and bens' of even the Second City of the Empire hung from floor to ceiling with fancy embroidery. And if artificial flowers get a little dearer your wives and lassies can content themselves with real ones.

But really, really, why should I be at all so particular ? Because as far as my observation goes the women who inhabit the one-roomed houses of Glasgow wear mostly nothing on their heads but the tresses that God gave them. And as for Toys !—my dear man, once the bairns are 'fed and cled' it is wonderful what a dish-clout will do for a doll.

But now I think that really, (in order that I may cut a long story short,)—you will—for the future have no difficulty in carrying away the situation in your understanding !

That is to say, you will not dispute with the Duke of Devonshire that we are *all consumers*, but you will also at the same time likewise remember—that there are mighty and tremendous differences around, in our respective powers of consumption.

Some like himself, and the class to which he belongs, have little else on earth to do from morning to night, from one year's end to the other, but consume for all they are very well worth, and very frequently for a great deal more than that.

There is another very large and indispensable section of the community who are doing daily nothing else from morning six till six at night, from sweated childhood to the sweating grave, but producing—and again producing,—mostly for the consumption of others, and the time that is left to them after this work of pro-

duction is over and the pittance that is given to them for their life's darg, leave the poor devils but little appetite, little means, and little opportunity for consumption.

Under these circumstances perfectly *I could imagine* the Great Consumers of the land anxious for cheapness all round, but the interests of the Workers centre rather, surely, around the conditions **and the constancy of Production !**

—o—

But before I go forward I wish to raise, in passing, another point.

—o—

The Duke of Devonshire in one of his speeches is greatly concerned about our Cotton Industry,—and the disastrous effect which Protection is likely to have in increasing thereto 'the Cost of Production ?'

The Duke is right to be so concerned.

In 1902, if I remember, we exported, to the World, of Cotton Manufactures and Cotton Yarn to the value of

£72,458,000 !

The noble Duke has a right to be concerned about a World Export like that.

But the Duke forgets.

He will surely in his aristocratic courtesy,—however a groundling like myself may do, grant to his fiscal opponents the possession of ordinary human 'savey'!—perhaps, even, (hypothetically) admit that they might have the haply all-round interests of the country as deeply and truly at heart as perhaps, say,—a decimal portion of his ducal self.

I say, his Grace forgets:—*That Scientific Protection, as a scientific economist understands it, includes just, and must, in the wide industrial circle of its sympathetic net the patriotic Protection of this vast export of Cotton !*

Now, but that all being very well granted I want very much to ask the noble Duke and those who think with him:—How,—If I impose an Import Tariff on

Motor Cars,
Silk Manufactures,
Musical Instruments,

Perfumery,
Lace, Embroidery and Needlework,
Kid Gloves,
Toys and Games,
Artificial Flowers,
And Gold Watches :

—In what tremendous far-reaching way these import taxes are going to affect injuriously our £72,000,000 Export in Cotton ?

* * * *

Does the noble Duke imagine that the Lancashire lassies ride to their mills in perfumed silken gowns (at the chime of six on a golden chronometer) in 40-horse-power Darracqs, and that they recline in front of picturesque looms on embroidered cushions, adorned as to their hair with fine lace and artificial roses, tending with kid gloves their shuttles to the sound of German musical enchantment ?

* * * *

But—really, now, really, Gentlemen, if you will permit me to lift for a moment again the safety valve that has preserved me all along from bursting, I will confide to you very frankly that I resent with a profound sense of misfortune the necessity of having to paint up in league-long, heaven-high hysterics this Brobdignagian Obviosity to any combination of human flesh and blood.

This, Heaven knows, is no academic drawing-room debate, nor shining young men's mutual improvement of the passing hour, but an intensely serious national affair. Less is it politics. I care not the value of a twopenny curse any day for any political party in the kingdom. All the way through, as far as I am concerned, I am arguing butter and bread for the hungry, shelter for the homeless, and work for the unemployed. And we who are working and speaking to the problem in this dead earnest frame of mind expect, and have a title to expect, *Reciprocity*. There may be, I am willing to grant it, those on the other side who probably feel as I and my like do. *But in that case they might try to show it*, if only for once in an argumentative lifetime by the occasional sunglint *of a little analytical discrimination.*

Perfectly I know what I say and in open court will give you tons of evidence.

Protection with the ruck of these people means, or is declared to mean, Taxes upon Everything Manufactured and Unmanufactured. *Therefore* Increased Cost of Production. Therefore Increased Cost of Everything. Therefore ruin to our Export Trade. Ruin to our Home Trade. Ruin to the Country!

—That is how it piffles out to a rhetorical finish from John o' Groat's to Land's End on press and platform to the roaring multitudinous din of benighted delighted thousands.

Now all this kind of thing isn't merely partisan platform twaddle. Something you can smile at and bury and forget. It's playing the Devil's pitch and toss with the interests of life and death. It isn't also *merely* untrue. It's Untruth itself. Rank argumentative stinking Ananias dishonesty, unpatriotic and contemptible to the uttermost degree. It's like affirming that a man cannot pare his nails without being irresistibly impelled to cut off his toes and that he cannot possibly indulge in a shave without necessarily cutting his throat! The bare thought of any Briton speaking in this loose way on a subject which so closely affects the welfare of England splits my back. For myself any day for patriotic preference I'd sooner spit in the face of the Holy Ghost and take my chance of the unpardonablest pit in Hell. * * *

'But what then Sir, is the gravamen of your complaint?'

The gravamen of my complaint is that the Duke of Devonshire has spoken of our Export of Cottons.

But besides our vast Export of Cottons we exported in 1902 in Machinery, Metals and their Manufactures, to the value of over £50,000,000: and in Woollen and Linen Manufactures, Yarns etc., to the value of nearly £30,000,000—which (together with Cotton) give an immediate total Export of £152,000,000, and if to these I add swiftly our Export of Coal, £27,000,000: of Chemical Products,—£5,000,000: of Hardware, Telegraphic Wire Arms, Implements, Instruments, etc., £9,000,000: of Leather Manufactures,—£4,000,000: of Manure (and Medicinal Preparations) £4,000,000:—I have in the space of a brace of seconds given you

A total Export of over £200,000,000!

And the gravamen of the complaint which I put to any existing earthly Free Trader is,—How, If I impose a tariff on artificial roses I am going to jeopardise this vast export !

How, that is to say, if I impose a tariff on Kid Gloves I am going to increase the cost of the manufacture of Manure and Medicinal Preparations, and in what mystic possible way a tariff on German Dolls and Ladies' Frills is going to add to the difficulty in Great Britain of constructing Copper Kettles ?

It may be, (as I say,) that such taxes would. But in addressing rational people on the subject *you might take the trouble to show in detail how*. At present they might also be as like to increase the 'cost of production' of a London Fog, so delightfully ridiculous is the mode of your economic universal assertion. Of course, I know. I know, you are going to tell me again, as you have told me a hundred times over, that we can't stop at artificial roses. But, *in that case*, as I also have told you for the thousandth time, instead of indulging in your silly generalities you might condescend in private practical life to explain to us two things :

(1) *Why we can't stop* at Silks and Motors and Artificial Roses ?

The Danes put up a tariff on **Butter,** *but they stop at* **Wheat** !

Why ?

The Germans put on a tax upon **Wheat,** but they stop at **Wools,**—and **Pitch,** and **Tar,**—and **Fireclay,**—and **Lime,**—and **Cement,**—and **Coal** !

!—However *do they* contrive to stop so stupidly on the inclined plane that leads to perdition ?

The Japs impose a tax upon Coal, but they let in Rice and Tea free. Funny isn't it ?

The Russians put on a tax upon Coal and also on Rice and Tea, but they stay their mysterious infatuation at Oil Cake and Horses.

The French on the other hand impose a tax of £2 to £6 on every Horse entering France, and even (curious beings) from 3d. to 11½d. on every Felt or Silk Hat going thither : but they draw the mystic line at Ladies' Hats *untrimmed*,—and let these in Free.

But why need we speak ? Our idiotic selves put on a tax the other day upon Wheat, and again, a few weeks after, actually

stopped, and took it—coolly—off with the same hands that put it on, on the slippery slope to perdition.

And (2) *Why it is you dont put it that way to the British Public?* Namely, that you dont and wont put a tax upon Artificial Roses *because it would not be possible to stop there.*

In that case, as I have ventured before to observe, the people will quite *understand.*

They mayn't Economics, and they may not Astronomy. But if here away is a beautiful spring,—and a hundred miles away a dark and dangerous river, and you tell thirsting crowds that you will not *out of pure kindness* permit them to drink of the spring, because having drunk of it once they will fare further and plunge at last into the reckless river, in which, if you please, all the other peoples of the civilised world are already joyfully plunging head over ears! Then, I repeat, the people of Great Britain will understand that,—and understand *you.*

Perfectly I grant, however, that we cannot stop at these taxations. Not, however, because we can't,

But because we couldn't!!!

The noble Duke of Devonshire is concerned, as I have said, about the preservation of our Export of Cotton!

Well:

I see that we imported in 1902 **of Cotton Manufactures:**

From Germany,	**£1,121,065,**
From Belgium,	**£2,080,004,**
From Holland,	**£1,262,381,**
From France,	**£969,250,**
From the United States,	**£255,808.**

I observe also that in 1902 **of Woollen Manufactures** we imported

From Germany,	**£1,483,577,**
From Belgium,	**£617,703,**
From Holland,	**£2,812,771,**
From France,	**£5,390,916.**

Now if these two items be added together they run to an import for one year of Cottons and Woollens of no less than nearly

£16,000,000!

And what I want of the noble Duke and his friends again to know is: In what earthly way an Import Tax upon these manufactures is going to injure our great Cotton and Woollen staples!—**By increasing their 'Cost of Production'!**

I entitle myself to the assumption that none of the manufactured items included is re-employed in the Woollen and Cotton Industries, because, if any such are, you have only to strike them out of the total, and—replace your skull upon the anvil of my argument.

* * * *

It is unfortunately true, of course, that Pretty Poll will re-repeat from his incorrigible hide-bound cage that if we do attempt to manufacture these, for ourselves, £16,000,000, we shall only be diverting British industrial capital and labour into vicious, unremunerative, unadapted channels. But even the Duke, in spite of all the Free Trade piffle he must himself have swallowed in his day, would scarcely be audacious enough to ask the Cotton and Woollen weavers in Yorks. and Lancashire to swallow that. I'm not indeed sure if the startling joke isn't the fact that the British out-spent capital and labour for the purpose is *in actual existence now*, or in any case yesterday—was.

It might with more reason be alleged, however, that a tariff upon these Cottons and Woollens, while it mightn't increase the cost of manufacturing in these industries, would give the British Manufacturers the power to levy tribute upon the British people in respect of all the British Woollens and Cottons consumed in the home market.

But this suggestive supposition clearly brings us to the end of our present task,

And the opening of another chapter.

Up till now I have been suggesting tariffs upon Silks and Motors and Artificial Roses and Pianos and Kid Gloves, etc.,—articles *without the use of which* one has a perfectly good chance of reaching in safety the other world—after a quiet and fruitful life here.

But Cottons and Woollens belong to the poor, and when one comes to deal with them one is entitled to walk wary.

—o—

But at this stage I think our pathway lies clear. Our plan is to pause for a moment.—And take breath!

—And then perhaps go some day, of a Saturday evening, to market, and see for ourselves, really, at first hand,—**How a Working Man's Income is Spent!**

—o—

Well, on this point, I am happily relieved of all personal trouble and responsibility. I have before me a pamphlet entitled:

'British Working Man's Family Budget:'

being originally a paper read before the Scottish Society of Economists by Mr. A. J. Craig, of Galashiels.

In it are two Budgets:—but perhaps I had better allow Mr. Craig to address you himself.

"My paper deals with the Budget of the wage earning "British artizan's family in metropolitan and urban centres of "industry. The working man as an agricultural labourer is "excluded from the paper. Any figures that can be arrived at "must be, of course, only an approximation. * *

"I present to you two Budgets, Budget (1) and Budget (2). "Statistics relating to 802 budgets have been gone over and "divided into the two classes.

"Budget (1) comprises the proportion of budgets where the "average family income amounts to 20s. 11d. a week, or £54 "7s. 8d. per annum. This budget is typical as approximating "to the earnings of a labouring class family whose maintenance "depends upon the unskilled wage of the head of the family.

"Budget (2) is representative of an income of 33s. 5d. a week, "or £86 17s. 8d. per annum. This is practically representative "of an average British working man's family income.

BUDGET (1).

Yearly Income, £54 0 0

Food,	£31	0	0
Clothing,	6	0	0
Rent and taxes,	9	6	9
Fuel and light,	5	4	0
Sundries,	2	9	3
	£54	0	0

BUDGET (2).

Yearly Income, £[illegible]

Food,	£[illegible]		
Clothing,	12		
Rent and taxes,	13	2	
Fuel and light,	5	4	
Sundries,	10	13	
	£87	0	

Budget (1).				Budget (2).			
Meat, fish, and poultry,	£11	1	0	Meat, fish, and poultry,	£17	19	8
Bread, flour, and meal,	7	3	0	Bread, flour, and meal,	9	10	8
Eggs, milk, butter, and cheese,	6	18	8	Eggs, milk, butter, and cheese,	9	15	0
Vegetables, potatoes, and fruit,	2	3	4	Vegetables, potatoes, and fruit,	3	18	1
Sugar and molasses,	1	19	0	Sugar and molasses,	2	17	4
Tea,	2	0	0	Tea,	2	12	0
Total,	£31	5	0	Total,	£46	12	9

* * * *

—I hear someone suggest that I am leaving the centre of the scientific beam and preparing to pander to the special interests of a *special* section of the community.

Well! that may quite well be,—I wont disown the impeachment, but as the section, if that be so, of the community to whom I am about to pander constitutes about 75 per cent. of the population, and as the rest of us hang like leeches and leaves and whelks (and for the most part more or less empty at that) on that for a root my scientific conscience is going to bear me through.

Well, let us look back now and examine!

I am the responsible Government of Great Britain, and am anxious, as far as in me lies, to create work for the unemployed by my new tariff arrangements.

And it has been suggested to me that I might put a tax of 100 per cent. ad valorem on the £16,000,000 of Cottons and Woollens coming into the country.

Sir A. Conan Doyle, speaking at Galashiels, has stated that 'If 'the £10,000,000 of Woollen Goods and £2,000,000 of Woollen 'Yarns which were imported in 1902 had been manufactured in 'this country they would have given employment to

'TWO HUNDRED ADDITIONAL LARGE FACTORIES AND FIFTY YARN SPINNING MILLS!'

TWO HUNDRED ADDITIONAL LARGE FACTORIES!

I can so well imagine for myself all the wages and work that would be involved in erecting One !† But lightning orders in the Borders for *ten* large mills ! And their buzzing machinery !—What excitement ! I can see quarrymen bustling and brick kilns burning and trucks groaning and horses panting and carters whistling and architects rubbing their hands with glee and measurers going home with unmeasured smiles and machine makers staring at their orders with wide-eyed wonder ! I can see masons and bricklayers and plasterers and joiners and plumbers and slaters dancing in their back kitchens quiet hornpipes on their own and great blast furnaces roaring with radiance at the simple idea. I can follow the tremor of activity not confined to one little place but racing and beaming in little rivulets all over the country. And when behold ! I am done,—or think that I am, and Sir Conan Doyle comes in by Gala Water along and taps me on the shoulder and asks me to multiply all this delightful activity by **ten :**

And I think of 100 beautiful mills going up !

And then with another tap asks me to double my hundred :

And I picture 200 beautiful mills going up !

And then with another playful tap calmly asks me **to put another 50 spinning mills, if you please, on top of that :**

And when, on my own, I calculate on the Himalaya top of even that **yet another 150 – for Cotton Mills !**

Ah then !

My eagle imagination begins to flag and lag,—
And wish to fold at last in peace her tired wings !

C. P. Trevelyan, Esq., the simple son of a noble father, was quizzing, in jeering mood, the other night in the Mechanics' Institute, Calton, us poor Protectionists, as to where the miners and railwaymen and the million odd builders, etc., etc., in the country came in :—how, forsooth, *they* were going to benefit under Protection ?

Well, Sonny !—This is where *they* come in !

† My information is that each of these mills would involve a capital outlay of £40,000, (including working capital,) and would employ between 400 and 500 hands.

And then, after all the labour of erecting these mills is over and their throbbing machinery is in going and I come to think of them filled with busy workpeople turning out in goods **a million and a half a month**—the half of this about being wages! Then what I simply say is,—I fairly smack my economic lips.

* * * *

But (all the while) there is this for an ugly suspicion lying along the front of my door step. What if these traitorous scoundrels the Woollen and Cotton Manufacturers behind my patriotic tariff double the price of their goods and bleed all the working men in the country,—not to mention my own patriotic self!

It may be quite true, no doubt, as some very 'wise acre' has said that the wool that is shorn from the British working man's back doesn't go out of the country, quite.

But that's a poor Job's consolation to a man, when you've a wife and five weans to keep and twenty shillings a week to do it on.

Under these circumstances clearly my duty as a British statesman is—transparent. I must go back,—and pause,—and reflect: and re-examine the wisdom of the world on this vexed question of

THE INCIDENCE OF AN IMPORT TAX.

Take evidence on the 'What' and see if I can find a reason for the 'Why!'

———o———

Well, odd to say, the very first philosopher I come across is one from America,—Who makes this

REMARKABLE STATEMENT:

(*Fortnightly Review*, September, 1903.)

"**It is impossible to cite**

"**A single case of any commodity**

"**having been protected in America for fourteen years without**

"**having been made cheaper than it was before the Protection**

"**was enacted.**

"**Our Free Traders have been challenged to produce such a**

"**case and they have never done so.**"

(Which for a Fortnightly beginning appears fairly explicit!)

This same writer goes on to say that when Bessemer steel rails were first introduced, a majority of the railway mileage in the States asked Congress to impose a duty of **seven pounds a ton on the imported article**. This, he says, was the course taken by "intelligent consumers." They secured four-fifths of their request,—and their confidence was repaid.

"**In more than one instance observed by me American steel "rails have been selling at a lower rate than English rails of the "same weight at Wolverhampton.**

"**And in several instances I found the American price lower "than the duty which the protected manufacturer is supposed to "add to the price.**"

Which for a statement also appears to be fairly remarkable, and seems to suggest that we should pursue our enquiries further!

The next odd items that emerge from my hat are of

TWO CURIOUS EXPERIENCES

out of English history:

(1) **THE EFFECT OF TAKING OFF AN ENGLISH TARIFF**:

"In 1860 the duty on Holland cheese was removed.—The "cheese importer said that the only result had been that prices "in Holland had been raised by the amount of the duty. Their "argument was that English purchasers had been content to "give a certain price, that they would be content to continue "to buy at that price,—and they were.

"Much the same result took place when the duty on French "gloves was taken off and when the duty on sherry was "diminished.

"The price in England rose."

(2) **THE EFFECT OF PUTTING ONE ON**:

"In the time of Oliver Cromwell there was a tax of 5s. the "square yard put on all woollen cloths of foreign manufacture "imported into England.

"**That tax was increased from 5s. to £8 10s. in the reign of "Charles II.**

"Now, if this increase fell on the consumer, the price of the "cloth should have gone up by at the least £8 10s. per yard. But "such was not the case; no increase took place in the selling "price of manufactured woollen cloth in England.

"On the contrary, the effect of the tax was to crush out the "foreign manufacturer, and to foster the home industry."

And the next are these:

A PROOF FROM FRANCE.

"An official return from the British Ambassador in Paris, relating to the effect of the **French Customs' Tariff of 1892,** when heavy duties were imposed on beef and mutton, completely disposes of the 'Free Trade' theory that an import duty on articles of food is borne entirely by the consumer.

"By the tariff of **1892 the duty on fresh beef was raised from 4s. 10d. to 10s. 1d. per cwt., and on fresh mutton from 4s. 10d. to 12s. 11d. per cwt. The duty on wheat was increased in 1894 from 2s. 5d. to 2s. 10d. per cwt.**

"According to figures supplied by the French Ministry of Agriculture the average prices of these articles **before and after the new tariff came into force** were as follows:—

Beef.

Year.	Duty.	Average price per lb.
1891 ..	4s. 10d. per cwt. ..	7d.
1892 ..	**10s. 1d.** per cwt. ..	6¾d.
1893 ..	Do. ..	6½d.
1896 ..	Do. ..	7¼d.
1899 ..	Do. ..	6¾d.
1901 ..	Do. ..	6½d.

Mutton.

1891 ..	4s. 10d. per cwt. ..	8¼d.
1892 ..	**12s. 11d.** per cwt. ..	8d.
1893 ..	Do. ..	7½d.
1896 ..	Do. ..	8¼d.
1899 ..	Do. ..	8d.
1901 ..	Do. ..	8d.

Bread.

Year.	Duty.	Average price per lb.
1891 ..	2s. 5d. per cwt. ..	1¾d.
1892 ..	Do. ..	1½d.
1893 ..	Do. ..	1½d.
1896 ..	**2s. 10d.** per cwt. ..	1½d.
1899 ..	Do. ..	1½d.
1901 ..	Do. ..	1½d.

"From this it will be seen that since **the higher tariff** came into force the price of beef has **dropped by a farthing per pound,** while the price of mutton and bread has remained stationary. In other words, the whole increase in duty of 5s. 3d. per cwt. on beef, 8s. 1d. per cwt. on mutton, and 5d. per cwt on wheat **fell on the foreign producer and not on the French consumer.**"

COMPARATIVE HOUSEHOLD FOOD BILLS.

"An interesting comparison of household food bills in this country and France was put forward by Earl Winterton, in the House of Commons, on March 4th, 1908. He had recently visited the South of France, he declared, and had taken the opportunity to compare the prices of commodities there with the prices prevailing in his own constituency (Horsham, Sussex). He found that 'the price of the kilogramme (= slightly more than 2 lbs.) loaf for the week ending February 23rd was 35 centimes (= 3¼d.) in the district round Biarritz, while the price of the 2 lb. loaf in Horsham during the same week was 3¼d. The price of wheat in Biarritz in the same week was 38s. 5d., and at Horsham 33s. 11d. Bread, therefore, was practically the same price in the two places, while beef, milk, and coffee were cheaper at Biarritz, and tea and sugar somewhat dearer. If, however, tea, which was not much drunk in that part of France, was eliminated, the result would work out at 10d. in favour of France.'"

FROM THE BOARD OF TRADE MEMORANDUM, 1903.

"Table showing the difference of Price of Wheat and of Import Duty on Wheat in France and the United Kingdom, distinguishing years of "Minimum" importation of Wheat into France from all other years.

	Excess of France over United Kingdom.		Difference between B. and A.
	A. Excess of Average Price of Wheat per quarter.	B. Excess of Import Duty on Wheat per Quarter.	
I. Years of Minimum Importation.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1895 ..	9 8	12 2½	2 6½
1896 ..	7 2	12 2½	5 0½
1899 ..	9 3	12 2½	2 11½
1900 ..	6 9	12 2½	5 5½
1901 ..	8 6	12 2½	3 8½
Average	8 3	12 2½	3 11½

"It will be seen that in each year of minimum importation (*i.e.*, less than 30 lbs. per head) the difference of level of wheat prices in France and the United Kingdom was considerably *less* than the full difference of import duty, the average difference of price being 8s. 3d., and of duty 12s. 2½d."

FROM DO.

"The delegates of English trade unions who recently visited America in connection with Mr. Mosely's Commission, were asked to answer the following question among others:—'How does the price of clothes in America compare with that in England?'

"A summary of the answers indicates that the better classes of clothes are very much dearer in America than in the United Kingdom; **that the cheapest 'slop clothing' is about the same price in the two countries, and that, taking the average ready-made garments worn by workmen, there is some difference in favour of the British workman, but not nearly so much as in the case of the more expensive 'bespoke' goods. Ready-made boots, such as workmen wear**

are about the same price in the United States and the United Kingdom (see appendix IX.)

"The same appears to be true in general in comparing Germany with Great Britain. In his book entitled 'How the English Workman lives,' Mr. Ernest Dückershoff, a German coal-miner, who has settled in England, says (p. 35): 'Clothes cost the same as in Germany, except some kinds of working clothes. * * * '"

FROM GERMANY.

"But what has been the operation of these protective duties?

"Are the consumers paying for their German manufactured goods twenty to sixty per cent. more than they formerly paid for foreign ones (as must be the case if the popular theory is correct), or are these goods at all worse than the foreign ones? Nothing of the sort. Dr. Bowring himself adduces testimony that the manufactured goods produced under the high customs tariff are both better and cheaper than the foreign ones. The internal competition and the security from destructive competition by the foreigner has wrought this miracle, of which the popular school knows nothing and is determined to know nothing. Thus, that is not true, which the popular school maintains, that a protective duty increases the price of the goods of home production by the amount of the protective duty."—List, *Political Economy*, p. 313.

FROM THE UNITED STATES.

"The United States of America have increased and steadily maintained a considerable protective duty on the importation of foreign silk manufactures. The results of that policy were publicly stated by Mr. Robert P. Porter (member of the United States' Tariff Commission) in a speech in 1883, to have been as follows:

"Five thousand persons were employed in silk manufacture in the United States before the Morill Tariff (1861). In 1880 their number had increased to 30,000. The value of silk manufactures produced in the States increased from £1,200,000 in 1860 to more than £8,000,000 in 1880. 'Yet the cost of the manufactured goods to the consumer, estimated on a gold basis, has steadily declined at a

much greater rate than the cost of the raw material.' After reference to the earthenware and plate-glass manufactures, Mr. Porter adds:

"'The testimony before the Tariff Commission showed unquestionably that the competition in the United States had resulted in a reduction in the cost to the American consumer. In this way, Gentlemen, I contend and am prepared to prove statistically, that Protection, so far as the United States are concerned, has in every case ultimately benefited the consumer; and on this ground I defend it and believe in it.'"

COST OF CLOTHING IN THE UNITED STATES.

"The experience of the United States shows this clearly. The staple articles used by the worker were not raised in price by the very heavy duties of the M'Kinley Tariff. As a few figures here are worth reams of obsolete theories, I will quote the cost of clothing in the United States before and after the Tariff, which came into force in 1891:

"Prices of clothing in New York City. (Figures are for the cost of the same quantity and quality of woollen, cotton, silk, and rubber goods, hides, leather, boots and shoes. From the United States Statistical Abstract, 1903, 463.)

	Dollars.		Dollars.
1889	15.17	1892	13.43
1890	14.84	1893	13.90
1891	14.13	1894	12.88

M'KINLEY TARIFF DOES NOT BRING DEARNESS.

"Thus prices fell instead of rising. In 1893, 13.9 dollars would buy what 15.17 dollars were required to buy in 1889. The country obtained a large revenue, which would have had to be raised by other taxation but for the Tariff, and obtained it, paying less for its manufactured necessaries."

COST OF FOOD IN UNITED STATES.

"The following are some of the answers given by the working men delegates on the Mosely Industrial Commission to the question:

'How does the price of food in America compare with that in England?'—

UNITED STATES' TARIFF.

Butter and Margarine, ..	£1 8 0 to £3 10 0 per cwt
Cheese, ...	£1 8 0 to £1 17 4 per cwt.
Meat, Animals, living, for Food, ...	£0 3 1½ to £0 15 7½ each.
Meat, Fresh, ...	.. .. £0 9 4 per cwt.
Meat, Bacon and Hams,	.. .. £1 3 4 per cwt.
Meat, Salted or otherwise preserved, (except Bacon and Hams,)	.. 25 per cent. ad valorem.
Wheat, ...	.. .. £0 1 11 per cwt.
Wheat Flour, ...	.. 25 per cent. ad valorem.

Etc. .

"The difference is little; if anything, it is cheaper."—*Mr. Walls, Blast Furnacemen.*

"I should say, taken on the whole, it is much about the same."—*Mr. Maddison, Iron Founders.*

"Foodstuffs compare favourably with our own, bread, meat, groceries, vegetables and fruit being as low, if not lower, than London prices, certainly lower than our north country cities and towns."—*Mr. Cummings, Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.*

"The price of food is much the same in both countries: while some articles are dearer, others are correspondingly cheaper."—*Mr. Holmshaw, Sheffield Trades.*

"No appreciable difference."—*Mr. Jones, Tubes, etc.*

"From the workers' point of view, there is very little difference in the price of food in England and America, as was admitted by a number of workmen who have had many years' experience in both countries."—*Mr. Ashton, Cotton Spinners.*

"Some commodities dearer, some cheaper." *Mr. Wilkinson, Weavers.*

"Food in America is very much as it is with us in price, the balance being in our favour."—*Mr. Flynn, Tailors.*

" The advantage appears to be on the side of the Americans, food of all sorts, meats and cereals, being grown at their doors."—*Mr. Hornidge, Boot and Shoe Operatives.*

" There is very little, if any, difference."—*Mr. Dyson, Paper-makers.*

" American workers are able to keep a better table, food, meat, etc., being considerably more reasonable in price than in this country ; fruit also is very plentiful and exceeding cheap."—*Mr. Bowerman, Compositors.*

" Much the same."—*Mr. Kelley, Lithographers.*

" About the same." —*Mr. Steadman, Trades Union Parliamentary Committee.*

———o———

COMPARATIVE PRICES OF BRITISH AND GERMAN FLOUR.

24th June, 1908.

Mr. Bridgeman : " I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the average cash price of a sack of wheaten flour (280lbs.) during the years 1903-4-5 was 28s. 8d. in Germany, where the import duty is about 9s. 1d. per sack, and 25s. 2d. in England for the same amount and quality ; and if the Board have any data to show upon whom the difference between the amount of the duty and the increase in price fell ? "

The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Churchill, Dundee :) " The figures are nominally correct. They would, however, be misleading if it were ignored that the prices quoted are those of particular grades of flour in Berlin and London, respectively, and do not necessarily represent the relative prices obtained by millers for their output of flour as a whole ; and that the German import duty on flour is so high in comparison with the duty on wheat that only a small quantity is imported. A truer basis of comparison is to be found in the wheat prices in the respective countries of the effect upon German prices of the import duty."

———o———

" There is

PLENTY OF PROOF

in the experience of all exported manufactures to the markets of manufacturing countries where duties are imposed on competing

imports. I collected documentary proof in abundance nearly twenty years ago in hundreds of replies to circulars then sent out by me to British exporters. The same result has attended the inquiry of the late Mr. Williamson, of Edinburgh. He challenged the Cobden Club recently to put the question to the test of experience and of evidence from British exporters, but this the Cobden Club declined to do. In a letter to Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, which is now public property, Mr. Williamson writes as follows:—

'I submitted the following question to a large number of exporting houses in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Oldham, Stockport, Salford, Coventry, Macclesfield, Huddersfield, Congleton, Walsall, Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c.:—

'In your experience, when a foreign country has imposed or added to a duty on an import, which had to encounter the competition of a home product, have you obtained in the markets of that country an advance in price to recoup you for the duty or increase in the duty you had to pay?'

'With the result that I obtained 530 replies in the negative, and only one from an American cycle exporter in the affirmative, evidently meant as a joke, as he appended the remark "You Britishers are the biggest fools in the world; why don't you put on Tariffs?" The following is a list of the industries, with the number of replies received from each:

'Cotton, 103; silk, 31; woollen, 5; carpets, 5; iron and steel, 54; brass, 30; gold, silver, and electro-plate, 34; hardware, 26; gunmakers, 16; cycles, 34; engineers, 18; glass, 7; india-rubber, 4; leather, 5; brewers, 11; merchants, 30; miscellaneous, 114—total, 531.

'In the face of such conclusive evidence as this, how can the Cobden Club still contend that there never was a duty that was not by its amount added to the market price? Fortunately, recent revelations as to the curious constitution of the Club show it is no longer the power for mischief it has been in the past. From a list of its members, supplied by its secretary, at the end of last year, we find it now consists of—

'242 foreigners, honorary members, domiciled abroad.

'59 honorary members, many of them foreigners domiciled in England.

'174 members.'"

Etc., Etc., Etc. .

* * * *

Clearly, therefore, I am afraid, my dear friends,—(without attempting to bore you any further,) we shall have to abandon at least the naive idea that manufacturers behind a tariff wall *have merely to add the tariff to the foreign competitive price,*

Take off a penny in the centum,

and live for ever happy afterwards!

And the principles which lead to this curious result are, I think, never very far to seek.

The first and most obvious, of course, is

THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERNAL COMPETITION!

If home manufacturers are having a rosy time of it, or about to have one, there are sure to be an envious large number of home capitalists who will make a push to have a share in the commercial sunshine.

Also, that this is not merely in theory but in reality so * *

———o———

PROTECTION.—EFFECT IN AUSTRALIA.

"A firm of manufacturing jewellers at Birmingham have received a letter from a customer in Sydney explaining that the new protective laws in the Commonwealth have undergone such a change that he is unable to continue his orders. He says:—'As you are no doubt aware, there is now a duty of 25 per cent. ad valorem (equals 27½ per cent.) on jewellery from the United Kingdom imported into the Commonwealth of Australia, **which has induced quite a crop of manufacturing jewellers to start operations here—far too many for the comparatively limited trade—which has resulted in the keenest Competitior.'**"

———o———

* * —Is abundantly proved by the Bankruptcy Statistics of Foreign Protected Countries.

Thus "M. Leroy Beaulieu estimates that out of every 100 "attempts in France to establish a business 20 fail immediately. "50 or 60 drag on a mere existence, and only 10 to 15 really "succeed.

"In America it is held that 90 per cent. of the men who try "to do business on their own account fail of success."

But here is the most delightful evidence that one could wish to have, short of getting it direct from Heaven: because it comes from an enthusiastic *sarcastic* opponent of Protection!

"'PROSPEROUS' GERMANY."

"Some Striking Facts.

"Mr. Chamberlain is fond of pointing to Germany as an "object-lesson in the prosperity which, as he assures us, never "fails to follow upon the introduction of the Protectionist sys- "tem, and his followers have repeated the same cry with "wearisome iteration. Their contention, broadly put, is that "the tariff on foreign products guarantees to the home "producer such a degree of immunity from competition that "the German manufacturer, assured of a profit upon his "capital in supplying the home market, is able to cultivate "with the more success a market for his surplus abroad.

"THE FACT IS, HOWEVER, THAT PROTECTION.

"so far from guaranteeing a profitable market for the home "producer, has the effect of reducing consumption, and is, "therefore, responsible for a chronic glut, which, in its turn,

"LEADS TO EXCESSIVE COMPETITION AND UNREMUNERATIVE PRICES.

"Nothing brings out into clearer relief the unhealthy con- "dition of the German productive industry than a glance at "the results of the trading companies during the last few years. "A few of the leading industries may be taken as typical of the "general condition of things, the figures being in every case "taken from the financial pages of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, "between the months of February and September last:—

"Textiles.

"Few of the German industries are supposed by Protection-

" ists to have benefited more from the tariff than the textile " trades. In the English woollen, cotton, and silk centres it has " constantly been represented that the competing mills in " Germany are carried on at a substantial profit. Here is the " answer :—

	Trading Loss on 1903-04.	Accumulated Deficit
Chemnitz Dyeing Co. -Liquidation resolved upon.	—	£8,330
Odenkirchen Spinning and Weaving Co., ...	£3,450	—
Augsburg Yarn Spinning Co., ...	2,080	—
Bayreuth Cotton Spinning Co., ...	2,920	—
Langensalza Cloth Works.—Capital reduced from £90,000 to £11,500.	3,220	—
Mulhausen Cotton Yarn Co., ...	10,640	—
Bamberg Bleaching and Finishing Works, ...	2,830	8,122
Bayreuth Flax Spinning Co., ...	1,172	2,635
Witschdorf Thread Works, ...	1,355	—
Fichtelbach Weaving Co., ...	—	8,190
Haardt Bros. Jacquard Weaving Co. M-Gladbach.—In liquidation, ...		—
South German Silk Works, Offenbach.—Capital written off by £10,000, ...	—	—
Offenburg Spinning Works, ...	1,945	14,783
Dessau Woollen Yarn Spinnery, ...	2,720	16,583
Berlin Bleaching and Dyeing Works, ...	9,974	28,763
Bedburg Woollen Co. (Limited), ...	—	26,502
Schille's Cloth Works, Grossenheim.—No dividend since 1899.	—	—
Central German Yarn and Dyeing Works, Mulhausen.—In liquidation, ...	—	40,830
Kaiserslautern Knitting Works, ...	210	14,230
Ulm Weaving and Spinning Co.—Capital reduced from £42,000 to £3,250, ...	—	—
International Weaving Co., Düsseldorf, ...	10,986	40,900
Palatinate Textile Co., Otterberg.—No dividend, ...	—	—
Neuss Dyeing Works, ...	1,847	13,116
Busch's Silk Co., Crefeld, ...	—	25,000
Fürth Spinning and Carding Works.—In reconstruction, ...	—	16,000
Steingraber's Silk Works, Crefeld.—Absorbed by reason of financial difficulties, ...		—
New Augsburg Calico Works.—£45,000 capital written off....	—	—
Düsseldorf Dye Works.—No dividend since 1900, ...	—	11,463
Elbing Linen Works.—In liquidation, ...	15,000	—
West German Hosiery Works, Münster.—In liquidation, ...	—	—
Wernshausen Yarn Spinning Works.—No dividend for 4 years. Capital reduced by £35,000, ...	—	—
Cotton Spinning and Weaving Works, Lampertsmühle.—No dividend for 4 years, ...	9,854	15,048
Düsseldorf Dyeing Co., ...	2,101	—
Nacken's Weaving Co., Wickrat.—In liquidation, ...	—	—
Kochlin's Bleaching and Dyeing Co., Mülhausen, ...	1,426	—
Ludwig's Lafen Spinning and Weaving Co.—In liquidation,	—	—

"Cement.

"'Cement is going,' says Mr. Chamberlain, and the Chairman "of Messrs. Martin, Earle & Co. has told us that when tariff "favours are to be given out cement will 'cry aloud' for con- "sideration. What the position of the cement industry is under "the tariff system of Germany may be judged from the following "list of Companies which have failed to make a profit during "the past year:—

	Trading Loss on 1903-4.	Accumulated Deficit.
Hoxton Cement Works.—Reserve absorbed.	£5,324	£5,563,
Lower Elbe Cement Co.,..	1,830	11,300
Saturn Cement Co., Hamburg, ...	18,604	54,560
Wicking Cement Co., Recklingshausen, ...	2,300	—
Germania Cement Co., Lehrte, ...	6,020	83,284
Lagerdorf Cement Works, Hamburg.—No dividend for four years, ...		25,600
Westerwald Cement Works, ...	3,070	7,328
Eagle German Portland Cement Works, ...		8,200
Offenbach Portland Cement Co., ...	4,930	11,040
Bremen Portland Cement Co., ...	2,180	7,120
South German Cement Co., Neunkirchen, ...	3,071	2,801
Mid-German Portland Cement Co., Schoenebeck, ...	3,194	11,083
Buren Portland Cement Co., ...	1,772	3,015
Elsa Portland Cement Works, Neubeckum, ...	7,900	11,700
Luneburg Cement Works, ...	3,448	5,850
Ingelheim Cement Works, ...	1,650	8,709
Diedesheim Cement Works, ...	6,438	34,019
Hemmoor Cement Works.—No dividend, ...		11,080
Neubeckum Cement Works.—No dividend since 1889, ...	—	2,018
Stettin-Gristow Cement Co.—No dividend, ...		
Breitenburg Cement Works.—No dividend, ...		
Bestwig Cement Co., ...	4,970	—
Rührort Cement Works.—No dividend, ...		
Munster Cement Co., ...	2,892	11,500

"Iron and Steel.

"That 'iron is threatened' in Free Trade England, Mr. "Chamberlain has told us repeatedly, and the Tariff Commission "has advocated import duties as a certain means of ensuring "prosperity. But a high tariff in Germany has failed to bring

" profits to the following among other firms engaged in the iron
" and steel trade :—

	Trading Loss on 1903-04.	Accumulated Deficit.
Annen Steel Works.—No dividend for 3 years, ...	—	£14,961
Siegens Solinger Steel Co.—No dividend for 2 years, ...	—	—
Marien Smelting Works, ...	£4,841	4,861
Aplerbeck Iron and Steel Co.—No dividend since 1899. Twice reconstructed, ...	936	—
Mannheim Steel Works, ...	2,019	—
Cainsdorf Iron Works, ...	6,140	—
Sieg Rhein Smelting Co., ...	17,320	—
Düsseldorf Iron Co., ...	8,900	—
Marie Iron Co., Cainsdorf, ...	6,335	13,128
Siegen Rolling Works.—No dividend, ...	—	—
Dahlhausen Steel and Iron Co., ...	18,446	34,078
Mathilde Iron Works, Harzburg.—No dividend for 3 years on £105,000 capital, ...	—	—
Bensburg-Gladback Iron Mining Co.—No dividend,... ...	—	—
Neustadt Smelting Co., ...	1,645	7,920
Westphalian Steel Works.—No dividend for 2 years, ...	—	—
Hagen Steel Works.—No dividend for 4 years, £50,000 capital cancelled, ...	—	—
Schwerte Iron Co.—No dividend on £250,000 capital, ...	—	—
Munich Iron Works.—Capital reduced by £60,000, ...	—	—
Nuremberg Steel Works, ...	—	15,633
Hanover Iron Smelting Co., ...	635	6,300
Blankenburg Iron Co., ...	2,990	10,900
German-Luxembourg Iron Co., Bochum.—No dividend, ...	—	—
Styrum Iron Co., Oberhausen.—In liquidation, ...	—	—
Oldenburg Iron Co.—No dividend, ...	—	—
Hochdahl Mining and Smelting Co.—No dividend, ...	—	—
Menden Schwerte's Iron Co.—No dividend, ...	—	—
Düsseldorf Iron and Wire Co., ...	—	—
Longscheder Rolling Co.—Capital reduced by 25 per cent.,	—	31,670
Bremen Iron Works.—Reserve Fund exhausted, ...	8,412	—
International Mining Co., Düsseldorf,..	10,780	40,900
Christine Iron Works, Meppen, ...	916	—
Harz Iron Works, Blankenburg, ...	2,792	—

Etc., Etc., Etc.

Etc., Etc.

Etc.

" A less attractive picture of the condition of trade in
" Germany, even under the revival which has followed the
" recent crisis, could hardly be imagined than is presented by
" the foregoing figures. **They show that, even during a period
" of commercial activity, vast amounts of capital invested in
" industrial undertakings receive no return, and that the profits**

" which a 'protected' home market is supposed to guarantee
" are quite illusory."

Scarcely less delightful is this from a **'Leader'** (no less) in that most inflexible pillar of Free Trade orthodoxy,

The Glasgow Herald !

" The condition of the hop industry was not long ago engaging a large amount of public attention and receiving a considerable measure of public sympathy. The report just issued by the Select Committee on the Hop Industry will show that sympathy extended to the hop growers is not misplaced, while, at the same time, it furnishes convincing evidence that the sort of sympathy the Kentishman in particular asks—viz., a 40s. duty on imported hops—should be most determinedly withheld from him. As the Committee point out, he is well enough aware that the tax he advocates would be a frankly protective one. **Nor does he contest the view that with a protected market the area brought under cultivation would increase, prices would be lowered, and in the end the industry would suffer as much as ever it has done from waves of depression.** He seems to have consoled himself with the opinion that the effects of competition with his own kith and kin can be more stoically, if not in reality more easily, borne than when they proceed from the alien some hundreds or thousands of miles away. * * * **If there is any consolation to be derived from the embarrassments of others, the English grower is not left uncomforted. The industry is in a bad way in America, and in Germany, too, hop lands are going out of cultivation.** Yet in America and in Germany there are heavy duties imposed on imported hops : 50s. per cwt. in the case of the former, and 10s. per cwt. in that of the latter. **Over-production is offered in both cases as the explanation of a depressed condition which the English grower shares with the foreigner, but persists in believing could be removed by methods which the foreigner has enforced with singular unsuccess."**

But there is a subtler Principle also at work, the Principle namely :

THAT CHEAPNESS IS THE BEST COMMERCIAL POLICY !

—Pays, that is to say, best in the end.

You see at work this Principle every present hour of the passing day along every line of the Industrial Compass.

Where are to be found, e.g., in the wide world greater monopolists than just our own home familiar British Railway Companies? They are protected not only from Foreign Competition but in a thousand and one particulars from Home Competition as well. And therefore by every rule of Free Trade logic we have a right to expect that they *must* take advantage of the public helplessness and batten on abnormality.

Perhaps also they do!

But the most business of them dont.

And all of them, at all times, in the shape of "Seasons," "Week-Ends," "Zones," "Excursions," etc., deliberately and *unsolicitedly* reduce their fares to a minimum.

Why?

Because they find it pays!

I give you the Newspapers,—morning and evening daily. These, if you like, also have an absolute Home Monopoly in their particular specialty of industry. And yet I find nowhere has arisen a single British Newspaper, or any British Conspiracy of such, which battens on the blood of an oppressed public *by insisting on sixpence a copy!*

Why?

Because merely nobody would pay it.

And so with a thousand other things.

Everybody is familiar with Colman's joke that he made his money not out of the mustard that people used but out of that that they didn't.

Fewer, perhaps, are familiar with Mr. Blatchford's denunciation of over-cheapness as a sort of sometime economic and social crime. His paradox being, that if lucifer matches were dearer for each of us they would be cheaper for all of us.

Why?

Because promptly to-morrow by stopping their abuse the world could be doing with a fraction of its present use and a sinister industry would be thereby free to pour its energies,—the energies

which it now dedicates to the dissemination of phosphorus necrosis into some more human remunerative channel!

—Which, as I say, all, but just out bears into relief my point. That manufacturers under the machine conditions of modern production find it to their final interest so far to cheapen an article that its first use passes into its final abuse.

* * *

☞ Nor must you omit to remember, please, that the weapon of retaliation (in the present instance) is not quite completely removed out of your own hands. By which I mean to say, that if the Woollen Manufacturers *did* raise their prices by twenty per cent. you could at least have a try to recover on them by the happy device of spinning out the wear of your woollens by fifty per cent!

However, (and notwithstanding the fact—just mentioned, that workmen's clothes in price are much about the same in America and Germany that they are here,) as a responsible canny Scotsman—it is no part of my duty to do anything rash.

I will, as the Government of England, therefore, compound with your simple alarms.

I will let in Cottons, if you like, as usual, free and I will put a tax of five only or ten per cent. on imported Woollens: for, if you like to have it so, I will make it the other way about: and then *to make quite certain* I will go further, and appoint as a standing commission of economic enquiry! 'the ever-to-be-famous Fourteen'! who shall 'manifest' to me annually and the people of Great Britain, without prejudice, the startling effects of my innovation.

What next?

—Someone suggests

BOOTS!

And I have no objection. Of these in 1902 we imported nearly **3,000,000 pairs**,—valued at **£877,814.** And no one I should imagine will imagine that a country which is so beautifully adapted for the wearing of boots can be so very badly adapted for their manufacture

And everybody will admit, I think, in passing, that the making of these boots would have provided employment for at least *some* poor cobblers:—(by my reckoning for no fewer than **4,300**!) And if any cynic suggests that we should have to pay in the ultimate through the nose for our mistaken charity,—in other words, that the Scallywag Boot Manufacturers would take advantage of our patriotic idea and raise the price of boots all round,—the cynic can be referred to the United States, where the Scallywag Boot Manufacturers, working behind the shelter of a duty of 2/6 a pair, —appear to turn out their boots as cheaply as they do here.

And after all, really! why *should* they?—I mean the Manufacturers of British Boots, any more than do at present the Manufacturers of British Buns!

—At present the natural barrier against Buns is to all intents and purposes prohibitive. And yet Bun prices are quite moderate. In any case if *you* think them *immoderate*, you are quite at liberty to build a Bun factory and bake yourself into a multi-bun-millionaire, to-morrow, —*with my heartiest approval and good wishes!*

But at the same time, and notwithstanding all that, I think our wiser plan at this point is to pause and have a smoke and a re-consider as to where we are really going. Because it is becoming not quite clear to me that there is any great occasion for our much going further.

When I gave you a moment ago Mr. Craig's Budgets of working class expenditure it was my intention to set about the analysis of the same with the methodism of a German savant.

That is to say, I intended to take up the individual items of a working man's expenditure and examine with care for myself under your most critical inspection in how far, (if indeed so far,) the proposed New Fiscal Economy would add to his Cost of Living.

But everybody can plainly see,—even myself on second consideration, that I should be undertaking the work of a prolonged judicial Commission and that the reward of my mountainous labours in the sequel would be but an occasional and a very ridiculous mouse.

———o———

For example: In regard to the item—

FUEL AND LIGHTING:

everybody can see at a glance that the working man in this country is already enduring all the horrors he can possibly hope to under the scourge of Protection. Our chief fuel is coal: and with the exception of the farthing dip and a little paraffin oil all of our lighting now is done by gas and electricity, both of which, in the main, derive also from coal:—and coal in this island, as even the Free Traders are now fond of explaining to us, is already under the vile tyranny of Protection.

(No doubt, of a morning,) in setting ablaze her breakfast fire the good housewife requires a few sticks as well,—a crumple of newspaper, and a match. But it is not proposed in the meantime to put a tax upon sticks, and as for a tax upon matches it is scarce likely that the good housewife would grumble at the heavy burden of anything *so in itself desirable.*

There remains for consideration, therefore, over, only now the good wife's

PAPER.

! * * And, well,—well!—*that*, no doubt, is an item of broader reflection, which I, as a responsible statesman, should have to ponder more closely.

In the first place, on consideration, it is to me, no doubt, in so far, delightful to know that if we had foolishly manufactured at home the Imports of Paper which arrived in this country in 1902

Employment would have been at once provided for about 50 average additional Paper Mills and 7500 Workers.

But then there is the ever-present indubiety of our infernal climate! Dare I sincerely hope and believe that it is adapted, honestly, for the manufacture of paper?

"

'None was ever better, Sir!'

"

Well, but, if that be really so, the only question then that remains for patriotic consideration is as to the incidence of the increased cost of production which is certain to result from my adventure.

Will the effect of my proposed tariff be, (and in how far,) to make the poor really poorer and the rich richer?

! ! ! !

Well, but in the first place, now, (to begin with,) who are the great consumers of paper? Undoubtedly the Newspaper Proprietors, Publishers, and Great Advertisers. But paying unexpectedly more for their raw material will they—(I mean the greatest consumers of all,)—the Newspaper Proprietors,—will these not contrive with cunning to transmit this fresh burden of increased expenditure to the unoffending shoulders of the General Public?

Well, no doubt, Sir, they will try. But how?—You mean that they will raise the price of the daily Newspapers from a penny to five farthings and from two farthings to three?

Well, ! ! !—**Per**haps! By which I mean to say, that there is nothing in this world that is actually impossible!—But, on the whole, I think that such an elevation in price is scarcely likely. And in any case the poor dont buy daily newspapers.

Perhaps they will increase, however, their rates of advertising?

I should say most probably they will. But the very poor dont advertise. And the poor advertisers who do,—can advertise less.

But perhaps the advertisers will advertise as much as before and take it out of the public in the increased price of their wares.

Perhaps they will. But as a rule the advertisers dont seem to charge the cost of their advertisements on the price of their wares at all, which are frequently as cheap or even cheaper than other folks', but on the increased turn-over which results from their advertisement.

But perhaps the Great Newspapers will retaliate on the public in a more insidious way,—by docking the length of their columns and diminishing the volume of their news. Well, but, if they do, it would be the most Christian operation which they ever undertook.

But the Publishers, Sir! Will they not also increase the price of their Books and Magazines? Perhaps, no doubt, they will. But the poor dont consume Books and Magazines! and the *very* studious poor who do can get all that they want now in a Carnegie Library.

But the Grocer,—the omnipresent Grocer, you are forgetting my friend,—the Grocer! Discovering to his amazement that his paper bill has gone up with your confounded Tariff will he not turn about and diminish on the General Public the value which he gives in black soap, etc.. I should say very likely he will. But then the poor dont use any soap * * * !

By which I mean to say,—'**BAH!** * * * ! ! !'

By which, again, (in my most polite way,) I mean seriously to affirm that it is to me the very reverse of clear that the great paper consumers would be able to transfer any, in any degree, ponderable proportion of their *hypothetical* increased paper bill to the General Public.

What, in effect, on the very best Free Trade assumption, could take place chiefly would be that a portion of the present great profits of the Great Newspaper Syndicates—**who in their own industrial operations are protected up to the eyes,** would pass over into the at least as deserving pockets of the great paper manufacturers, who in their industrial operations for long years have been exposed to a remorseless onslaught from every direction of the world's compass.

Take again the question of

HOUSE PLENISHING.

A very respectable Room and Kitchen, they tell me,—and I have taken the trouble to enquire into the matter at first hand, can be furnished, now-a-days, for about £20.

These,—(for those amongst you with matrimonial intentions,) being the details:

Room Furniture, ...	£9	9	6
Kitchen Furniture (including floorcloth 15 ..)	3	12	0
Household Crockery (including 32 piece Dinner Set and 40 piece Tea Set	1	10	8
Household Linen (including 2 pairs curtains ..	3	3	1½
Hardware, Cutlery and Sundries, ...	2	6	3
Total, ..	£20	1	6½

I cannot say (and I'm afraid I am never likely to be able to

what the retail profit on all this is certain to be, but if, (for the sake of ease to the bones of my poor arithmetic,) we assume it to be about 25 per cent. then if these things were subject to an import duty the sum on which the Customs would be calculated would be £15 : and a ten per cent. duty on £15 would be £1 10s.

And this then formidable sum ! at the wildest and worst, distributed over a life-time would be the penalty which the working classes would have to pay for the privilege of—**manufacturing all this House Plenishing at home.**

And if you ask me really, it is by no means clear to me—not to the best consideration I am able to give to it, that the working paterfamilias, who is believed to contribute to the Public Exchequer on an average about 16 3 per annum for the mere privilege of polluting the atmosphere with tobacco smoke,—would grudge it !

But in the great city of Glasgow no fewer than 104,128 live in single apartments. And I am moderately (morally) certain that not a tumultuous number of these are provided with ' floorcloth at 15/,' ' 32 piece dinner sets,' and ' 2 pairs of curtains,'—so that really the whole poor discussion in so far as I and the very poor are concerned and in spite of my really genuine herculean effort to be honest with it seems to slip beyond my futile grasp like an unattached balloon and explode somewhere in mid-air into a kind of All Fools' Day joke.

The only really repetitive expenditure in House Plenishing is in respect of

CROCKERY.

But what poor working-man's wife would grudge an extra halfpenny on a tea-pot that may last her with care for a dozen years :—

Especially if I beforehand informed her that the production in this country of the million pounds'† worth of China Earthenware and Porcelain which we imported into this country in 1902 would have given employment to

6000 skilled workers and 1950 unskilled,

† 1902.—£981,481 : 1903.—£1,053,377.

—in addition to indirect labour :

———o———

– When for every pound of tea which is infused therein she contributes uncomplainingly to the Public Exchequer—fivepence !

———o———

And why should she worry her grey poor hairs into a lunatic asylum over the possibility—because after all, at the best and the worst, isn't about that the height and breadth of it ?—of a sugar bowl costing her a farthing more, when for every pound of sugar that she puts in it she is already paying to the British Government an actual Free Trade Tariff of—do. ?

———o———

—Especially, as I have already remarked, when the power of redress is so completely in her own live hands of – by the exercise of a little judicious care, contributing to the wealth of the world by breaking fewer !

———o———

And so in perfect like manner with the question of

HOUSE RENT!

That is to say, – if I had gone into this matter as fully as I originally intended I should have cut a sorrier spectacle even, I am afraid, than the noble Don Quixote tilting at a Windmill.

Here, *e.g.*, is an analysis derived from the highest expert sources in the city showing in detail,

THE COST OF ERECTING A MODERN GLASGOW WORKING-CLASS TENEMENT !

—35ft. by 30ft., consisting of 8 one room and kitchen houses and 4 single apartments : and having the following for rental : room and kitchen, £8 15s. to £11 : single apartment, £6 15s. Total £106 10s.

Contractors' Estimates.		Protected.								Unprotected.		
		Wages.			Material.			Freights and Carriages.				
Mason Work, ...	£435 0 0	£200 15 0	Stones, ...	£164 12 0							
			Lime, ...	13 15 0							
			Railway Carriage and Cartages, ...				£55 18 0				
Brick Work, ...	140 0 0	55 9 0	Bricks, ...	62 10 0							
			Lime, ...	9 1 0							
			Cartages, ...	... ...			13 0 0				
Steel Beams, ...	15 0 0		... ...	... ...						£15 0 0	
Joiner Work, ...	420 0 0	218 18 7	Joisting, ...	40 5 6							
			Flooring, ...	28 2 6							
			Finishings, (Doors, Facings, etc.),	82 12 1							
			Glass, ...	... ...						11 3 10	
			Lath, ...	... ...						13 3 3	
			Ironmongery, ...	... ...						25 14 3	
Plumber Work, ...	78 16 6	20 8 0	Pipes and Sheet Lead, ...	... ...						26 13 6	
			Brackets, Cranes, Sinks, etc., ...	... ...						31 15 0	
Plaster Work, ...	113 9 8	75 13 0	Lime, Sand, etc., ...	33 16 8							
			Cement, ...	... ...						4 0 0	
Slater Work, ...	25 0 0	5 3 0	Slates, ...	15 6 0							
			Freight, ...	... ...			2 14 0				
			Nails and Chimney Cans, ...	... ...						1 17 0	
Painting Work, ...	40 0 0	22 0 0	Paints, Oils, Turpentine, ...	... ...						12 0 0	
			Wallpapers, ...	... ...						6 0 0	
Grates, ...	40 2 0	—	Register Grates and Ranges, ...	... ...						40 2 0	
Tiles, ...	10 0 0	3 4 0	Tiles, ...	... ...						6 0 0	
			Cement, ...	... ...						0 16 0	
Venetian Blinds, ...	9 10 0	-	... ...	... ...						9 10 0	
Watchman, ...	9 0 0	9 0 0									
Architect's and Measurer's Fees,	20 0 0	20 0 0									
Ground (approx.), ...	150 0 0	—	... ...	150 0 0							
	£1505 18 2	£630 10 7		£600 0 9			£71 12 0			£203 14 10	

But anybody listening to that analysis cannot fail to be struck with the wholesale ridiculous futility—of ever preparing it.

The huge Wage Bill and Freights are already under absolute Protection. Stones and bricks and sand and slates are under Free Trade, no doubt, but they are under all the same the shelter of a very heavy *natural* Protection. Bricks, e.g., cost in Glasgow about 7/ a ton, while to bring a competitive ton from Antwerp or Rotterdam would cost in freight alone about 10/.

Lime is admitted into Germany free.

Joisting is imported in logs, and flooring in battens, from which we may take it, I think, as a not unreasonable inference that these (scarcely) are items that stand in need of a very urgent tariff.

The question with regard to Finishings is no doubt open to discussion. But even here again the discussion is delightfully circumscribed—and even simplified by the following:

EXCERPT FROM BYE LAW No. 12

OF THE

RULES AND WORKING REGULATIONS

BETWEEN THE

GLASGOW MASTER WRIGHTS' ASSOCIATION

AND

OPERATIVE JOINERS IN THE GLASGOW DISTRICT.

"No employer to import or take for use any foreign or machine-made doors, windows, or other finishing, unless a satisfactory guarantee is produced that such material is made under fair conditions."

! ! ! !

'Order! Gentlemen! Order!'

* * * In spite of the chairman, friends, I quite sympathise. One doesn't know very well, at first, whether to laugh or cry. I for my own part frequently do both. But in any case that, if you like, is an authentic Portrait—Life Fool Size—of **The British (Bulwark-of-Free-Trade) Working Man!**

And what I frequently to myself—as the nearest way out, say, is:—('May God bless him!')

Every other item, as you see, I have placed in the ' Unprotected ' column. But it is only fair to the Tariff Reformer to admit that every practical man in the building way, interested and disinterested, to whom I have shown that column has clapped me on the back, so to say, and

Grinned at my Greenness !

One gentleman informed me that he had read somewhere in a book, but that of course he couldn't guarantee for the book, that Cement went into Germany free. Another in a spirit of the most brotherly consideration assured me that the Spirit of Turpentine did that too.

Another informed me that to put my plumber item in the 'unprotected ' column was absurd. The labour cost of converting pig lead into lead piping and sheet lead was only about 2/ per cwt., " so that the bulk of your item stands for raw lead which would certainly be admitted free."

One man joked about my Grates and Ranges, informing me that they suffered at present from no foreign competition, and that he found it difficult enough to get them delivered intact even with the little transport that was.

Another man grinned in a way which I didn't at all relish, and yet couldn't very well resent, especially at my poor chimney cans : and one man, in particular, laughed very heartily at my lath, informing me that the whole of it, without exception, was made in this country, and that my item of £13 3s. 3d. included no less than fifty per cent. for wages.

But notwithstanding all this jocosity I too was not without my little sardonic rally.

' My dear Sirs,' I said, ' I am perfectly more or less aware of much that you tell me. I am also no less well aware that a considerable discount would have to be made from all these semi-retail prices in order to come by the actual Import prices on which any actual tariff would be levied.

' But in dealing with a fool it is often wise to be an ass. And in dealing with such a fool as a Free Trade fool you cannot be ass enough. If he insists, as he does, that all these things are bound

to go up in price our little plan is to let 'em, and meekly stand, with a telescope by,—and watch the ascension.'

! ! ! !

But going up at their level worst by ten per cent., what would that mean? That would mean, on a total oncost of £1500, a rise of £20. And a rise of £20 in the cost of such a tenement would mean, to the annual rent of a room and kitchen, an addition of,—if any Factor took the trouble to add it,—3 , and, to that of a single apartment, of 1/6!

———o———

It must be abundantly clear, however, that no self-respecting convinced Free Trader could possibly rest convinced—at that.

I know, because I have tried. I took the trouble once in the green hay-fever height of my original paroxysm for Fiscal Reform to address a confirmed Free Trader on the point, but I had no sooner laboriously finished the profound estimation which I have just given you of the poor man's burden, than he, unaffected,—merely drew me calmly on one side and said:

'My dear Ass,—You are like all the rest of these illiterate brainless bigoted Tariff Reform baboons. Can't you see that the workmen who are engaged in the construction of dwelling-houses cannot construct without tools? That tools, as a result of Protection, are bound to go up in price, and that therefore the cost of building and rents inevitably * * * * .'

! ! ! !

I gathered myself up out of this salt water douche, dilapidated together, like the astonished jelly on the beach that was once Jonah, and—limped away off to the nearest Plasterer.

And to the man of Plaster I said: 'I have a son and I want to bring him up in the plastering way. Would you please inform me how much it will take to provide him with a Plasterer's outfit.' And the Plasterer retired for a little into his inner consciousness, and then returned with the answer:—5/.

'And if ever he becomes a Master Plasterer what for capital will he want to start him in business?'

And the Master Plasterer sat down (with an exasperating air) of divine patience to his desk,—and drew me out this:

	£	s	d
Two Stools and Boards, 4/ each, ...	0	8	0
One (what he called a) 'Claut,'	0	3	0
Three Hods, 5/6 each, ...	0	16	6
Three Shovels, 2/ each, ...	0	6	0
One Riddle, ...	0	4	0
One Barrow, ...	0	14	0
Two Tubs, ...	0	15	0
Total, ...	£3	7	0

'And how many men are usually employed on a tenement?'

Answer: Four.

'Therefore,' ('if that be so,')—I murmured: **'Grand Tool Total, £4 7s!'**

—o—

And pocket book in hand I journeyed on to the nearest Bricklayer.

To the man of bricks the same enquiries put: and this received in reply:

Workman's kit:—Trowel, 2/8; Hammer, 1/6; Foot-rule, 1/; Spirit Level, 1/6; Plumb-rule, 1/; total, 7/8.

	£	s	d
Therefore, total for two journeymen, ...	0	15	4
Master's Material:			
Three Hods, 5/6 each, ...	0	16	6
Three Shovels, 2/ each, ...	0	6	0
Three Tubs, 2/6 each, ...	0	7	6
One Riddle, ...	0	4	0
Grand Total, ...	£2	9	10

—o—

Then I to the Master Mason betook me,—to him the searching same enquiries put, and this received for reply:

	£	s	d
Two Builders, Kit 15/ each, ...	£1	10	0
Six Hewers, Kit 15/ each, ...	4	10	0
Master's Material:			
Crane, ...	20	0	0
Two Hand Barrows, 8/ each, ...	0	16	0
One Ordinary Barrow, ...	0	14	0
Four Tubs, 2/6 each, ...	0	10	0
One Hod, ...	0	5	6
One Riddle, ...	0	4	6
Three Shovels, 2/ each, ...	0	6	0
Grand Total, ...	£28	16	0

Then I lied me to the unsuspecting Slater and after the waters of his astonishment had subsided sufficiently received to the same enquiries this for reply :

Workman's kit :—Hammer, 1/; Trowel, 1 ; Slate Knife, 2/6; total, ...	£0	4	6
Master's material :			
Ropes and Machine, ...	1	10	0
Scaffolding, ...	0	10	0
Ladder, ...	0	10	0
Grand Total, ...	£2	14	6

' And what would the life of this outfit be ? '

How do you mean ?

' How many years would it last ? How many tenements could you put through hands with it ? '

Why do you ask ?

' My dear Sir ! Can't you understand that I am busy on a scientific research.'

What research ?

' Well, dont you understand that if a tariff were going upon these things :— '

You mean going up on my ladder and scaffolding ?

' Yes ! I mean that. If these things were mounting up, say, 10 per cent. in price :— '

You mean 10 per cent. as a fact, or as a fancy ?

' Well, as a matter of fact, I mean what you would call a ' fancy ' :—what scientific people call an ' hypothesis.' '

Very good !

' And what I want to know of you is : How much would this hypothetical increase of 10 per cent. compel you to add to the cost of a single tenement, and how much would this added cost add to the rent of a single apartment ? '

* * * *

—I had my pencil in hand and was looking gravely at my note-book, expecting to stenograph for the information of this and future generations the sky-scraper's reply.

But unexpectedly instead, I found a persuasive but gentle arm conducting me silently and even softly to the door. I *felt*, the while, that a master's eye was running over the slates in my upper garret, and, as he shook my hand tenderly, he whispered: "My dear young man! What you need very badly, is to get away home fast to bed, get under the blankets, and get your mother to fetch a doctor."

* * * *

I can perfectly, however, imagine this.

I can imagine a philosopher going back to Mr. A. J. Craig's Budgets and reflecting in this way:

'Out of a working man's total income in Budget (1) of £54 no less than £31 is spent in food: and out of a total in Budget (2) of £87 no less than £46.

'Now my idea, therefore, is this: I am prepared to go any 'length you like in the way of protecting such things as 'Finishings,' 'and Paper, and Glass, and Crockery, and what not, but I distinctly 'draw the line at the People's Food. And that I will touch with 'a tariff on this side time!—Not for you nor for no white man!'

Now I suppose that most people would be inclined to feel that they could shake hands with a generosity like this. But unfortunately in the meantime for all these pious aspirations the people's food has already been tampered with: been in fact heavily burdened with taxes: and that by no less than the Free Traders themselves! Tea is taxed at present to the tune of 5d. a lb.: (But the tune in 1905 was 6d., and in 1904 8d.!)—Sugar, until the other day, to the extent of 4/2 per cwt.:† etc., etc.

In 1907-08 we raised in revenue the following from the following:

	Rate of Duty.	Amount Raised.
Sugar, ...	½d. per lb. ..	£6,718,000
Tea, ...	5d. ,, ...	5,817,000
Figs, Plums and Raisins, ..	¾d. ,, ...	330,000
Cocoa, ...	1d. ,, ...	287,000
Coffee, ...	1½d. ,, ...	184,000
Currants, ...	¼d. ,, ...	126,000
Chicory, ...	2d. ,, ...	48,000
	Total, ..	£13,510,000

† Now 1 15.

And from Tea and Sugar alone in the following years the following :

	Sugar.	Tea.	Total.
1901-2, ...	£6,399,228	£5,792,967	£12,192,195
1902-3, ...	4,478,707	5,975,483	10,454,190
1903-4, ...	5,725,913	6,559,705	12,285,618
1904-5, ...	6,106,387	8,271,866	14,378,253
1905-6, ...	6,177,593	6,814,908	12,992,501
1906-7, ...	6,250,834	5,588,288	11,839,122
			£74,141,879

And decidedly this little war paragraph, I think, provides 'food for reflection,'—to those who see it for the first time :

"FOOD TAXATION UNDER FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION.

"The following figures show the amount per head of the population raised by taxes on food in the chief commercial countries in 1905-06 :—

United Kingdom (Free Trade), ..	£1	10	0
France (Protection), ...	£1	5	4
Germany (Protection), ...	£0	17	7
United States (Protection), ...	£0	15	7

Under these circumstances it becomes our obvious duty to enquire whether *it isn't within the bounds of human ingenuity* to devise some other mode of incidence of Food Taxation which might help forward a little better the industry of the country.

To this idea the first and most obvious thing that suggests itself is as to the practicability of a tax upon

FLOUR!

There are those who affirm that it isn't within the bounds of practical possibility to produce within these islands all the Wheat that we require.

But given the Wheat! Surely to Heavens we can produce from it the Flour!

We produce a large proportion of it even as it is. So that our soil, and climate, and character, and all the Tom rest of it must be

most ratefy well adapted to its production. **Query? —Why not in that case produce the whole of it?**

Well, but what now, please, are the statistical facts?

	British Milled Flour. Cwts.	Imported Foreign Flour. Cwts.
1871. - - - -	61,940,000.	3,977,000.
1901. - - - -	69,021,000.	22,576,000.

Startling!—Aren't they?

Making clear:

(1) That the Flour imported into the country has increased out of all proportion to the Wheat imported.

(2) That if, in 1901, we had milled at home the whole of our Flour the British Milling Industry would have had about **one-third more Milling to do.**

Query? What would that have meant for the industry of the country?

Well, I will tell you what it would have meant for Glasgow.—And at your leisure you can calculate out the country for yourself.

Roughly speaking, there come into Glasgow 40,000 sacks of Flour in the week. If this Flour were manufactured in Glasgow, there would be provided occupation for **40 additional Mills!** (There are five at present.) Turning out each a thousand sacks a week!

To build and equip a Mill of this capacity there would be required an outlay of **£10,000!** And for the erection, therefore, of 40 such Mills a capital investment of **£400,000!** Each of these Mills in action would employ, in addition to the manager or owner, 14 men: in all, therefore, **600 men**: which, without just knowing the masters' profits, and reckoning the wages of a workman at 30 - a week, would mean a spendable weekly wage-bill

Of well over a thousand pounds!

In addition, there would be consumed in the year about **6,000 tons of coal**: which, in turn, would mean employment for at least a score of miners, one or two carters, and some or other decimal fraction of a railwayman.

But 600 men, multiplied by five,—being a wife and three children to each, would mean **a population of 3,000 souls!**

But a population of 3,000 souls means a town like Jedburgh—which has a population of 3,136, or Bothwell, which has a population of 3,400.

And Bothwell !—What does just Bothwell mean ?

Well, Bothwell means,—quite a respectable little township.

It means, in the first place, quite a lot of houses to erect, and the erection of houses means work for quarries, and brickfields, and mines, and railways,—and masons, and bricklayers, and plumbers, and plasterers, and joiners, and painters, etc., etc. .

Bothwell means 3,400 souls to feed, cleed, and furnish.

Bothwell, therefore, means :

38 shops of various kinds,
2 Public Houses,
1 Hotel,
1 Post Office,
2 Railway Stations,
1 Bank !

Bothwell means 3,400 people to keep well : and, therefore, **3 doctors :**

To keep orderly : therefore, **3 policemen :**

To educate : **1 school :**

To keep good : **3 churches !**

Bothwell means more Books to buy, more Newspapers to read, more Meal, Milk, Butter, Booze, Toys, Tiddliwinks, Coals, Carts, Coffins !

Bothwell means more contributions to the Local and Imperial Exchequers :—more Inhabited House and Roads and Bridges Assessments, more Excise and Customs Revenue, more Income Tax, etc., etc. .

Bothwell, therefore, means more financial power to the elbow of England—more strength to build ships and support war, more of the wherewithal to finance Reform,—and more breeding power for a vast unpeopled Empire.

: : : :

!—And—And, as I am just after saying,—the stroke of a Statesman's pen and the milling of 40,000 sacks of flour a week in Glasgow means Bothwell !

Even at this, however, the story is not quite finished. Because in turning out 40,000 (2½ cwt.) sacks of Flour the New Glasgow Mills would at the same time turn out

42,000 cwt. of offal!

—A week: and therefore, in the year,

2,184,000 cwt!

But what would that mean?

That would mean, converted into Bacon, †

40,768,000 lbs. of Bacon a year!

and, converted into Eggs,

295,896,744 Eggs a year!

! ! ! !

'Yes! Yes!—Which is all, no doubt, very well for the pigs and poultry! But wouldn't the country have to pay very sweetly through the nose for this problematic—infinitesimal addition to the industry of the country?

Wouldn't the British Measly Millers immediately raise their price of Flour by the amount of your tariff and plunder by that amount the whole community?'

Perhaps they would.

But even if they did, why should you worry overmuch about the result of protecting the conversion of wheat into flour,

When the conversion of Flour into Bread

is already so highly protected,—and the burden of our infliction lies so heavy, that everybody laughs: and *actually believes that you are talking through your hat* when you speak of it?

Perhaps, I say, they would.

But is it so absolutely then beyond the wit of man to circumvent them if they did?

Yesterday, *e.g.*, the Glasgow Wholesale Co-operative Society

---

†The data used in calculating these approximations have been furnished me by a high agricultural authority. They are as follows: (1) 6 cwt. 'offal'=1 cwt. bacon: (2) "For the production of 150 eggs, which may be taken as the average annual yield of a hen, a mixed diet containing 89 lbs. of nutriment must be provided. 100 lbs. thirds contain 72 lbs. nutriment. It would thus require 124 lbs. of thirds to furnish as much nutriment as is required in the production of 150 eggs. That this is approximately correct is corroborated by the fact that the cost of 124 lbs. of thirds is just about equal to the cost of maintaining a hen for a year."

bought from a private firm the Regent Flour Mill at Partick and runs it to-day for the benefit of its extensive membership.

Is it so unreasonable to conjecture that the Glasgow Corporation *might to-morrow re-purchase that mill from the Glasgow Wholesale Co-op. and run it for the benefit of you and me?*

Perhaps, I say, the Measly British Millers would. But also, perhaps, they wouldn't!

Certainly if it were like that they would: working out the situation by the help of analogy one would anticipate as a reasonable certainty that all the present Millers in Protected Countries would be in the position of multi- or at least semi-multi-millionaires.

But yet, oddly enough, that does not appear to be the case.

In any case one would not be inclined to think so from this:

Milling Industry in Germany.

(Extract from a Review of the Trade by the "Müller Zeitung.")

"Of 71 large joint-stock Milling Companies only 41 declared a dividend, the average amount so declared being 4 per cent."

Milling in France.

"One of the leading flour millers of the Edinburgh district pointed out to an *Evening News* representative that it was a fallacy to suppose that a duty upon the foreign manufactured article would be of any advantage to British millers. * * Another gentleman prominent in the trade, said an advantage to milling might accrue for a few years, but would be followed by disaster. **At the very outset numerous company promoters would be inviting the public to subscribe to build mills, on the assumption that an amount equal to the tariff on Flour would all go into the pockets of the manufacturers. They would find, however, that competition would prevent the possibility of that.** The question, this gentleman stated, could be made to look well on paper, but it did not work well in practice, and he pointed to **the experience of France where, he said, the consequence of getting the industry well protected was to double the milling capacity of France, so that mills were not worth having."**

I pass on my floury way along forthwith now to Mr. Chamberlain's mighty proposition !

The Great Vexed Agonising Imposition !

The dread tax which is to sink twelve British starving millions into irr-immediate perdition ! And bring this great our noble country in grey-haired sorrow to an untimely grave !

—I refer to the proposed tariff, namely, upon

WHEAT !

! ! !—Beyond the stark bounds of which insanity there is, as anyone may divine, no further to go.

Well, my dear friends, let us look the best we can into the criminality of this disgraceful proposition.

The abominable suggestion, as I understand it, is this :

In 1903 we drew from abroad our wheat supplies as follows :*

	Cwts.
From Foreign Countries, ...	**85,000,000**
From our own Colonies and Possessions, . .	**32,000,000**

But everybody is agreed that these proportions could be reversed, and every (Briton) is agreed that it would be much better for Great Britain if they were reversed : because in that case the British Empire would be richer and more populous and more independent and thereby stronger and safer !

And the Economical Problem at issue is : How can Great Britain bring this inversion about *in the quickest and most effective time ?*

Well, Mr. Chamberlain, to this end, has suggested :—But I pray you well again, please, to mark my words.—I said : *to this end :* That we should give a preference in our corn market to Colonial Wheat, by imposing upon all Foreign Wheat a tax of 2/- a quarter and letting the Colonial Wheat to arrive free. Than which, more easy, nothing in the world could, of course, possibly practically be.

*Including flour in equivalent weight of grain.

—But the puzzling enquiry is, —How would the audacity work out ?

In this way :

Everybody is agreed that the Consumer pays every farthing of a Protective Import Tax !

I.

We have seen, in a hundred ways, that often he does nothing of the kind.

II.

Mr. Chamberlain has assured us that one of the highest economic authorities in this country —' one of the highest official experts whom Governments consult '—has assured him that in the case of a preferential tariff such as that which he proposes —where part of the imported commodity is taxed and part is tax-free —*the consumer is never likely to pay the whole of the tax*, but only that proportion of the tax which the taxed part of the commodity bears to the total, — taxed and untaxed.

III.

Also we have experienced already the other day an impost of 1/- a quarter upon Wheat and we know as a simple historical fact that the price of bread thereby did not rise in Glasgow. —(And many elsewheres.)

Also for, among others, a thoroughly understandable reason ! The British baker, like the wise rest of us, is a child of the current generation. He sees very clearly that the price of bread must be more or less stable and he knows very well that the price of Wheat is never. Therefore, he takes time by the forelock : and when the price of Wheat is 30 - a quarter he sets up the market price of his bread as if it had been really 34 -. And therefore, in the fluctuating interim, if the price of Wheat goes even up to 33 11¾ —he has no need to elevate his price.

Why ?

Because the rogue has been charging along on the elevation all the while !

But I mention these little trivialities by the way : In order only to clear my economic throat !

As a matter of inviolable fact, therefore, it is clear that the British Consumer in the proposed instance pays up the full 2/- of the preferential tax.

And the only simple next duty that remains, is to enquire : **To whom is he like to be going to pay it ?**

Well, but to understand clearly that, we must go back and recollect and re-consider the separate sources from which our Wheat supplies are drawn.

And these are namely :

1. The Foreigner,—The United States, Russia, Argentina, Hungary, etc. .

2. The Home Farmer.

3. Our Colonies and Possessions.

Now with respect to the first of these sources the question is easily answered. The tax that is levied upon the in-coming foreign grain goes immediate and safe into the pocket of the British Public Exchequer.

Equally we all also clear are with regard to the second. The sly home farmer behind the Preferential Tariff has raised the price of his Wheat by 2/- : which sly plunder he puts in the first place into his simple(ton) pocket. Till the end of his lease. And then the sly good landlord comes along and takes it out of that pocket and puts it in his.

—o—

—Now they say that a thing is never quite lost *when you know where to find it*. And I can perfectly imagine myself as the State coming along in the same quiet one of a hundred ways and taking it similarly out of his,—the landlord's,—or even, if you like, out of the original good farmer's.

'How ? '

Well, the State, you know, might 'excise' the Wheat that is grown in England.

'Rats ! '—

There would, at least, in the adventure be no *superhuman* difficulty.—Because Wheat, if it grows by the bushel, *doesn't grow under one*.

'I say,—Preposterous! Rubbish! Rotten!'

Very likely! But when the Indian Government the other day imposed a tariff upon imported Cottons your great Lancashire Free Traders fell together and *compelled* the Indian Government to 'excise,' by way of compensation, all the Cottons manufactured in India.—So that, at least, you see, 'tis from your own book, merely, therefore, that I am suggesting a leaf!

———o———

Lastly, there is the Colonial Corn. Because the cunning Colonials, like the British Farmers, have raised also the price of their Wheat by 2/-. And this without further to-do, they on the far side of the Atlantic Ocean incontinently pocket.

—**But not, if you please, by Mr. Chamberlain, for nothing!**

Because a business, meanwhile, bargain is to be struck up with them: in terms of which they, the Colonials, are to give us in their market, for this, a *material* Quid pro Quo.

And as, (*as you know*,) it takes two to make a bargain, so, in like manner, this bargain can be made as keen as your British wisdom chooses to make it.

It does not immediately follow, *e.g.*, to begin with, that you need to right-away give them an absolute preferential present of 2/- a quarter. If they are inclined to be Shylocky, which is possible, you can take them up at a modest tanner and increase that humble initiation for value received.

Looking backward, therefore, as shrewdly as it is in my power to do, it does not appear to the sharpest edge of my keenest apprehension, likely, that the country is going to lose greatly by the proposed imposition.

I can see, *e.g.*, that the Tax upon Foreign Wheat goes out of a great many individual British pockets into one general British pocket.

Secondly, I can see that the farmed-out Farmer's tax upon Home Wheat goes out of a great many individual British pockets into a select number of ultimate British Landlords' pockets.

Thirdly, I can see that the in-come whatever of both of these taxes remains at home.

Fourthly, I can see that the loss which we sustain from the remission upon Colonial Corn is to be so much British Bread cast upon the scientific seven waters. It is to return to us in an increase of British manufactured exports, and therefore in an increase of British Workmen's Wages and British Manufacturers' Profits.

But suppose that, now, we leave for a moment these so (all-too) familiar hoof-beaten realms of Free Trade pigironheadedness and apply to the problem *just a little everyday ordinary business common sense*.

What *in that case* will happen ?

Well, consider !

You are a Grocer: and have secured a very smart unexpected line in wholesale cheese,—perhaps from a cousin in the farming way, in any case, fully twenty shillings a cwt. less than any of your neighbours have.—And there is ever so much more to follow. Do you thereupon bring up your retail cheese-selling price to that of your neighbours, or do you cut in upon these with a kind of charity bazaar competition and charitably burst them ?

You are a Contractor: and have the option of bricks at an exceptionally low rate. Do you, therefore, in estimating for your next job reckon in your bricks at your rivals' reckoning, or do you exploit your preferential advantage and cut them out ?

But we really needn't hypostatise. The Canadians have already given us a considerable preference in their market, and the result is patent to all the world in a large increase of British business. But how indeed could this have taken place unless the British manufacturer had exploited his preference ? If he kept charging along on the same level with his rivals, what is it can induced have the Canadian to give him this extra business ?

And so I think in like manner.

If ex-Britannic arriving Wheat is at 30/- a quarter, clearly American Wheat after it passes the British Customs House will have to sell at 32/-.

But it does not really fall out of Heaven, then and there, that the Canadian will at once charge also 32/-.

Perhaps he may be content with 31/-.

Perhaps he will even charge 30/-, hoping to cut Mr. Yankee out.

Also, if he does so, he will be losing nothing. But if he does so Messrs. Yankee, Argentina, Russia, & Co., in order to compete with him, must depress the price of their Wheat to 28 -. **In other words—must make a free contribution to the British Exchequer,**—reckoning for the imports of 1903,—**of over £2,000,000 !**

Nor, remember you, is this the forlorn hypothetical juggling merely of a needy theory. *We have put the juggle to the test.* We put the other day an impost on of 1 - a quarter on Wheat, and, —as I am never done (and never intend to be done tired telling you,) convinced and rabid Free Trader as he is, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has solemnly assured us that the Americans paid part of that tax.

—Thus avenged at last are ! ! ! (if you will excuse me a little patriotic war-whoop !) **Boston Harbour and Yorktown !** And enshrined is for ever a star among the immortals, Sir Michael !

Why ?

Well, you see, our American cousins fought us and beat us on the question of Taxation without Representation. But for the first time in our renowned history he, the unaided and alone Sir Michael, has contrived to force the Americans to shell up English Taxation without Representation.

But argumentatively what does all this amount to ?

To this all :—That whereas a moment ago I was busy making fairly out that by the proposed Wheat Tariff the country was scarcely likely to lose much. Just as clearly now I am prepared to believe (with you) that the country stands on the brink of an uncommonly bright even chance—*even to make money*.

(But clearly even yet) we are only nibbling at the rind of the Cheddar !

Let's consign to the limbo of oblivion, therefore, all that has been hitherto said on the subject and apply to the problem fresh again,—this time (for ourselves), the dissolving touch of a little scientific forethinking.

But this brings me up against the Viscount Goschen.

Viscount Goschen in attacking Mr. Chamberlain's position—and the noble Viscount is so easily the first of Mr. Chamberlain's critics that the simpleton rest may be said to be nowhere—has built up his opposition on the very plausible proposition : —

That if you put a tax of any kind upon Wheat,—That tax is bound to enter as a permanent factor into the, so to say, cost of production of that Wheat, and *whether you perceive it or not* is bound, like a piece of lead on the in-pan of a grocer's balance, to work with automatic regularity in diminishing the value received by the customer.

! —Which for a proposition, as I say, has all the first look out of a fresh chapter of modern science.

Mr. Chamberlain, if I remember, replied to Goschen with a little joke about invisibility. But no amount of banter on the question of visibility and invisibility will alter a scientific fact.

The profound and pregnant and only valid query is,—Is it a scientific fact ?

Well, Gentlemen, it isn't !

What it really is is the old, old, ancient story of a *little science* being a dangerous ' spring.'

———o———

The elementary, extraordinary fallacy

into which the noble Viscount has fallen, and so many others, comes of regarding a tax *as a static factor merely* in determining the cost of an article. **But a Tax has a Dynamic action as well,** and in the case of a Preferential Tax like that which Mr. Chamberlain has proposed upon Wheat this dynamic action completely *queers the pitch* of the Static.

At school, you remember, as little boys, we all had to learn with wonder that a current of electricity running along a wire induces in a neighbouring conductor another current equal to itself in strength *but in the opposite direction.*

Well, a tax like Mr. Chamberlain's proposed Preferential *may just behave in the very same way.*

**That is to say,
it may,
by virtue of its own creative action,
educe conditions
which result in its own negation
and even something more.**

'Well, well, yes! Maybe! Friend!—That is no doubt very nice talk from a passing air-ship. But if that be so, how would this illustrious idea operate in the instance supposed?'

Well, in the possible first place, the hypothetical American, Hungarian, Russian, or Argentinian, fearing a diminution of his income, might endeavour to insure against this by increasing his output,—each man hoping, (as each man may), to empty on the market in full, at least, his own particular individual barrow.

But however these might think it to their own interest to do, certainly the Canadian, (and that is all that my argument presupposes,) in order to reap the benefit of the extended market which the Preference would give him, (because, after all, isn't that the actual effective raison d'etre and motive inspiration of the whole idea!)—would hasten to plough down a larger area of Wheat.

And even, also, at home, for the time being, a 2 - *expectation* would determine cultivation in the case of those fields which are at present oscillating on the margin of cultivation.

So that as a result of the tax, other things being equal,

Just as if the tax had been a cheap and beneficent fertiliser, a larger supply of Wheat would reach the market *than would have reached the market if there had been no tax.*

But a very slight shortage or a very slight excess determines the so-called **'turn of the market'** and the turn of the market determines by sympathetic action the market. **And so there is arrived at, at last, the extraordinary paradox that we have actually lowered the price of a commodity by adding to the price of it.**

Nor is this, altogether, theory merely. Once upon a time the English Government offered a bounty upon all corn exported from the country. The Governmental idea being: to create an

artificial scarcity at home and so enhance the price of Wheat in the home market.

But contrary to expectation the price of Wheat fell in the home market.

Why ?

Because the home farmers *speculated* on the bounty and laid down an increased acreage in Wheat, with the result that the supply exceeded the demand and prices fell.

'But would this dynamic action be permanent ?'

Well, as to that, of course, I make no pretence to the mantle of a prophet.

What I am certain of merely is that it would be so far *actual* as to relegate to the irrecoverable limbo for ever of inactuality the Viscount Goschen's static hypothesis : and so far *permanent* as to be more or less chronic for years,—because any adjustive diminution of the American output would merely *stimulate* the Canadian squeeze.

'But how in that case would the Canadians stand to gain ?'

Well, but, in that case, *also* now, you must ask me another.

The price of Wheat, per Imperial Quarter, in the United States has fallen in this way :

	s.	d.
1855, ...	**76**	**9**
1860, ...	**46**	**2**
1870, ...	**43**	**7**
1880, ...	**43**	**5**
1890, ...	**30**	**11**
1902, ...	**27**	**10**

How, please, therefore, in face of these figures have *our American cousins* stood to gain ?

Well, *just in like manner*, the Canadians would gain : namely, by mass action.—But in any case that, *as the Canadians will be the first to inform you,* is *their* affair.

'And how, please, do you make out that our Home Farmers would gain ?'

Yes, but, Friend, I have never, please, made out, that they so would !

Nor do I see how they possibly could,—by the mere trans-migration of the tempest of competition *a few degrees farther North.*

But the fertilising force of the proposed Preferential is not yet exhausted.

It would increase our trade with the ring-fenced Americans in a delightfully easy and gratifying way.

Thousands of these are already flocking over the border into Canada.

The preferential tax would stimulate this happy migration and **accelerate the conversion of those who at present purchase from our industries at the rate of 5 - or 6 - per head into Canadians who at present purchase from us at the rate of six times that amount, and would in accepting our preference come under an obligation to purchase more.**

Also, moreover, automatically, and the point is crucial, the Preference Tax works out its own suspension. Every effort of the Canadian to reap the benefit of the tax but increases the amount of untaxed corn which reaches our market and hastens the practical demise of the preferential advantage. Or at least of the Free Trade argument against it.

But, meanwhile, what has happened? *The sub-arctic has in fact dropped south and the Atlantic gone solid.* And the world wakes up one morning to discover with astonishment a live, self-centred, populous, majestic Empire stretching all-powerful from the German Ocean to the far Pacific:—And thence to the farthermost bounds of time!

"Yes, yes, no doubt, Sir,—very!—I say, all very large and beautiful.

But this beautiful Imperial Expansion with its beautiful purple and finery is all for the beautiful future: and meantime I am but a poor man with wife and weans to keep. And while there is much that I admire in the purpose which you have in view, and much also that seems of gold in the mists and mirage of your prophetic hopes,—at the same time, as someone hath said, 'the best laid schemes even of mice gang aft agley.' And consequently the one

to me solitary *solid* fact that remains, really, is,—*That you are going to tax my Bread.*'

Well, well, my most fearful friend, may-be you're right! But Mr. Chamberlain, the mountebank and criminal gambler with the people's food, has even thought of that, and to make the twice-locked stable door doubly secure he has made you an offer.

You are already heavily taxed in Tea and Sugar. As I am just after informing you, you contributed to the Public Exchequer on these items alone in the years 1901-07 over £74,000,000!

Well, get away home now and consult your wife and weans: ascertain how much of bread you and she and they consume i' the year, and assuming that every farthing of the proposed Wheat tax devolves upon bread you and she and I together will calculate out how much the swindle is like to cost you in the year. *And even by so much* the taxes you at present pay on Tea and Sugar will be remitted.

Well, Mr. Chamberlain the gain and loss of all this has *already* calculated down to farthings and decimal parts of a sterling farthing, and Viscount Goschen, may-be, banker, no doubt, like, has quibbled a little over some of the fractions.

But you and I, friend, can brush that quibbling all upon one side. All along the line from start to finish Mr. Chamberlain obviously honestly has meant quite all what he said: **'That the cost of the working man's living shall not be raised!'**

Point me out, therefore, an error of a farthing if you will and I shall have the matter with Mr. Chamberlain immediately rectified by taking another halfpenny off the tea.—*But get satisfied*—for Heaven's sake!—down to your inmost guts! You tell me very likely that some people dont take tea and sugar, and therefore cannot get the quid pro quo. *Well then, in that case, tell me what they do take.* They can hardly, you know, live on wheat and water. Because anybody can go to prison and get these for nothing, and beautiful leisure thrown into the bargain. But in any case dont sit down on the doorstep and girn. Up and help us to find out!

It has been calculated, *e.g.*, that a working man pays in local taxation between two and three pounds a year.

Will an Imperial Grant-in-aid meet your charitable consideration?

And if, indeed, the very poor live by bread alone, what say you to barley scones and oatcakes and bean-meal bannocks? and we will let the materials for these in * * *! But Bah! the whole discussion, when I come to think of it, the blackguard insincerity and hypocrisy of it all would scunner a toad.

For even while the critics raved and the windbags gassed, the price of bread *did* go up, and the windbags winked! and the twelve millions sank and slank unpitied to perdition and the mighty star of England fell! never to * * *—to rise any more.

True! Sir, most true!—The equivalent remission upon Tea and Sugar will disproportionately deplete the resources of the Exchequer. No doubt! But in that case you can make up the difference out of the manufactured productions of the foreigner. And if you fail in that best intention, (and indeed whether or no,) then, following me!—out of the millionaires at home.

And hang it all! as an end-all last-all resource, and the worst comes to the worst, and the twelve millions *are* actually sinking under,—**Surely,! Surely! We can take off again the blamed tax, can't we? The twelve millions helping us!**

* * * *

But, if you please, Friends! Give me—Give me—breathing space for one final Bah! Alas! Alas! Why should those eloquent lips of mine have to patter on **PIFFLE?**—The most heaven-abandoned,—I do most honestly believe—and hypocritical—and disingenuous,—ever manufactured by political knaves and human fools!

(After which relief) to my lacerated Political Economy perhaps you will allow me now to conclude, for a change, by

Giving the Case for Tariff Reform— completely and hopelessly away!

* * * *

The interrupting gentleman in the corner, of course, is quite right! I have made no attempt even to deal with the whole of Mr. Chamberlain's Schedule of proposed Food Taxation: and in spite of my friend's angry remonstrance I'm afraid I cannot even promise now to rectify my default,—for the very mere simple reason that I cannot any longer *even pretend to do so* in a serious way.

Mr. Chamberlain, if you remember, proposed a 5 per cent. duty on imported Foreign, (as distinguished from Colonial,) Butter and Cheese. But in spite of the alarming nature of that insidious proposal (and with the best will to do so in the world!) it is not quite easy for me to work myself up into a state of hysterical anxiety over the injury which is likely to be inflicted thereby on a suffering public when I see before me, morning and evening, **Milk**—the parent substance of both—sold **Protected up to Practical Prohibition** at every street corner to this same suffering public:—and the Dairy Folk and Farmers battening on their plunder to such an exorbitant extent that they are all rolling about in their motor cars and living in Skibo Castles.

It is also not quite easy for me, and it would not be quite fair of you to expect me to,—to debate a matter of this kind *seriously* with people who at one moment curl up their lips with indignant scorn at Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion—

	United States, per lb.	United Kingdom, per lb.
Tea, ...	Free.	5d.
Coffee, ...	Free.	1½d.
Coffee, prepared, ...	Free.	2d.
Cocoa, raw, ...	Free.	1d.
Cocoa, prepared, ...	1¼d.	2d.

—to relieve taxation on Tea and Sugar,—because the very poor dont consume these luxuries and therefore could receive no benefit from the proposed remission,—and then again close down their eyes with holy horror at the idea of taxing superfine Danish Butter at 1/4 a lb.,—which the very poor consume by the cwt. in the day,—and then again turn up the whites of their noses in raucous

cachinnation at Mr. Chamberlain's concession to *their own* obsession —to let in bacon and treacle free, in order that the very poor on a Christmas Sunday might line their bannocks with the one and butter their scones with the other.

—Nor is my desire to expand in disputation increased any more in strength by dismal recognition of **the Stupendous Results of such Nefarious Impositions in other lands.**

NEFARIOUS IMPOSITIONS !

	GERMANY.† Mks. per 100 kilogs.	FRANCE.§ Frs. per 100 kilogs.
Butter, ...	16	20*
Beef, ...	15	25
Mutton, ...	15	32
Pork, ...	17	18 ÷ 7
	each.	per 100 kilogs. live weight.
Oxen, ...	25.5	10

STUPENDOUS RESULTS !

(FROM BOARD OF TRADE MEMORANDUM).

Retail Price of Butter (per lb.) (1899-1902).

Year.	London.	Germany.		United States (Pennsylvania.**
		Prussia.†	Württemburg.‡	
	d.	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*
1899, ...	13.8	11.8	10.1	12.9
1900, ...	13.6	12.3	9.9	13.8
1901, ...	13.6	12.3	10.4	13.4
1902, ...	13.5	12.3	—	14.3

Retail Price of Beef (per lb.) (1899-1902).*

Year.	England (London).		Germany.				France.¶	United States (Pennsylvania).
	English.	Foreign.	Prussia.†	Wurtemburg.‡	Berlin.§	Essen.§		
	d.	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*
1899,	8.8	7.7	6.8	7.2	7.3	7.1	6.5	6.1
1900,	9.0	7.6	6.8	7.2	7.3	7.2	6.4	6.2
1901,	9.0	7.8	7.0	7.1	7.4	7.1	6.3	6.4
1902,	9.5	8.3	7.3		7.8			7.0

* Law of 9th. April, 1898. ‡ Law of 5th April, 1898.
† Tariff as altered by Treaty in 1892. § Law of 11th Jan., 1902.

*N.B.—It is impossible to be certain that the qualities of meat compared above are really comparable.
†*Zeitschrift des Kon. Preuss. Statistischen Bureaus.*
‡*Jahresberichte der Handels-und Gewerbekammern Württemberg.*
§Information supplied by the Imperial Statistical Office, Berlin.
‖*Fried. Krupp. Consum-Anstalt der Gussstahlfabrik Essen, Düsseldorf Ausstellung*, 1902, (als Handschriftgedruckt).
¶*Annales* (Vingt et unieme annee) No. 3, published by the French Ministry of Agriculture.
**Report of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission Washington, 1903.

Retail Price of Mutton (per lb.) (1899-1902).*

Year.	London.		Germany.				France.¶
	English.	Foreign or Colonial.	Prussia.†	Würtemburg.‡	Berlin.§	Essen.‖	
	d.	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*
1899, ...	7.4	4.6	6.8	5.9	6.4	7.6	7.9
1900, ...	7.8	4.8	6.8	6.2	6.5	7.9	7.8
1901, ...	7.9	5.2	7.0	6.2	6.6	8.2	7.9
1902, ...	7.7	4.9	7.3	—	7.0	—	—

Retail Price of Pork (per lb.) 1899-1902).*

Year.	London.	Germany.			France.¶	United States** (Pennsylvania).
		Prussia.†	Würtemburg.‡	Berlin.§		
	d.	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*
1899, ...	8.1	7.3	7.4	6.7	6.8	5.83
1900, ...	8.1	7.0	7.2	6.5	6.8	5.93
1901, ...	8.3	7.5	7.6	6.9	6.7	6.18
1902, ...	8.5	8.0	—	7.5	—	7.03

Retail Price of Eggs (per dozen) (1899-1902).

Year.	London.	Germany (Würtemburg).‡	United States** (Pennsylvania).
	d.	*d.*	*d.*
1899, ...	11.3	8.7	10.2
1900, ...	12.0	9.3	10.2
1901, ...	11.8	9.2	10.8
1902, ...	11.5	—	11.7

Retail Price of Milk (per quart) (1899-1902).

Year.	London.	Germany. (Würtemburg).‡	United States** (Pennsylvania).
	d.	*d.*	*d.*
1899, ...	4	2.0	3.4
1900, ...	4	2.0	3.5
1901, ...	4	2.1	3.5
1902, ...	4	—	3.6

Also, no doubt, the scientific gentleman who interrupts me from the gallery is, in his way, not wrong.

That is to say, I have made no attempt at all (and in view of the limitations in mercy imposed upon the span of human life I am afraid there is very little hope of my— !) to satisfy his inordinate

*N.B.—It is impossible to be certain that the qualities of meat compared above are really comparable.
† *Zeitschrift des K.n. Preuss. Statistischen Bureaus.*
‡ *Jahresberichte der Handels-und Gewerbekammern Württemberg.*
§ Information supplied by the Imperial Statistical Office, Berlin.
‖ *Price List, Krupp's Consum-Anstalt der Gussstahlfabrik Essen, Dusseldorf Ausstellung*, 1902, (*als Handschrift gedruckt*).
¶ *Statistique* (Vingt et unième année) No. 3, published by the French Ministry of Agriculture.
** Report of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, Washington, 1903.

craving for logic—(not to mention my own bump of finality) by attempting to deal with the various industries in their *co-relation* one to another:—And of the co-incident distribution amongst them of the unauthorised excise which they under Protection, by Free Trade, are supposed to levy upon the general public.

—Save, perhaps, only, in so far,—that I should be disposed to interject

This General Observation !

Namely that you must disabuse your minds of the hazy infatuation which is fostered all round by the Free Trade 'Slumpers,' that a congeries of protective taxes, (even, I mean,on the basis of their own fatuous superstition,) imposes as *a cumulative burden* on the oppressed back of the Consumer.

It does nothing of the kind.

For example, some of you to me were complaining just now that Mr. Chamberlain's differential 2 - a quarter on Wheat, after being annexed in the first place by the British Farmer, would find its ultimate way into the pocket of the British Landlord.

But that needn't be so, quite !

Because if you give me power at the same time to further promote the industries of the country by levying an import duty on Agricultural Implements it becomes just as probable, does it not ?—on the basis of your own superstition, that this differential plunder will pass out of the Farmer's pocket into that of the Agricultural Implement Maker ?

And in quite the same manner the plunder which the Woollen Manufacturers are going to draw out of your pocket and mine behind my generous Woollen tariff—need not necessarily remain there : not at least if you further permit me to further promote the industries of the country by levying an import duty on Textile Machinery : but might just as likely, —on the Free Trade basis of your own superstition, fare ultimately into the needy pocket of the rapacious Textile Machinery Manufacturer.

But the re-florescent tale of retrocession need not necessarily end even *there*, because on the inverse principle of big fleas having little fleas upon their legs to bite them, if you permit me further to promote the industries of the country by levying a tax upon the

import of steel, then, reasoning along still on the basis of your own superstition, it becomes a not altogether improbable thing that the plunder which the Farmer and the Woollen Manufacturer drew originally out of the pocket of the poor consumer and which the Agricultural and Textile Machinery Manufacturers drew from the pockets of these resetters might be further purloined out of *theirs* even by the Steel Manufacturers.

(Of course this de-protective incidence,) if I may be permitted still to concord my logic—to the Free Trade basis of your own superstition, of the subjacent tariff upon the primary

* * * *

" But in any case the annual expenditure for such machinery, (binders, ploughs, mowers, etc.), is not large, and the tax would be very slight if it did fall on us. A machine once purchased lasts for years. I have had my binder for eleven years. It has cut 1,002 acres and is evidently good for many years yet. A ten per cent. tax might have cost me

Three Farthings per acre,

if it had been a foreign-made machine."†

* * * *

would require to have adequate consideration given to it by any body of convinced Free Trade Experts who undertook to formulate a scientific schedule of tariffs: but after the happy Free Trade theoretical adjustment had been reached the principle which I have stated would operate in Free Trade full.

But away, away, I gallop with haste!—Away from all these thin-spun trivialities to my next great operative duty. Which is, as I have said, namely, to deliver up the Tariff Reform position which I have endeavoured to protect and defend *with so much seeming earnestness and conviction* irremediably and unconditionally, horse, foot, bag and baggage, and artillery, into the victorious hands of the convinced Free Trader.

That is to say, I wish to confess to you quite frankly that *after all* I am inclined to believe that the Free Trader is not far wrong. And I have been so much in the habit of calling the

† Address by Geo. D. Clark, Esq., Eaglescairnie Mains, Haddington.

Free Trader an egregious ass for his constant pains that it is only just and becoming now that the wheel of fortune should go round and that I should enjoy the exhilarating distinction of calling myself a greater.

By which I mean to say briefly that there is very little manner of doubt at all in my own mind that under a system of Tariff Protection the prices of commodities in this country would go up, or at least that they would so tend.

How?

Well, as I have already, no doubt, perhaps, said, and will, in any case, be quite sure to be repeating later, the introduction of Protection into this country would lead to an immediate unparalleled *congestion* of trade.

But what would that, please, mean? That would please mean that there would be an extraordinary and sudden demand for Labour in this country. But when there is an extraordinary and sudden demand for Labour in this country, what is it then that Labour does? Labour at once then goes away and demands higher wages. And under the circumstances Labour almost invariably gets them.

* * * *

"Replying

to an interpellation by the Social Democrats in the German Reichstag, yesterday, Dr. Von Bethmanne Hollweg, Secretary of State for the Interior, said that **in consequence of the intense activity of industry and the deficiency of labour wages had gone up, and still tended to go up** * * *."

* * * *

But as the wage bill enters so largely nowadays into the cost of Production the master will have to meet this extra expenditure either out of his own already profits or by an added price upon the new consumer. And he will very naturally, as an ordinary honest human being, humanly prefer and elect to indulge the desire of his workmen for extra wages at the expense of the consumer.

Poor Mr. Chamberlain, if you remember, was laughed at and ridiculed and hooted and howled at—

* * * *

But, bless my soul! What's up?—Why this ominous silence? I thought,—I thought that having delivered myself up into your tender mercies, bound Free Trade hand and foot, I—I—should have been immediately jumped upon and hammered and skinned alive and boiled and quartered and buried * * *!

Where—Where—Where's the doughty Sir Michael? Because if the cost of production is going up, as I have affirmed that it will,—whatever is going to become of our Export Trade to the neutral markets—? ? ?

Most passing strange!—Still not a blessed chirp! What can the matter be? Will nothing ——?

* * * *

Ah! Sir, I thank you.—You mean that the Trade Unionists are dumb because *that* is what they are straining every nerve and sinew for during every hour of the twenty-four.

And, yes!—What more would you say?

* * * *

'A rise of wages is the very thing that the Free Traders *guarantee* as the result of Free Trade!'

Ah! tut! tut!—No indeed wonder I called myself an ass!

Thank you, Sir! Thank you!

LXI.

I pass on now to the great (and to many good people apparently)

THE TERRIFYING TRUST ARGUMENT!

On this count the Free Trade indictment runs: That by screening the industries of a country from foreign competition you do thereby directly encourage the Formation of Trusts: and America is held up to us as

A warning awful example

of Protection's disastrous effect in this regard.

The reply is poly-fold.

One consists in reading aloud this list :

Date.	British Trusts or Combines.	No. of Firms.	Capital. £
1886	Nobel-Dynamite Trust Co., ...	—	3,000,000
1887	Bath Stone Firms (monopolise all but one ; since acquired Portland Stone), ...	7	362,000
1888	The Salt Union, ...	—	4,250,000
1891	United Alkali Co., Ltd., ...	49	9,000,000
1892	National Telephone Co., Ltd., ...	14	10,500,000
1895	Liverpool Warehousing Co.,...	6	1,100,000
1896	J. & P. Coats, Ltd. (International), ...	—	12,000,000
1896	Barclay & Co., Ltd., ...	23	7,000,000
1897	The English Sewing Cotton, ...	17	3,000,000
1898	Watney, Combe, Reid & Co., ...	3	15,000,000
1898	Curtis's and Harvey, Ltd. (Powder Manufacturers), ...	9	1,058,000
1898	United Turkey Red Co., ...	3	1,200,000
1898	Fine Cotton Spinners and Doublers' Association, ...	44	8,750,000
1898	The Linen Thread Co., Glasgow (International)	9	2,000,000
1898	British Dyewood and Chemical Co., ...	4	570,000
1898	American Thread Co., Ltd., ...	13	3,720,000
1898	Bradford Dyers' Association, ...	31	4,500,000
1899	Yorkshire Indigo, Scarlet and Colour Dyers' Association, ...	11	608,000
1899	Yorkshire Woolcombers' Association, ...	38	3,000,000
1899	Borax Consolidated (International), ...	12	2,400,000
1899	Bradford Coal Merchants and Consumers' Association, ...	9	350,000
1899	Woollen and Worsted Machinery Manufacturers, ...	7	290,000
1899	United Indigo and Chemical Co., ...	8	250,000
1899	Barry, Ostlere & Co. (Linoleum), ...	3	1,150,000
1899	English Velvet and Cord Dyers' Association,	22	1,000,000
1899	The Calico Printers' Association, ...	63	9,200,000
—	Parr's Bank, Ltd., ...	15	7,317,500
1899	Vickers, Sons, & Maxim, Ltd., ...	4	7,450,000
—	Lloyds Bank, Ltd., ...	40	20,000,000
1899	Textile Machinery Association, ...	7	290,000
1899	British United Shoe Machinery Co., ...	4	300,000
1900	Yorkshire Dyeware and Chemical Co., ...	11	360,000
1900	Yorkshire Soap Makers' Association, ...	12	400,000
1900	British Cotton and Wool Dyers' Association,	51	2,750,000
1900-1902	Guest, Keen & Nettlefold, Ltd.	6	6,000,000
1900	Bedford Lime, Cement, and Brick (all local),	—	400,000
1900	Flax, Hemp, and Jute Machinery Manufacturers, ...	—	1,200,000
1900	J. & J. Baldwin and Partners, (fingering, knitting, wools, hosiery yarns), ...	7	850,000
1900	Leeds and District Worsted Dyers' and Finishers' Association, ...	10	180,000
1900	Wall Paper Manufacturers, ...	30	4,200,000
1900	Bleachers' Association, Ltd., ...	54	8,250,000
1900	Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers (agreement with four other firms), ...	30	8,000,000
1900	British Oil and Cake Mills, ...	17	2,273,700

Date.	British Trusts or Combines.	No. of Firms.	Capital. £
1900	Rivet, Bolt, and Nut Co. (practically all the manufacturers in Scotland).	15	550,000
1900	Wholesale Newsagents' Association (all firms in Bradford, Leeds, and Sheffield). ...	32	200,000
1900	The Extract Wool and Merino Co., Ltd., ...	7	310,000
1901	Imperial Tobacco Co. of Great Britain and Ireland, Ltd..	13	15,000,000
1902	United Collieries, Ltd., ...	23	2,275,762
1902	National Provincial Tobacco Co., Ltd., ...	—	—
1902	Union Bank of London and Smith's Bank,	—	20,000,000
1902	Baldwin's, Ltd., ...	7	1,100,000
1902	Dorman, Long, & Bell Bros., ...	2	1,000,000
1902	Metropolitan Railway Carriage and Wagon Co.,	6	1,500,000
1902	Begen, Peacock & Co., ...	—	800,000
1902	Scottish Distilleries Co., ...	2	1,100,000
1902	British American Tobacco Co., ...	—	6,000,000
1902	British Electric Traction Co., ...	60	4,000,000
1902	Imperial Cold Storage and Supply Co., ...	7	2,000,000

"Among the **most important extensions of existing combines** during the past year were:—

Vickers, Son, & Maxim absorbed the large business of William Beardmore & Co., valued at £1,500,000.

Guest, Keen, & Co. amalgamated Nettlefolds, Limited, already a large combination, with a capital of £5,000,000, and also Craw Brothers, of Cryathfra, with a capital of £1,000,000, and entered into agreements with other firms.

The British Electric Traction Company, formed chiefly to promote electric tramways, absorbed the Electric Power Distribution Company, Limited, which it had promoted—and which had itself formed 10 subsidiary companies—and also the British Electrical Engineering Company, with which it was allied. Its capital of £4,000,000 does not represent all the undertakings which it controls or in which it is interested.

The large **banks and insurance companies** continue their system of absorbing smaller enterprises."

Together with this extract:

"**TRUSTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.**

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT).

Washington, September 21.

"The Bureau of Manufactures connected with the Department of Commerce and Labour, publishes to-day a bulletin in regard to the operations of the British Hingemakers' Trust, **and adds that Trusts are increasing more rapidly in England than in the United States.** This statement has attracted considerable attention, for it

has been supposed that America was the favourite haunt of the great trade corporations, more favourable conditions prevailing here than in Great Britain for the combination of manufacturers for trade purposes."

! ! ! !

From which all—it would appear that Trusts can rise and thrive and multiply as well in the bracing atmosphere of Free Trade as in the morbid drugged environment of Protection.

A second consists in the observation:

That the idea that Protection, of itself and in itself, engenders Trusts is completely falsified by our English experience.

Because in those English Industries which are already protected, and (as distinguished Free Traders are never done now pointing out) most of them so are, Protection has not induced the formation of Trusts.

In our Clyde, here, e.g., to go no further afield, you have rival fleets of renowned steamers competing for the transit traffic to the coast: which are as completely screened from foreign competition as if they were competing for glory in some romantic estuary of Mars: and yet this protection so far from inciting these rival steamers to amalgamate their disastrous wooden-headedness seems through the years rather to have increased the acerbity of their rivalry.

Morning, noon, night,—from British railway termini rival trains make fast unnecessary pilgrimages towards every point of the compass: (Which also trains) are as completely protected from German and American competition as if they were romping express between heaven and the lower regions: But notwithstanding this very nose-striking fact, the rival absurdities who own them have never as yet bethought their stupidities of co-ordinating the energetic complexities of their wealth-wasting, heart-breaking enthusiasms into an organised simplified wealth-saving combine! *

But why need I multiply into the sands of the sea the innumerable counts of my indictment!

* There are increasing signs now that "the rival absurdities" are becoming painfully conscious of the length of their ears.

British Bakeries, Butcheries, Booteries, Dairies, Draperies, Groceries, Welsh Collieries, etc., etc., are as absolutely immune from foreign competition,—as they are absolutely equally also immune —(even with the grant of exceptions which prove my rule) from the idea of Trusting.

———o———

III.—Consequently we are forced to go further in our search afield. And in our further field search it comes with a curious surprise of irony to discover—that—that the beneficent Free Trade, —(to wit, the divine institution) of leaving our industries exposed to the full tempest of industrial persecution from every Devil's airt that the wind can blow,—is **itself** the prolific breeding sow of the Treacherous Trust.

For example :—Our Wholesale English Tobacconists never dreamed of combining into a Trust !—until they were in process of being bludgeoned *a l'outrance* by an envenomed foreign competition. From which (is there any one will doubt ?) had they been protected, they would have been continuing even now the even tenor of their un-trusting, Free Trade, sleepy-headed, English-independent, old-fashioned, stupid way !

Our great ironmasters in the cosmic hey-day of their Carnegie prosperity (when they were the arrogant undisputed masters of a worshipping world,)—and ditto our alkali manufacturers, ditto our calico printers, etc., not even in the remotest range of their penny-wisdom fancy caught the industrial conception—the money-saving stroke of genius of—' Combining : ' not until the delightful Glorious British Traditional Freedom of our Trade compelled them to ! —

(Wherefrom) the position of the trustful (convinced) Free Trader between the Devil and the Deep Sea is an anxious, comic and peculiar one !

If he protects Home Industries, he sows with his own hand the Dragon's fangs and invites into the bosom of his happy hearth the Devil of Trusts.

If he doesn't : but, on the contrary, leaves them exposed to the cut-throat attack of Foreign Combines, then he also, (right enough,)

sows the Devil and with his own sinful hand signs and seals the order for the home cultivation of the poisonous Upas.

Which therefore way he turns is Hell!

(Himself being do. !) Because if the Foreign Trust wins in the fiscal fight he, the English Free Trader, has to submit to the tyranny of a Trust,—and a Foreign one at that.

While if the Home Industries triumph: alas, poor then, their dear victory has been dreadfully purchased (and can only have been) by the home creation of that,—(which to prevent) the convinced Free Trader to-morrow would sell his patriotic soul to the undertaker.

———o———

IV.—But nothing undaunted the resolute Free Trader is not without a strong string still to his bow. Because as long as Free Trade obtains, dont you see, the Foreign Trust will keep the Home one in check.

But alas and alack! my poor Brother Trustful!—I'm sorry! Very!!! Because in that case you have not yet heard, apparently, of the Industrial Devil's Up-to-datest:—

THE INTERNATIONAL TRUST!

Listen!—

"The problem of trusts is the greatest industrial question of the time.

It affects not only one country but all, as trusts are fast becoming huge international organisations.

In 1902 many large trusts were extended and progress was made in the organisation of international combinations. The **Steel Trust** absorbed smaller concerns, great railway interests in America were merged to work in harmony with the trust and the **International Shipping Trust** was organised by Mr. Pierpont Morgan.

The Tobacco Trust.—The Imperial Tobacco Company of Great Britain and Ireland, formed in February 1902, to resist the attack of **the American Trust,** which had acquired Ogden's business, consisted of 13 leading firms, and had a capital of £15,000,000.

In September the two trusts combined. The Imperial Company took over Ogden's business and left America to the American Trust.

As soon as the amalgamation took place the bonus offered by Ogden's was stopped. The British-American Tobacco Company, with a capital of £6,000,000, formed by the two trusts, will exploit the foreign markets."

"Manufacture of Glass.

"ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN BRITISH AND BELGIAN FIRMS.

(Press Association Telegram.)

"ST. HELENS, Friday. - It is rumoured that a five years' arrangement has been negotiated between the glass manufacturers of Belgium and Great Britain, whereby it has been agreed that Belgian firms shall not send into this country or the Colonies rolled plate glass, rolled cathedral glass, muranese, tinted, and embossed glass, except to the order of British manufacturers, who include Pilkington Bros., Limited, St. Helens; Chance Bros. & Co., Birmingham; and the Glasgow Plate Glass Company.

The effect of the agreement will be that the English glass trade will practically be protected, apart from any change of fiscal policy. The keen rivalry between British and foreign producers of these particular kinds of glass will be avoided, and the home market will be entirely controlled by the firms named. Developments are also expected in the sheet glass trade."

"Anglo-German Combination in the Screw Trade.

"An arrangement has just been arrived at which will close the British market against the importation of German screws. Negotiations between British and German manufacturers of screws have been proceeding for several weeks, and it is now announced that a syndicate has been formed embracing all the makers. No British orders will be received by German manufacturers after October, and all orders in hand must be executed by December 21 next. Similarly, British firms will not execute German orders after the same date. This is regarded as the most important movement which has taken place in the screw trade for many years."

"JOINING FORCES.

"It has become known in Washington (cables the *Standard*

correspondent there) that European and American capitalists have joined forces for the organisation of international trusts, to control the world's supply of the products in which they are interested, and to eliminate cut-throat competition from foreign markets. Magnates in Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and Canada are interested in this new type of industrial combination which, by comparison, reduces to pigmy size the large trusts of America. Among the industries concerned are steel rails, lumber, tin plates, paper, leather, chemicals, and oils. Successful preliminary efforts have been made to form international trusts in other commodities, but details have not leaked out as to what these are. The trusts are attempting to put out of business small dealers, and there is much alarm among independent manufacturers in America, who realise their helplessness against the international combines."

* * * *

Query ? —How is the Heaven's anointed going to meet the International Menace ?

The question was asked the other day in connection with the Atlantic Shipping Trust—(and answered) by—by :—**Rank Protection !**

That is to say :—(By subsidising the Cunarders !)

———o———

V.—But this mere merry round the Maypole fiddling brings me at last to the conclusive (from my point of view) and final answer :

Clearly some modern common motive must underlie this extraordinary common modern mania for Combination.

What's it I wonder ?—And could we, perhaps, by *per-scrutation* discover ?

! ! ! !

(I think, perhaps, we might !)—And merely, I think, this :

The saving economic common-sense that induced America to throw overboard the antiquated hallucination of Free Trade—that same saving common-sense it was, and is, (and nothing else,) which conceived and consummated those modern consolidations of competitive American Interests which are known as Trusts.

On the other hand, the myopic *want* of common-sense which has induced the sturdy Briton to cling like a stranded whelk to his

fly-blown superstition,—just this very myopic inconsequence it is, (and nothing else,) which has prevented him multiplying British Trusts like the sands of the sea.

For what, after all, is the detested Trust ?

A beautiful really and worshipful Principle !

Not only quite natural and delightfully logical, but, as we are so fond of saying (in the school of political thought to which I belong,)—**Inevitable !**—And therefore three times blessedly over happy and welcome !—A guardian, so to say,

Guiding Integrating Industrial Angel

occupying till the Master is ready, and pointing with prophetic forefinger towards another and a better land !

* * * *

—Also, really more ! (Even as it stands !) and with all its shortcomings ! the incarnation and deification and glorification of the divine Free Trade Principle of—'Buying in the cheapest market and selling your customer in the dearest ! '

* * * *

—But as it is no part of my duty here to speak of that better land and of the evolutionary pathway by which it is like to be reached, perhaps you will allow me, rather, to conclude this little pass-me-over by turning on one side softly : In order that I may enjoy in aromatic peace the doctrinaire dilemma of these delightful (because so unconscious and deadly-earnest) Free Trade humorists !

Because !—Mark you again their little joke ! These same Trustophobes are the existing *very* individuals who are everlastingly calling upon us, by all the gods, to sacrifice *everything* upon the altar of Free Trade,—the Commercial Confederation of the Empire, our striking and stricken Industries, our fireless homes and starving hearths, our Unemployed, our Emigrants, Suicides, Paupers :

—All because for why ?

All because, whatever little secondary and evanescent misery and destitution its operation may (and must indeed inevitably) entail, *after all* undeniably Free Trade is **a great irrefragable semper-abiding Principle of National Economy !**

WHO,

—Ere yet the orchestra of their adulation has died away, are on their mendacious knees beseeching, warning, coaxing, imprecating, objurgating us,—for the love of Heaven,

—That we do what ?

—That we abhor for our country, as we should for ourselves —the Leper's House and the Charnel Vault, **the Doom of Damned Protection !**

And all because again for why ?

Because even Protection is the prolific ever-pregnant mother **of** *another* **great undeniable irrefragable Principle of National Economy !**

! ! ! !

* * * *

' Yes, but, my dear Sir, please, I dont just quite understand ! '

My dear Sir, please, you are not just quite intended to !

LXII.

I come along now to

THE GREAT RATE PER HEAD PER ASS ARGUMENT !

This much-used argument arrives in this way :

Free Traders are continually asserting that if we adopt Protection in this country we may as well, and at once, say Good-bye !— to our Export Trade, on account of the greatly enhanced cost of manufacture which will result, and on account of the *very obvious* fact that if we refuse to take the Foreigners' Goods, the Foreigners, in turn, will not merely be unwilling, but, whether they wish to or not, will be *unable* to take ours !

(I'm not mocking, really !)

Listen, *e.g.*, to the great Mr. Haldane addressing the little simple-minded fishermen of Cockenzie : " If there was one proposition that was pretty familiar to the electors of this country it was that goods were paid for by goods. If we imported things from Germany we paid for them by exporting things from here. We did not pay in money. *If we shut out German goods by a*

protective policy, there was shut out, at the same time, the market to which the herrings were sent!"

To this the Tariff Reformers very humorously suggest that the practice of Protection does not appear to have destroyed the Export Trade of Germany or the United States!!!

And in support of their suggestion they table statistics like, I daresay,—I have already given you:

Total Exports and Exports of Manufactured Articles from the Undermentioned Countries *(in millions sterling).*

Year	United Kingdom		France.		Germany.		United States.	
	Total.	Manfttrs.	Total.	Manfttrs.	Total.	Manfttrs.	Total.	Manfttrs.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1880. ...	223 ...	198.2	139 ...	73.6	145 ...	83.5	172 ...	21.4
1881. ...	234 ...	209.2	142 ...	75.0	149 ...	87.6	184 ...	23.8
1882. ...	241 ...	214.9	143 ...	75.5	160 ...	94.1	153 ...	28.1
1883. ...	240 ...	213.3	138 ...	74.0	164 ...	98.1	168 ...	28.0
1884. ...	233 ...	206.3	129 ...	67.6	160 ...	100.6	151 ...	28.4
1885. ...	213 ...	188.1	124 ...	65.2	143 ...	90.0	151 ...	30.7
1886. ...	213 ...	188.1	130 ...	69.8	149 ...	97.2	139 ...	28.4
1887. ...	222 ...	196.2	130 ...	69.5	157 ...	102.4	146 ...	28.5
1888. ...	234 ...	206.1	130 ...	68.3	160 ...	103.7	142 ...	27.1
1889. ...	249 ...	218.3	148 ...	77.0	158 ...	104.9	152 ...	28.9
1890. ...	203 ...	228.4	150 ...	80.0	166 ...	107.3	176 ...	31.5
1891. ...	247 ...	213.4	143 ...	77.0	159 ...	102.4	182 ...	35.2
1892. ...	227 ...	195.3	138 ...	75.2	148 ...	97.4	212 ...	33.0
1893. ...	218 ...	188.9	129 ...	69.7	155 ...	99.9	173 ...	32.9
1894. ...	216 ...	183.7	123 ...	66.3	148 ...	93.9	181 ...	38.3
1895. ...	226 ...	195.0	135 ...	76.4	166 ...	109.0	165 ...	38.2
1896. ...	240 ...	208.8	136 ...	76.5	176 ...	115.0	180 ...	47.6
1897. ...	234 ...	199.9	144 ...	77.3	182 ...	115.2	215 ...	57.8
1898. ...	233 ...	198.0	140 ...	26.0	188 ...	119.8	252 ...	60.6
1899. ...	264 ...	222.7	166 ...	90.7	210 ...	135.6	251 ...	70.7
1900. ...	291 ...	233.7	164 ...	90.2	231 ...	149.1	286 ...	90.4
1901. ...	280 ...	230.1	161 ...	90.0	222 ...	144.6	304 ...	85.6
1902. ...	283 ...	233.5	170 ...	95.0	234 ...	154.4	282 ...	84.1

And little simple pickled pocket-reference ones like these:

"In the five years 1902-6, as compared with the five years 1880-4, the United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States increased their "Domestic" exports as follows:—

	INCREASE.	
	Mill. £	Per cent.
Free Trade Great Britain, ...	76	or 32
Protected Germany, ...	112	or 72
Protected United States, ...	149	or 90

Taking manufactured goods only, the increase was :—

	Mill. £	Per cent.
Free Trade Great Britain, ...	44	or 21
Protected Germany, ...	84	or 90
Protected United States, ...	74	or 285

Baffled with illogical statistics of this kind and quite unable *altogether* to explain them away the brilliant thinkers of the Free Trade Economy fall gracefully back into the impregnable Redan of our present Redoubtable Argument.

They say :

'Yes ! Yes !—*But how very unfair to compare the Trade of a little Kingdom like Great Britain and Ireland* with that of great and populous Empires like Germany and the United States. The really only fair mode of comparison is to compute the respective external trades of these countries

'PER HEAD OF POPULATION !'

And they then forthwith construct and give you with great delight and triumph such a table as this :

Exports per Head of the Population.

—	United Kingdom.	France.	Germany.	United States.
Average of Period—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1870-74	7 7 3	3 15 0	2 16 7	2 19 11
1875-79	6 0 0	3 14 11	3 3 0	2 16 3
1880-84	6 13 2	3 13 5	3 8 8	3 5 11
1885-89	6 3 8	3 9 3	3 5 6	2 11 10
1890-94	6 2 11	3 11 4	3 2 9	2 19 0
1895-99	5 19 5	3 14 8	3 7 2	2 18 4

And to the table adject (as if they didn't mean it altogether really)—this :

"In his Memorandum, Cd. 1761 (1902) on The Comparative Statistics of Population, Industry, and Commerce in the United Kingdom and some leading Foreign Countries, Sir A. E. Bateman, the Board of Trade Statistician, says :—

'Thus the exports per head in the United Kingdom are far in excess of what they are in either France or Germany, and are still more in excess of what they are in the United States. Since 1875,

also, the exports per head have been nearly stationary in all the countries named, so that no one is getting ahead of the others in this respect.' "

They then give you a similar table for Imports :

Net Imports per Head of the Population.

	United Kingdom.	France.	Germany.	United States.
Average of Period—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1870-74	9 2 4	3 15 8	4 6 3	2 18 7
1875-79	9 10 4	4 6 7	4 6 1	2 2 5
1880-84	9 15 4	5 1 4	3 8 3	2 15 7
1885-89	8 14 2	4 6 10	3 9 5	2 8 11
1890-94	9 7 3	4 8 0	4 2 2	2 11 11
1895-99	9 17 2	4 4 9	4 6 10	1 19 11

And on top of these very striking figures—again respectfully desire you to hearken to Sir A. E. Bateman :

" Thus the imports of the United Kingdom per head are more than double those of any of the other countries named per head ; nearly five times the imports per head of the United States. And none of the countries named is gaining on the United Kingdom in this respect."

And then they say :

' *There* you are now,—Stick-in-the-mud ! What have you to ' say to *that*, please ? And the man of all men in the world, too, ' who should best know,—The Board of Trade Statistician, no less ! '

And from every platform in the Kingdom, by big simpletons and little ones, the happy point is rubbed gleefully home. And so vain and convinced are they all about the pulverising character of this great argument that adroit questions on the point *even* are put up (inadvertently) in Parliament in order that eloquent year by year in ever glowing fresh figures the beautiful triumph of Free Trade over Protection may boom with Big Ben from the Channel Islands to the Shetland Archipelago.

And yet the reply to all this kind of thing is very—*very* simple.

First of all, Exports and Imports are not *necessarily* things that should fill us with unbounded jubilation.

I have already referred to the economic joke of exporting unfinished goods, such as grey calico, to Germany, and re-importing the same goods—finished!—Cocking our Glengarry at the superb Export of our *yarns* and then dancing the Highland Fling on the return of the same woven into patriotic Kilts by German labour!

And you and I have laughed heartily together—haven't we? over the joke of exporting millions of sterling pounds' worth of our best beautiful coal to the Baltic in order to bring back millions of pounds sterling of silly pinewood which ought to have been growing so delightfully all the time on our own heather hills.

But even that doesn't exhaust our English fund of Economic Humour.

Because Foreign Countries unable any longer to deal directly in many articles with our Colonies on account of the Preference which they have so foolishly given to us are in the habit now of sending these goods to the Colonies **via the Mother Country!** And these goods coming in as Imports and going out again (re-packed and re-labelled by our middlemen) as Exports,—our Free Traders are beside themselves with ecstasy—!!!

!—Rejoicing in a double-barrelled increase of trade, as a proof of the virtue and glory of Free Trade, which is really due to a system of Preference which they condemn!

But in the second place, really, even if for a moment we obliged the Free Trader by accepting his Rate per Head per Ass idea as a criterion of industrial prosperity, what would be the singular reward of our consideration? Alas! We should have indulged our generosity (in making an Ass of ourselves!) merely to ascertain—that the Free Trade greatness of Great Britain *even in this respect* was left behind away miles in the rear by the Protected Grandeur and Glory of little Belgium.

Exports per Head of Population.

Population.	Exports per head.
61 Millions, Germany, ...	£5 0 4
85 Millions, United States, ...	4 6 10
44 Millions, Great Britain, ...	8 10 9
7 Millions, BELGIUM, ...	13 17 1

But why, please—Ass?

Because in the next and most important place the method of estimating relative national prosperities by a comparison of the respective rates of imports and exports per head—is one of the most brilliant and conspicuous illustrations I have ever met with of *pseudo-scientific* imbecile unmitigated *rot*. Indeed to my poor mind scarcely anything (and it's saying a lot) in the whole of this ridiculous controversy more glaringly reveals the utter economic ignorance and incompetence of the coxcombs who have opposed Tariff Reform than just the extraordinary flourish which they have made of this silly argument.

What, my dear friend, really do you mean by Imports?

By Imports you mean really—things that are fetched into a country which the country already hasn't got.

In a very practical sense, therefore, the Imports into a country are an index of its economic sterility.

I have never ever yet for a moment, in the wildest paroxysm of my chronic Economic insanity, *dreamt* of envying *the domestic prosperity* of my neighbour,—because he is in the habit of exporting six hard days' labour in the week in order that he may import at the end of it home a few cabbages and turnips and syboes and leeks and potatoes and pullets, all of which are running about in superabundance in my front garden and which my wife, when she wants to, puts into her broth pot, without any exportation very much either upon her part or mine.

What an extremely odd idea that we should beat the big drum upon our side of the water over America and call her proudly to witness!!! Because we imported **£41,149,202** worth of raw cotton in 1902, while she, poor dog, growing her own in her own kail yard *did not require to import any*.

But the joke cuts deeper than that.

Because if we import **£41,149,202** of cotton we have got to pay for it, and as we can only pay for it by Exports, visible or invisible, it follows that we must run out of the country an equivalent fancy Export bill to match these fine Imports.

And so we arrive at last at the very comic idea that if we could only detach some morning and tow across the bounding plains of the Atlantic, Georgia, and Florida, and Alabama and Mississippi and South Carolina, and Texas and Tennessee and anchor them steady off the coast of Ireland,—that—that the United States would be the gainer thereby and that we should be the losers.

Why?

Because the Imports and Exports of the States and the rate per head per Ass of them would go up with a Kangaroo bound and ours would go down with a—"**What ho she bumps!**"

But in 1902 we imported more than cotton.

In **1902** we imported in manufactured and mainly manufactured goods £134,000,000.

But these also had to be paid for. And so when the Free Trader parades the proud fact that in 1902 we *exported* £235,000,000† in manufactured and mainly-manufactured goods we have got to bear in mind *the fact of this payment*. In other words, if we wish to be in a position really to boast of the *solid* manufactured Exports of Gt. B. as distinguished from *the shoddy ones*, we have got to deduct in equivalent the one from the other.

But *even at this* the story of our pre-eminence is very far from being finished.

Because in 1902 we imported * * * * * Let me see!—I ought to have the list somewhere here:

Ah yes! Corn, **£62,513,785**: Butter, **£20,526,690**: Cheese, **£6,412,002**: Eggs, **£6,308,985**: Beef, **£9,859,449**: Mutton, **£7,121,473**: Pork, **£1,751,729**: Bacon, **£17,285,869**, etc. Making in all, in fact, a general total for **Food, Drink and Tobacco** of no less than **£224,403,658**!

—All of which, again, cruel to say, had to be paid for. (And even, as you can see,)—a very part payment wherefor would pretty well swamp any day all that remains any day of our manufactured Exports.

So that really we arrive without much difficulty at the practical logical position *of having no manufactured Exports at all.*

† Including New Ships.

(Which with, now,) for a preliminary exposition—I (fondly) hope that the complete rottenness of the Free Trade argument will be apparent

Even to the Lunatics themselves who have most used it!

In a Protected country:

(1) As much as is terrestrially possible of its requirements in agricultural and dairy produce,—(which we indiscriminately import and have therefore to pay for by Export,)—as much as is possible is made *in* the country, and therefore doesn't require to be paid for by any Export at all.

(2) As many as possible of those manufactured and semi-manufactured articles,—(which we import in our free and easy turnip-headed way and have therefore to pay for by Export,)—as many of these as human beings and humanly-constructed machinery can humanly possibly make,—working deliberately and diligently behind the barriers of an excluding tariff,—are made *in* the country, and therefore dont require to be paid for by any Export at all. And therefore, accordingly, what I say is,—that all that and this being acknowledgedly so, the political nincompoop is a mere Balaam's ass who *even thinks of attempting* to compare in the same street together the Exports of a Protected country with those of a Free Trade country like our own.

! ! ! !

! !—But alas, and alas, and notwithstanding!—I'm afraid we haven't even yet, my dear Sir, plumbed the serene depths of the calculating Free Trader's '**clinching**' absurdity.

But here, if you please, like the immortal Mr. Spender in front of me, I must be *very* elementary!

How do the Free Traders set about arriving at the figures which they parade so proudly in their Rate per Head Comparative Statistics?

They construct for each country a fraction.

'But what, if you please, Sir, is *that*?—I have never had one.'

Well, Sir! a fraction is a two-story house, in the upper flat of which you put the thing that is to be divided, and below are the

expectant shareholders. And when the upper story is divided equally among the subjacent shareholders the spoil of each is the Quota, or the Rate per Head—of 'The Thing that is Divided.'

Now, but if that be so,—as I was about to say, not only a little simple child, but even the cork substitute which Providence hath planted in the Free Trader's skull for brains can understand, I hope, surely,

The Law of the Rate per Head!

Here is it:

(1) When the Dividend increases, and the Shareholders remain the same, the share of each increases. But when the Dividend increases, *and at the same time* the Shareholders diminish, then the Rate per Head goes bounding away up into excelsis like a double-barrelled rocket.

(2) When, on the other hand, the Dividend diminishes, the Shareholders remaining the same, the share of each goes down. But when the Dividend diminishes, *and simultaneously the Shareholders increase*, then the Rate per Head attenuates with geometric lightning rapidity—to the level of the Free Trader's own.

Now in the vulgar fraction which the Free Traders construct for their purpose they put in the upper story the Exports of a country, and in the story below they pack the population. And then they say, Divide! And the Export share which each of the population carries with him away—That they call, 'The Rate of Export per Head of Population' of the respective country. And, as I say, they are never done ding-donging in our ears from every church steeple in the country that this rate is very much higher for Great Britain than it is for Germany and the United States.

Now, but in a Free Trade country like our own what is it just that happens?

This!

Highly-finished Imports, without let or hindrance, come freely tumbling in from every corner of the globe: and this unregulated influx of Imports does two things. It diminishes employment, and therefore diminishes the population, and simultaneously it increases the Free Trader's '*adjustive*' Export. In other words, it increases the total which the Free Trader divides, diminishes his divisor, and

therefore magnifies the 'Rate per Head,' of which he is so proud, —per British Ass of Exports.

In a Protected country like Germany or the United States, on the other hand, exactly the reverse takes place. The Importation of highly-finished articles is inhibited, and this inhibition of manufactured Imports increases employment in the inhibiting country, and therefore population, and simultaneously it diminishes the—*ah!*—Mr. Haldane's '*necessary*' Export. In other words, it diminishes the total which the Free Trader divides, increases his divisor, and therefore attenuates the Rate per Protectionist Head of Exports—of which he is so scornful and contemptuous.

———o

It remains over now only to be perfectly fair and straightforward. By which I mean to say that if these two propositions were presented for subscription to the most rabid Free Trader in the kingdom he would immediately, without a moment's hesitation, give his cordial and emphatic assent to that half of each proposition which relates to the increase and diminution of the adjustive Export. (And well indeed he might!) Because that is a concession which I make to his beloved own obsession—(in order that his head may be adjusted a little easier in chancery!) But he would just as emphatically repudiate that other half of each proposition which relates to the respective increase and decrease of population. He would, in fact, affirm that each of my propositions was *ludicrously self-contradictory*, because the 'adjustive Export' would demand at least an equal population to any supposed displacement of the same due to importation, and vice versa.

If, (however,) you probed the Free Trader's ideas on this point a little *deeper* you would find, as usual, that he had never given the slightest *analytical* consideration—to the misty pillars of adamantine vagueness which he believes he believes in so firmly.

An Export, to that profound Economist,—is always *an Export*, be it never so, and beyond that door-mat he cannot, and will not budge.

If, e.g., a German manufacturer dumps a dozen English Works out of existence and takes home their derelict machinery,—*that* is all right. It is in fact *more* than right.—Bubbling over with delight

he calls your immediate attention to the magnificent increase in our Exports of Machinery. If, on the other hand, the German takes home a dozen beautiful old masterpieces—it is *equally* all right: because then the supposed-to-be displaced population is certain to be *equally* remuneratively employed in packing up the pictures and taking them down to the nearest steamer.

I have very large holdings of land and property in Melbourne and New York, bequeathed to me by my grandfather, and my annual remittances invariably arrive in Liverpool in raw wool and cotton. If the German manufacturer transhipps my wool and cotton direct to the Fatherland—the Free Trader is delightfully scientific, and does not include my remittance in his Export total. But if my raw wool and cotton go inland for a day as far as Manchester and Leeds, and have occluded in them just as much British labour as will twist them into yarn, and the considering German—ships instead *that*. Then, in the eyes of the Free Trader, *nothing* could be more delightful. My grandfather's contribution to the transaction is completely forgotten and we are asked to admire the beautiful automatic way in which British labour is diverted under Free Trade into the higher Industries.

* * * *

!!!—But you are perfectly right, my dear friend, and for your interruption I have to thank you. It is somewhat late in the day to be casting the pearls of elucidation into the bottomless swine-trough of Free Trade. A much easier, and much more convincing, way of establishing the disputed point of my propositions,—(if you are at all anxious that I should,) will be for you—to re-clean your slates and I will give you

THREE LITTLE SUMS IN PROPORTION!

to work at your leisure out.

First of all, I give you a little sum in

EMIGRATION.

In the years 1900-1906 (inclusive) the Emigration from the United Kingdom amounted to **803,677.** The population of the United Kingdom in 1901 was 41,500,000, and that of Germany, in 1900, 56,400,000. And the little sum which I put to you is: "If a population of 41,500,000 gave an emigration of 803,677 in seven

years, what should a population of 56,400,000 have given, at the same rate, and in the same time?

Answer:

Calculated Emigration from Germany, 1,091,503.
Actual Emigration from Germany, 199,921.

Next, I give you a little sum in

POPULATION.

The population of the United Kingdom in 1881 and 1901 was as follows:

1881, 34,900,000.
1901, 41,500,000.
Increase, 6,600,000:

—and that of Germany, **in 1880, 45,200,000!**

And my next query, therefore, is: 'If an English population of 34,000,000 increased by 6,600,000 in 20 years, by how much should a German population of 45,200,000 have increased, in the same time, and at the same rate?'

Answer:

Estimated Increase in German Population, 8,500,000.
Actual Increase in German Population, 11,200,000.

And my third little query is this: 'If an English population of 34,000,000 increased by 6,600,000 in 20 years, by how much should an American population (in 1880) of 50,200,000 have increased, in the same time, and at the same rate?'

Answer:

Estimated Increase of the United States' Population, 9,500,000.
Actual Increase of the United States' Population, 25,300,000.

LXIII.

I pass along now to

THE GREAT LORD CROMER ARGUMENT!

His Lordship has been late a little in entering the fiscal field,

but he has made up for lost time by inventing, I think, the most original of all the Free Trade arguments.†

The United States may stretch her Empire from the Atlantic to the far Pacific, and Russia hers from the Baltic thither, and both may do right very well what they fiscally please with these tremendous territories. But we English had best beware! Lord Cromer's idea being that any departure from Free Trade upon our part would so alarm and provoke our commercial rivals that we should have to fill the German Ocean with Dreadnoughts in order to prevent them in revenge from attacking us.

But why should they really?

The adoption of Protection and Preference by this country, as every body knows, and nobody better than Lord Cromer, would lead to the *immediate* ruin of British Trade and the disintegration of the British Empire.

But the ruin of British Trade and the disintegration of the British Empire are the twin precise things which our commercial rivals would to-morrow gladly see.

But in that case why should we have to fill the German Ocean with Dreadnoughts in order to prevent our enemies from preventing us—setting about to compass our own destruction.

LXIV.

I pass along now to

THE GREAT PURITY OF PARLIAMENT ARGUMENT!

—An argument of particular interest to me, personally, because it is the only individual one in the whole Free Trade Stock-in-Trade which I am able to speak to with any even the pretence of Respect!

† I maintain that when once the passions, which Protection and Preference will evoke, have been let loose, our present naval establishments, great though they may be, will be insufficient to maintain the security of our vast possessions (cheers). There will have to be more Dreadnoughts and perhaps more battalions. The Dreadnoughts can certainly be produced, the creation of battalions is, perhaps, somewhat more problematical.—*Lord Cromer, Unionist Free Trade Dinner, 21st November,* 1907.

My only (or at least chief) embarrassment in regard to it, is that I find it difficult to treat the distinguished Puritans who use it, with either *patience* or respect.

The subtle innuendo which undoubtedly underlies their argument is that the Mother of Parliaments, as we behold her now, is a model of Democratic Efficiency and Purity, —a thousand irreproachable miles away removed—from the possibility of having her Integrity tampered with by the insidious wiredrawing of Interests, Trusts, etc. .

To all of which * *

—o—

—' You very humbly demur ! Hey ? '

—o—

* * To all of which—I very humbly remember that a few years ago when a Bill was up in Parliament to establish a higher flash point for Petroleum than is at present legal, (which would have eliminated by a stroke of the pen) the dangerous low-grade American oils which are at present dumped upon our shores,—that Bill, or that flash point, was incontinently rejected by the Mother of Parliaments.—The incident being especially glued to my memory ! (the more on this account) that members were actually able to rise on their hind legs and plead for the rejection of that Bill (and mock at our Scotch members for supporting it) on the ground *that it was likely to act as a protective measure to our Home Scotch Industries in Oil—! ! !*

But in any case this came to pass :

For herein lies the sting of the rejection !

That a low-grade oil, **whose sale is prohibited in America !**—whose sale in the south of England is the cause of I cannot tell you how many unhappy deaths and innocent suffering among the poorest of the English poor, can be sold with freedom and profit in our Free Trade markets **by the conscious Deliberate Decree** of our Free Trade Paragon Parliament !

And so, my dear friends, you see ! That what the Great Standard Oil Trust of America did not and could not accomplish, had they tried,

And what they cannot accomplish now were they ever to try,

In the impure Trust-ridden American Congress, they achieve over here, **without asking !**— from the Mother Herself of Purity !

Because, of course, there was never any question of *Extra* Parliamentary Pressure having been brought to bear. There were no counter-mining Trusts at work :

Why !

Because there could not be in Happy Free Trade England !

— And no interests considered save only the interests of the people and the poor,

And the happy dispatch from a World of Sorrow

of the poorest of them !

Perfectly I remember, also, a few years ago, when a Bill was introduced,—indeed I rather think it was a Government Measure, to render compulsory the Automatic Coupling of our Railway Waggons, that that Bill was deliberately thrown out, or, worse still, withdrawn, after we all thought it likely to pass, by the Mother of Parliaments.

And to this hour the annual holocaust of innocent Railway victims goes merrily forward and the cry of strong men in their agony and the wail of preventable widows and unnecessary orphans goes round by the ear of God.

! ! ! !

But the Mother of Purity sits bland !

—Because, herein, also, lies the sting of the rejection :

—That what our British Parliament rejected—is, since I cannot tell you how long ago, **compulsory in America !**

(And so you see,) my dear friends!—That what the Great Railway Trusts of America did not and could not accomplish, had they tried,

And what they cannot accomplish now were they ever to try,

In the Venal Congress of Trust-ridden Rotten America,

Our British Railway Magnates can achieve over here without asking, (*and without even asking !*) **from the Paragon Mother of Parliamentary Purity.**

Because, as you must perfectly see and know, there were not any Vested (hydraulic) Pressures brought sorely to bear,—no impure Trusts at work :

Why ?

Because there couldn't be in Happy Free Trade England !

And no interests considered, save only the interests of the people and the immortal souls of our shunters, **shunting swiftly to Paradise !**

But-yesterday through the elected Parliament of Great Britain a great - a gigantic Irish Land Bill was rushed without word or warning, pledging the credit of the United Kingdom to the extent of £100,000,000 !

With what object ?

In order to accomplish the Impossible. To achieve the Miracle that was never before accomplished on this planet until now. (And never will be again !)

—To enable the present Landowners of Ireland to sell their Irish Land, —at their own terms, and the future Landowners of Ireland to buy that land, pretty much at *theirs*.

—The selling and the buying terms being irreconcilably different !†

No more autocratic swindle, no deeper disloyalty, no dirtier betrayal of the sovran right of a sovereign Democracy * * *

' Tut ! tut ! A barley with all that !—You dont mean to insinuate, briefly, do you ? That the people of the United Kingdom, who have to hold the candle to this transaction, were not in any way consulted ? '

In no way, Sir, not by Referendum, nor Plebiscite, nor General Election, —nor in any other the slightest remotest way,

about so unimportant and trivial a matter ! ! !

---

†" It was decided that purchase on a great scale should be undertaken, although at the time there was a wide difference between the market price of Irish land and the price at which the landlords were willing to sell. To ' bridge ' this difference and avoid compulsory purchase Mr. Wyndham proposed that a bonus should be given to the landlords from the British Exchequer, and that the term during which tenants were to repay advances from the State should be extended from 49 years (as under the Ashbourne Act) to 68½ years. The landlords got a bonus enabling them to sell at prices that would ensure to them their existing incomes, while the purchasing tenants got an immediate reduction of about 20 per cent. on the rents they were then paying."

On the contrary, the country was supposed, and not without reason, to have contemptuously rejected the mere idea of Land Purchase in Ireland.†

'But wasn't this a case of——'

No, Sir! It wasn't! It was a *mine*, (the most idyllic name

†Here are some of the most up-to-date comments on this subject:—

"Five years ago Mr. Wyndham's Land Purchase Act was passed, and already it has broken down financially: the question is now concentrating upon itself the attention of all parties and classes and creeds. * * * The gain of the landlords has been in proportion to the loss of Irish ratepayers through the utilisation of the Development Grant and the rates. This follows from the scheme of the Act, and it was the fault of parties to that Act if it was not foreseen. * * *

"The Irish Development Grant was pledged as a security against loss incurred by the issue of Land Stock at a discount. If that were not sufficient, then the loss was to fall on the Irish ratepayers. The British taxpayer, we were assured, was not to be called upon to bear any part of the loss. But the Irish Development Grant is already gone, and any further losses now will have to fall upon the Irish ratepayers."—Special Article, *Glasgow Herald, Oct.*, 1908.

"The British taxpayer, however grudgingly, must come to the rescue of the system of Land Purchase to which he was committed by the Act of 1903, if that Act is not to become another of Ireland's grievances."—Leading Article, *Glasgow Herald, Oct.*, 1908.

"IRISH LAND PURCHASE.

"The Irish landlords, hitherto so tenacious of their properties, are now tumbling over one another in their anxiety to leave the land they have half emptied of its population. The humour of the situation would be even greater but for the financial side of it. For what is happening in Ireland? The Irish landlord and tenant have combined for the first time in their lives. The cement is English gold. In 1903 a bargain was struck which was generous to everyone except the English taxpayer.

"The £100,000,000 which Mr. Wyndham lightly prophesied as the loan liability of the British Taxpayer have grown to £150,000,000 owing to a colossal financial miscalculation. The Treasury has for the moment succeeded in reducing the annual outlay to some £5,000,000 a year, but only at some peril to the success of the whole scheme of purchase. Agreements amounting to £40,000,000 are awaiting settlement, and are only fended off from the Treasury by the dilatoriness of the law.

"What is the effect of this drain upon British resources? It is undoubtedly almost as big a drag upon British credit as the expenditure on a chronic war. Irish Land Stock has indeed been kept separate from Consols, but the depressing effect on Consols is scarcely diminished by that device. These immense sums now being given to the Irish Landlords with the consent of the Irish tenant constitute the cash price for the refusal of Home Rule to Ireland. It is useless to be angry. The Irish tenant, divorced from honest interest in the British Exchequer, naturally feels no scruple in fleecing the British taxpayer to get rid of his hereditary oppressor. No one can blame him. The use of British credit is the only benefit that the Act of Union has given to Ireland.—Article, *Contemporary Review, August*, 1908.

for it '. a deep-laid cunning miserable plant, sprung upon an unoffending, unsuspecting people by an organised political conspiracy. And the traitors filled the benches, front and back,

Of Both Sides

of the House of Commons !

' But what of the crime, then, was the high heinousness ? ' Was it not a mere case of pledging the National Credit in order to ' **Nationalise the Land ? '**

No, Sir ! It was a mere case of pledging the National Credit **in order to Multiply the Future Obstacles to it !**

! ! ! !

—But of this, (of course,) you may *at least* be sure. There was *not any pressure of Landlordism* brought softly to bear on the Mother of Purity : There were, at midnight work, no vampire Trusts :

Why ?

Because there couldn't be in Happy Free Trade England !)

And there no interests considered were, save only the interests, (and the interest,) of the great Unconscious Powerless People, **and the People's—£100,000,000 !**

—o—

'Tis but yesterday, also,—the ink of the Great Betrayal would scarce be dry, that our very present ideal Parliament† reformed the British Navy.

' What in the British Navy was there needing Reform ? '

Ah, well, for long, our naval engineering department, as you perhaps may know, and the quarter-deck department have been like oil and water. You see ! the Engineer Officers hail from the masses, mostly : and the —our gallant Deck Officers draw from the classes. More or less.* And like the East and West these never would blend.

' And what then ? '

And so then our ingenious Naval Reformers set their 81 ton

† 1900-1906.

* " In plain language, then, the executives and the engineers in our navy have hitherto been recruited from two different social classes of the community. It would be mere folly to deny it, and no one who really knows anything about the navy would think of denying it."

brains to steep, and by the help and inspiration of the Almighty, —after the painful struggle of a most mountainous reflection, they contrived to solve for all time the insoluble.

'How did they succeed?'

By the master Solomon Stroke of abolishing the oil of the masses and drawing the aqueous brains of the future fleet, above deck and below deck, from the undefiled well of the classes.

'And how did they carry out this ingenuity before the country?'

Ah! their effrontery was equal to the occasion.

They complained of the Great P—— School Education, of its helpless inefficient insufficiency. (And instead of taking the obvious means) to make it more efficient by screening out of the British Navy its illiterate product, they * * .

'Stay!'

What would you say?

'Where and how do the youths who enter for the Indian Civil Service contrive to get their elaborate training?'

* * * *

* * These zealous patriotic Naval Reformers, they come before the country unabashed, and they say:

'Give us but the young idea young enough to shoot, and we with the thundering help of the mighty ordnance of the British Admiralty, **we will teach it how to spell!**'

'And then, what then?'

Oh then, with not another word more to do, at the nation's expense, they convert Osborne House into an Elementary School, and children at the tender age of 12 and 13 are forthwith hailed from their happy homes to go there and learn what apparently the Great P—— English Schools have failed to teach,—how to read and write, and add up little sums in gentle arithmetic.

—'All children?'

Oh, No!—the children of those who can afford to spend from £1000 to £1500 on the education of one.

'And you mean, do you,—Any of these?'

Oh, No! Selection by Nomination, or, shall I say, 'Preference'

can weed at once out the really eligible classes from the mere monied masses. And the gentle eclectic squeeze of a Tommy Tiddle (so-called) **Oral Examination,** in regard to which no shaming records can ever leap to light,—can do the final rest !†

†* * * " And instead of the undiluted Patronage system of nominations to cadetships, with nothing but an easy qualifying examination, there was instituted a competitive examination of a very searching character by the Civil Service Commissioners, whereby the navy obtained the best lad out of every three that offered.

" From the perfectly fair method of entry which gave us our present generation of naval officers in all save the higher ranks and which is in harmony with the spirit of the age and the democratic government of the country, and which somewhat modified class patronage, we have now taken a step backwards to simple undisguised patronage, and an easy qualifying examination, preceded by the labours of a remarkable tribunal known as the Committee of Selection, which interviews the boys, and asks them a few simple questions, the answers to which are supposed to be a test of their general intelligence and fitness for the public service. Questions such as: Where do you live ? Who is your father ? Are the cow's horns behind or before her ears ? How long does a hen take to hatch out a clutch of eggs ?

" I am credibly informed that these questions and many similar ones were actually addressed to candidates by the Committee of Selection ; and some people will doubt whether this system of selecting naval officers is a wise substitute for the examination by the Civil Service Commissioners, who did not even know the names of the candidates they were examining."—*National Review, April*, 1905, C. C. Penrose Fitz-Gerald, Admiral.

And this atrocious scandal, mind you ! was perpetrated not under some private Admiralty Hogshead, but in the broad electric unabashed light of the floor of the British House of Commons —but yesterday afternoon ! And next morning,—while the voiceless stones of British streets cried shame !

A Sycophant British Press sang Chorus !

'And the morning after *that?*'

Ah !—then, the crime was over and done with,—*and forgotten !* (Become a registered part) and democratic parcel of the glory of our unalterable constitution.

And never a word of protest has risen, (or ever will !)

From an ignorant indifferent and swindled country !

! ! ! !

Why, if you please, in the name of Heaven,

THE MAGIC AGE OF THIRTEEN?

What double-damned unhung Admiralty Traitor struck *that?*

* * * *

Come away, now, my most noble swindled countrymen! consider coolly and tell me calmly:

What *in your opinion* any little chap at the tender age of 12 or 13 is like to know of his own incompetence and imbecility,—his country's great needs and his own little future wishes,—what his beloved father is like to know, or his doting mother, or his brothers, or sisters, or his 42nd cousin:—*or what the mighty Lords of the Great British Admiralty are like to find out!*

—And out of this delicious primeval Osborne stew of infantile inconsequence, parental ineptitude, and 'double-d——d' Admiralty treachery,—you propose to distil the future driving brain power of the British Navy!

———o———

'But do I understand you to say,—That a boy of 15 would not now be admitted into the British Navy?'

Not for a British Officer.

'Not if he were a crack young unequivocal genius?'

Not if he were the promise of a Watt, Newton, Nelson and Napoleon rolled into one!

! ! ! !

Odd to think of it, isn't it?—my most noble swindled patriotic young brilliant countrymen! One great profession in this Great Big Noble Free Trade Glorious Democratic Island Home of British Freedom—that is barred to you for all eternity!—**One!—And one only!**—You cannot cross **The Imperial Infant-blocked Threshold of the Great British Navy!**

And *you!*—Lord Nelson!—died for this!!!—That barely yet a hundred years after, British Naval Fools and Nincompoops—and Traitors might create and register by Parliamentary decree conditions and regulations

WHICH WOULD HAVE BARRED OUT OF THE BRITISH NAVY AND THE ROLL-CALL OF BRITISH GLORY YOUR NEGLIGIBLE SELF!

! ! ! !

What a brilliant odd patriotic *typically British* concatenation!

You lavish a Million or two on a generous Ironclad.

Intimate specifications. Invite Tenders. Jealously inspect the leviathan while it is in progress. And, in the end, demand complete conformity with your specifications and conditions, or you throw the battleship back on the builders' hands.

And after all this vigilant care, this irritating trouble, this colossal expenditure,

This stiff final examination of a brainless inanimate Ironclad

Go specially,

Deliberately,

You! the responsible elected members of the democratic British House of Commons, in broad day light, a thousand miles out of your obvious way, by restricting, narrowing, cutting down and condensing the intellectual field out of which you might derive the naval talent of the future, until you have actually struck by the most deliciously plotted extant process of exclusion **the most Brainless Area in the British Islands !—**

To do what ?

—To insure the possibility of entrusting it and its immortal crew,

To a most Probable Nincompoop !

You spend well over £30,000,000 every year on your Navy, and out of that vast sum that would stagger the gods you cannot afford £100,000 i' the year where-the-with to endow the secondary and technical schools and colleges of the country with, say,

A Thousand Naval Cadetships at £100 a year !

by the which simple expedient you would be in a position to forthwith skim the cream of the active talent of the country for the defence of its honour and integrity.

Because we in the North, up here, *have* efficient schools which can turn out lads as educated as any Admiralty out of Heaven could wish :

Because we in the North haven't £1500 to spend on a boy's education :

Because we in the North, even if we had, would as soon think of sending our boys to the Infernal Regions as to Osborne House at the age of 12 :

Because that is all so!—our sons, forsooth, are forthwith deprived of any possibility of access to the fighting bridge of that Great Navy of the Great Traditions on which depends our all as a nation: and which,

If I may put it to Scotsmen with a London lowness,

we all contribute to support!

* * * *

And our present lovely Parliament† decreed, determined, sealed and ratified,—one afternoon while their victims slumbered.

! ! ! !

THIS WILD AWAKENING FOR OUR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN!

! ! ! !

'Most Mag!—**Magnificent!** But what is *just* your point? 'Because if such things can be done in the Parliamentary dry tree 'of Free Trade what is like to happen under the merry green woods 'of Protection?'

Well, but *that* is just my point! *That quite so much is not just like to happen!* The fault and scandal of our present every day Free Trade British House of Commons is just that it is **a very highly protected** (with a very highly prohibitive entry money!) **exclusive club of rich men,** in which a very few interests are very highly over-represented.

If Protection led, and that is the Free Trade argument, to the clash and struggle and wire-pulling of ten thousand conflicting axes and interests,—then Protection would lead, in fact and effect, to the parliamentary representation of a very much larger industrial and therefore National life:

And the happier mean for the general interests of the people would be likelier struck!

But leaving this 'ad hominem' for what it is worth, and I think that it is worth,

Why should I condescend, please, to reply to you at all?

You hold me up to the American Congress as to a mirror and say: 'Behold the graven image of your debasement and corruption, if you subscribe to this accursed Heresy!'

† 1900-1906

But why, please, America? Why, (if you will permit me a waltz with your own most favourite tag,) why compare a mighty congregation of countries like the U.S. with a futile and insignificant dot like ourselves?

Have the negligible poor Germans, then, also nothing in the way of an instrument of Legislature, and the miserable Frenchmen, and the wretched Belgians, and the unmentionable Danes?

But if these so have, why must we then so bravely assume that our British House of Commons under Protection is foreordoomed to assume the lineaments of the American and not rather the *vices* of the Swiss Houses of Legislature?

Dont you see, man, that if we in this country in all that relates to Municipal Politics were as far behind the United States as we are in Fiscal Policy, what a magnificent infinitely more crushing chronicle you could make out for a let-me-alone system of Municipal Mediævalism—vis-à-vis the Municipal supposed-to-be Modernity Corruption of America!

! ! ! !

What an extremely virtuous Free Trade odd idea! That because my cousin in Alabama died of a bone in his throat, I am no longer to have pea soup. And because so many of us in Glasgow on a Saturday night get drunk—His Imperial Majesty the German Emperor, is no longer to drink!

LXV.

I pass along now to

THE GREAT HISTORICAL ARGUMENT!

(Next to the Great Consumers') the **most-used tomahawk** of the Free Trade Armoury—and

The Rottenest!

This universal favourite is trolled and trotted out in many pet paces and pitches.

Sometimes it feminises over the land in screeching agonies like these:

"What was it, then, that had made women take up this question so keenly? Was it not that they saw in imagination, in a possible return to the bad old days of Protection, **the spectre of famine once more stalking through the land?**

"Was it not the cry of the hungry little ones? Was it not that they saw the diminished fire on the household hearth, and saw those they loved shivering around it in threadbare garments which could not be replaced, and saw the little store of money which used to supply food and clothing and leave something over for intellectual and moral culture, now barely sufficient for the merest necessaries of existence? It was considerations such as these that had revealed the much-maligned political woman as the outraged mother defending her home. —(Applause)."

Sometimes with a single kangaroo hop it bobs up into the divine unexpected heights of the immortal-sublime: as in the plaintive adjuration of Lord Rosebery to run out into the highways and byways and collect for the love of God the halt and the maim and the blind and haul them in by the white remaining hairs of their heads, who had survived from the hungry days of Protection, in order that they might rise pathetic up before the merciful Lord and testify to an unremembering people of its unforgettable horrors!

He thought, (—thought his Lordship,) that the ignorant drivel of these old innocent dotards would have an infinitely greater platform effect than all the argumentative modern eloquence of himself and others.

—Nor will many of us doubt—that he wasn't far wrong!

But however the form which it takes the argument is always the same,—and may be summarised thus:

'Before 1846 England was another name for H—l.

'In 1846 The Angel of Free Trade arrived in the incarnation of 'Cobden and abolished the unhappy Corn Laws. Since when, 'industrially speaking, England has been short-hand for Heaven.'

Now we humble Protectionists dont deny that a great deal of misery did exist in the days before the Repeal of the Corn Laws.

Neither do we attempt to deny that a great deal exists now, after sixty years' experience of that divine event.

Less do the Free Traders!

Indeed! (with a mother's affection) they almost seem to fondle the fact!

* * * *

"In this country we know, thanks to the patience and accurate "scientific investigations of Mr. Rowntree and Mr. Charles Booth, "both in different fields and by different methods, but arriving "at the same result, which has never been questioned—we know "that there is about 30 per cent. of our population

"underfed,

"on the verge of hunger,

"doubtful day by day of the sufficiency of their food.

"Thirty per cent! What is the population of the United "Kingdom? Forty-one millions. Thirty per cent. of forty-one "millions comes to **something over twelve millions:**"

—rejoices no less than himself, Sir Henry.

———o———

Nor do we in the least deny that in the thirty years which followed the Repeal of the Corn Laws Great Britain made gigantic strides in commercial and industrial prosperity.

But what we decisively do, and without the slightest equivocation, affirm is: That Free Trade (so-called) had about as much to do with that boom of Prosperity as had the four blue moons of great Jupiter!

The proof of which aggressive (and intended to be) affirmation is in the many-fold: and so indeed stark-obvious that he that but troubles to open his eyes to the history of the past has them forthwith blinded

WITH CONVINCING EXCESS OF INELUCTABLE LIGHT!

——— o———

There is the first of all very striking and sufficient fact!—That the famous Repeal made but *little difference* in the price of bread!

"In proof of this it is only necessary to give the following "tables of figures, which are official and accurate.

"The first table gives (*a*) the actual price of wheat in the year "before the Corn Law was repealed; (*b*) the average price for the

"six years 1845 to 1850 (inclusive); and (c) the average price "for the six years 1850 to 1855 (inclusive) :—

Years.	Prices.
(*a*) 1845, ...	50s. 10d. per quarter.
(*b*) 6 years, 1845 to 1850, ...	51s. 8½d. per quarter.
(*c*) 6 years, 1850 to 1855, ...	53s. 3½d. per quarter.

"The second table shows the actual quantities of wheat and of "wheat flour imported into our country in the years indicated :—

Year.	Quantity of Wheat and Wheat Flour Imported.
In 1846, ...	3,344 quarters.
In 1847, ...	4,464 quarters.
In 1848, ...	3,082 quarters.
In 1849, ...	4,835 quarters.
In 1850, ...	4,830 quarters,
In 1851, ...	5,330 quarters.
In 1852, ...	4,164 quarters.
In 1853, ...	6,235 quarters.
In 1854, ...	4,473 quarters.
In 1855, ...	3,207 quarters.

"The same argument applies to cattle, the importations of which "did not seriously increase until 1853, when, owing to the dreadful "cattle disease, pleuro-pneumonia—which lasted for five years and did "enormous destruction amongst British stock—our own farmers were "unable to meet the home demand for meat. The figures are :—

Year.	No. of Cattle Imported.
In 1846, ...	45,043
In 1847, ...	75,717
In 1848, ...	62,738
In 1849, ...	53,449
In 1850, ...	66,462
In 1851, ...	86,520
In 1852, ...	93,061
In 1853, ...	125,253
In 1854, ...	114,200
In 1855, ...	97,400

"Bread and meat, therefore, not only did not, but could not "have become, through our foreign imports, immediately cheaper "in price after the adoption of Cobden's proposals for the free "importation of foreign corn and meat.

"Wheat Prices in England.

	Wheat per qr. s.	d.
1843 (under the Corn Laws), ...	50	1
1853 (after repeal), ...	53	3
1863 ,, ...	44	9
1873 ,, ...	58	8
1883 ,, ...	41	7
1893 ,, ...	26	4
1903 ,, ...	28	0
1904 ,, ...	26	9

"The following table shows the average price of Wheat per quarter between the dates named :—

	s.	d.	
1820-29, ...	59	10	per quarter.
1830-39, ...	56	9	per quarter.
1840-49, ...	55	11	per quarter.
1850-59, ...	53	4	per quarter.
1860-69, ...	41	7	per quarter.
1870-79, ...	51	4	per quarter.
1880-89, ...	37	0	per quarter.
1890-99, ...	28	9	per quarter.
1902, ...	28	1	per quarter.
1903, ...	26	9	per quarter.

"That is to say, the price of Wheat per quarter did not seriously lower until 1880 to 1889; or, 30 to 40 years after the Corn Laws were repealed."

"Wheat Prices, Here and Abroad.

"The following figures are interesting, showing the average Wheat prices per ton in different countries :—

(1) In 1806: London, £11 8s.; Paris, £10 18s.; Berlin, £10; Vienna, £8 6s.; and America, £10 8s.

(2) In 1879: London, £11 10s.; Paris, £11 12s.; Berlin, £9 12s Vienna, £8 8s; and America, £9 6s.

In 1897 the price in America (United States) was only £6 9s.; whilst an average, taken a few years later, over 16 years showed that the prices were: In London, £11 11s.; Paris, £11 18s.; Berlin, £10 8s."

"The price of Corn scarcely fell.

"Here are the figures for averages of long periods before and after the repeal. It is necessary to take long periods, as at that time the price was affected by a good or a bad harvest.

Before Free Trade.

25 years' average, 1822-46, .. 58s. per quarter.

Highest price, 70s. 8d. in 1839.

Lowest price, 39s. 4d. in 1835.

After Free Trade.

25 years' average, 1847, 1849-72, 53s. per quarter.

Highest price, 74s. 8d. in 1855.

Lowest price, 38s. 6d. in 1851.

"Price of Bread does not fall markedly.

"The result of the change was not what had been expected. It was said that the repeal of the Corn Laws would give the nation cheap food, yet the price of bread was as follows before and after the repeal, according to the accounts of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich:—

Before Free Trade.

Average of 1840-6, 1848, .. 6.6d. per quartern.

Under Free Trade.

Average of 1847, 1849-55, .. 6.1d. per quartern.

Average of 1856-65, ... 5.9d. per quartern.

"In the last two periods there was no duty whatever on corn, except the shilling registration duty, as corn was admitted free in 1849. But bread was little cheaper than it had been in the old days of the laws which were supposed to have caused starvation. There is nothing to show that prices would not have fallen to the same extent had the laws remained in force.

"In a recent publication of the Board of Trade (Statistical Chart for St. Louis Exhibition, Cd. 2145), a table showing the average price of household bread in London is given (Table IX., pp. 9, 10). In the following summary table the average for periods of ten years each before and after Free Trade in corn is given. The prices are those of the 4lb. loaf :—

	d.
1826-1835, ...	**9.30**
1836-1845, ...	**8.85**
Corn Law repealed, 1846.	
1846-1855, ...	**8.43**
1856-1865, ...	**8.25**
1866-1875, ...	**8.48**
1876-1885, ...	**7.13**
1886-1895, ...	**5.81**
1896-1903, ...	**5.35**

"This calculation proves :—

(1) That the cheapening of the loaf began before Free Trade ;

(2) That Free Trade did not cause the price to fall more rapidly ;

(3) That the big fall in price comes thirty years later than Free Trade, and must therefore be due to causes other than Free Trade."

"Price of Food in 1845.	s.	d.	**Price of same Food in 1907.**	s.	d.
1 loaf, 4 lb., ...	0	6	1 loaf, 4 lb., ...	0	$5\frac{1}{2}$
1 lb. butter, ...	0	7	1 lb. butter, ...	1	1
1 lb. cheese, ...	0	2	1 lb. cheese, ...	0	9
1 lb. bacon, ...	0	3	1 lb. bacon, ...	0	9
1 lb. beef, ...	0	4	1 lb. beef, ...	0	8

"(The price of the loaf in 1845 is taken from the "Free Trader," issued by the Liberal Free Traders, for December, 1904. The price of other food-stuffs in 1845 are taken from the "Hungry Forties," a book written by Mr. Cobden's daughter.)

"It will be seen that while the British consumer could buy his loaf of bread in 1907—in some places—$\frac{1}{2}$d. cheaper than it could be bought in 1845—

Butter cost him **6d. more.**
Cheese ,, **7d. more.**
Bacon ,, **6d. more.**
Beef ,, **4d. more.**

Well, I should think (that *that*) is a fair enough look-in for statistics!

But statistics, as we all know, are notorious liars:—when they collide with a pet superstition.

I will therefore give you

MR. GLADSTONE!

Who in his fanaticism for the impeccable never could, would, or did, as we all know, tell a George Washington!

"FACTS THAT CANNOT BE DENIED."

"Addressing the farmers of Midlothian at West Calder, upon 27th November, 1879, Mr. Gladstone spoke as follows:—

'Gentlemen, you know the fact very well that while Protection was in force you did not get the prices that you have been getting for the last twenty years.

'The price of wheat has been much the same as it had been before.

'The price of oats was better than was to be had on the average of Protective years.

'But the price, with the exception of wheat, of almost every agricultural commodity,

the price of wool,
the price of meat,
the price of cheese,
the price of everything that the soil produces,

has been highly increased under Free Trade. * * *

'They (the people) give you a great deal more for your meat, your wool, and your products in general than you have ever got under Protection.'

"—He closes this portion of his speech by saying the above are 'facts that cannot be denied.'"

Also **the popular Corn Law pet delusion** which is the platform Free Trader's (so dear!) delight is not increased certainly any more, I think, in credibility, by the following further logicalities:

British modern prosperity being due to the fall in the price of Wheat which took place after the repeal of the Corn Laws:

That is to say, to a fall in price which didn't take place:

Or in any case to such a striking extent through the tedious course of forty succeeding years that only a high power economic microscope can detect it:

—But which latterly in the miracle eighties did take place with lightning decisiveness:

And with still more Trade Wind steadiness in the nineties:

* * * *

Witness:

Average Price of Wheat per Imperial Quarter in the United Kingdom.

	s.	d.		s.	d.				s.	d.
1886,	31	0		54	8,	1846	1866,		49	11
1887, ..	32	6		69	9, ..	1847	1867, ..		64	5
1888, ..	31	10		50	6, ..	1848	1868, ..		63	9
1889, ..	29	9		44	3, ..	1849	1869, ..		48	2
1890, ..	31	11		40	3, ..	1850	1870, ..		46	11
1891, ..	37	0		38	6, ..	1851	1871, ..		56	8
1892, ..	30	3		40	9, ..	1852	1872, ..		57	0
1893, ..	26	4		53	3, ..	1853	1873, ..		58	8
1894, ..	22	10		72	5, ..	1854	1874, ..		55	9
1895, ..	23	1		74	8, ..	1855	1875, ..		45	2
1896, ..	26	2		69	2, ..	1856	1876, ..		46	2
1897, ..	30	2		56	4, ..	1857	1877, ..		56	9
1898, .	34	0		44	2, ..	1858	1878, ..		46	5
1899, ..	25	8		43	9, ..	1859	1879, ..		43	10
1900, ..	26	11		53	3, ..	1860	1880, ..		44	4
1901, ..	26	9		55	4, ..	1861	1881, ..		45	4
1902, ..	28	1		55	5, ..	1862	1882, ..		45	1

Then, I should say, *this* follows:

A great unparalleled British post Corn Law Boom of Prosperity succeeding in the fifties and the sixties and the seventies to a fall of prices which meant to very hard, but didn't take place, (and of which it, therefore, the unparalleled Boom, must have been the indisputable sequence,)—

When at last in the Providence of the eighties this divine compelling fall did take place,

Then this British Boom Gale of post Corn Law Prosperity

should have blown by all the rules of logic into a Trade Wind Hurricane.

And when further this fall in the Lucifer nineties went falling—indeed so further low that it is scarce easy to imagine it further falling,

Then this great Hurricane that didn't come off should have grown to a giantific similar cyclone which ought by now to have sucked up the hair out of our inflated heads—uprooted half of our carboniferous island and blown it smoking into farthest eternity.

! ! ! !

On the strange contrary, the curious reverse facts

Have run the other way round the corner !

(Not but that I mean that there isn't plenty of blowing) about Free Trade still ! But a mighty doctrine which after blowing along and being blown about for the last sixty years winds up by blowing twelve millions of us into starvation—ought, I think, to be about close to its last puff.

But further !

The absence of a Tariff upon Corn being the effective cause of England's post Corn Law Prosperity : **albeit as a curious matter of fact of post Corn Law history England was not without such a Free Trade Tariff !** One too which actually rose in 1864 from a shilling a quarter to a shilling and *three farthings*, and so indeed continued up to 1869 : 1870 being the memorable first year in which at last Wheat was admitted quite free :

I say ! – The absence of a corn duty having been the cob that carried so fast along the mid backbone of the 19th century the amazing chariot of English Prosperity, it follows—(in the fields of science) that when you take out your cob from the front trams and harness it up behind, *the plough of prosperity will run equally fast in an inverse way.*

Well but this scientific experiment has been tried for our behoof and instruction !—With results that are open in league-long text to the light of day,—on a mighty continental scale.

THERE IS, e.g., FRANCE.

From 1853 to 1859 (seven happy years !) she moved along through the sunshine of life with no duty whatever upon Wheat.

From 1860 all the way to 1884 (a quarter of a century) she laboured along under the burden of a tax, it is true, but of one that was never more than **a shilling and a penny !**

Under, therefore, these ideal Cobdenite conditions France should have been forging ahead like a green bay tree.

France doesn't appear to have been cognisant of the fact.

In any case, in 1885, she imposed a duty on her Wheat per imperial quarter of 5/2¾, and after two years' arduous agony at this—increased it, in 1887, to **8/9½ !** Whereupon, as might have been expected, France went booming backward industrially to such a serious extent that, in 1894, she was quite unable to contemplate the heart-rending desolation any more and put up the tax to **12/2½ !**—Since when, as might have been expected, the inevitable has happened !

No tax at all having produced in Great Britain 12,000,000 people on the verge of starvation, a tax of 12/- in France has filled her penurious borders with (twelve times twelve)—144,000,000 people *dying* of do. !

THE EXPERIENCE OF GERMANY HAS BEEN QUITE SIMILAR.

From 1840 to 1856 she had a tax upon Wheat of 2/11 an imperial quarter. Amazed at finding, however, that England was making such amazing progress **owing to a duty of 1/-** she in 1857 lowered hers to a sympathetic 1/2.

Not nevertheless flourishing *just so well* as she had expected, and thinking possibly that the extra 2d. had to do with it, she in 1865 decided to go one better even than England. And consequently while England was still groaning along under a wheaten tariff of a shilling (and three farthings) Germany abolished her duty whatever, and allowed in Wheat tariff-free.

This daring experiment continued from 1865 to 1878,—a period of 14 years. **The result exceeded the wildest economic expectations.** Germany's progress along the pathway of industrial fortune became so appallingly rapid that German statesmen began to have lively fears lest

OVER-PROSPERITY

would dissipate the moral backbone of the nation.

And consequently as a precautionary measure they put up the brakes: drew the Free Trade Pegasus out of the front trams, and traced on behind a preliminary retardation tariff of 2/2.

But finding after a brief trial that that was not going to be sufficient to arrest the break-neck impetus which fourteen years of free Wheat had given her industries she increased this duty in 1885 to 6/6½.

But even this was not sufficient. And after submitting for four years to the handicap of 10/10½ she from 1892 onwards settled doggedly down to the heavy task of carrying a daily wheaten duty of 7/7½.

—With results which are too widely known to the staggered world, and especially to poor Germany herself, to need by me specified mention!

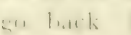
Germany is without any longer a splash in her. She has dug with her own hands her industrial grave,—and, lying hopelessly imbedded in it, is actively daily engaged in concentrating the concluding clods upon her closed career!

! ! ! !

THE POOR UNITED STATES

is even worse off, groaning along to an untimely grave under the still heavier tariff of 8/7: *and the only question which is of any further English economic interest is:*

WHICH OF THE TWO WILL BE DEAD FIRST!



Leaving however on the side track these (*so very facetious!*) ponderosities let us now go back to the logic of the main argumentative rail!

The Free Trader's argumentative obsession is: That we owe our unparalleled prosperity to Free Trade.

Very well, then, granted!—

But when you and I are in any doubt about two athletes, or two blood horses, or two greyhounds, or two yachts, or two mighty liners, we dont sit down and bark at one another for the rest of our natural lives in an unending racket of cross and counter assertion.

We appoint for the rivals a steeplechase and set them bounding over the broad fields of the impartial Atlantic.

Well that is just what any two wise men would do in the case of this Free Trade wrangle.

And that's just happily what's been done: What's in fact doing now.

———o———

AND HERE IS THE STORY OF THE STEEPLECHASE!

———o———

But the first of all point to note is: That one of the rivals received in the race which I am about to describe

AN ABSOLUTELY INCOMMENSURABLE START!

I am glad to lead off with this twin killing pebble because after listening to any common-or-garden Free Trade harangue you are forced away against all your best knowledge with the unassailable conviction that Great Britain in 1846 *difficultly* emerged *with a heavy struggle* out of the most urgent economic Barbarism.

Perfectly true, no doubt, if you put it to him in the philosophic calm of a Sunday morning the Free Trader would deny that he had any idea of the kind.

But the Free Trader has but a feeble Sunday idea of the length breadth and extent of his own fatheadedness.

And whether he is aware of it or not that (no less) is the most obdurate unquestioned article in his unquestioning faith.

And I suppose—I suppose—there never lodged in the mind of historical man a comicer travesty of the actual historical truth.

On the contrary, as a matter of fact, words seem utterly to fail contemporary observers in attempting to set forth

THE PREDOMINANCE OF GREAT BRITAIN AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH AT THAT TIME.—

———o———

(Hear! in the first place) a present day writer:†

———o———

"WHAT WAS THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF GREAT BRITAIN WHEN FREE TRADE WAS INAUGURATED?

"At the time when Free Trade was introduced, Great Britain was unquestionably the first and foremost economic Power in the world. Her wealth and industries knew no rival; she was indus-

†Otto Eltzbacher.

trially and commercially 'facile princeps' amongst the nations. A few figures will illustrate her former position. If we refer to the eighth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* we find the coal production of the world for the year 1845 stated to have been as follows:

Coal produced in 1845.

United Kingdom, ...	**31,500,600 tons.**
Belgium, ...	**4,960,077 tons.**
United States, ...	**4,400,000 tons.**
France, ...	**4,141,617 tons.**
Prussia, ...	**3,500,000 tons.**
Austria, ...	**700,000 tons.**

Evidently, as regards the output of coal, the lifeblood of industrial production, the other industrial countries were nowhere, compared with Great Britain, for their combined production was only about one-half of hers.

"In the production of iron Great Britain had a similar paramountcy, for the same edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* gives the iron production of the world in 1854 as follows:

Iron produced in 1854.

United Kingdom, ...	**3,000,000 tons.**
United States, ...	**750,000 tons.**
France, ...	**750,000 tons.**
Prussia, ...	**300,000 tons.**
All other countries, ...	**1,200,000 tons.**
Total, ...	**6,000,000 tons.**

Great Britain therefore produced at the beginning of the Free Trade period as much iron as all other nations together.

"The same source provides figures of similar portent with regard to the cotton industry:

Cotton consumed in 1845.

United Kingdom, ...	**604,000,000 lbs.**
United States, ...	**175,000,000 lbs.**
France, ...	**159,000,000 lbs.**
Russia, Germany, Holland, and Belgium, ...	**97,000,000 lbs.**
All other countries, ...	**39,000,000 lbs.**
Total, ...	**1,074,000,000 lbs.**

The British Cotton industry was consequently far superior to that of the whole of the rest of the world.

"We learn from the eighth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that Great Britain's means of transport were as superior to those possessed by other European nations as was her production of coal, iron, and manufactured cotton.

Length of Railways.

United Kingdom (1857), ...	**9,019 miles.**
France (1854), ...	**2,913 miles.**
Prussia (1856), ...	**2,503 miles.**
Germany (1855), ...	**2,226 miles.**
Austria (1856), ...	**1,586 miles.**
All other countries of Europe, ..	**1,307 miles.**

"At the beginning of the Free Trade period our railways were almost equal in length to the railways of the whole Continent. At present Great Britain possesses less than one-eighth of the railway mileage of Europe.

"Even the British shipping industry appears to have been proportionately more powerful before Free Trade was introduced than it is now. According to official statistics British shipping amounted in 1845 to 4,310,639 tons, whilst all other foreign countries possessed only 1,735,079 tons. Great Britain therefore owned, before the advent of Free Trade, more than 70 per cent. of the world's shipping, while she has now less than 50 per cent.

"This wonderful prosperity of the country, which outshone not only that of every other country but even that of all other countries combined, had grown up since the time of the great Napoleonic wars. We read in volume xiv. of Alison's *History of Europe*:

"'There is perhaps no example in the annals of mankind of a nation having made such advances in industry, wealth, and numbers as Great Britain has made since the Peace. In the thirty years that have elapsed since the battle of Waterloo, during which it has enjoyed, in Europe at least, almost uninterrupted peace, its population has increased more than one-half, having advanced from 18,500,000 to 28,000,000; its imports have doubled, having risen from £32,000,000

to £70,000,000; its exports have more than tripled, having swelled from £42,000,000 to £130,000,000, exclusive of colonial produce; its shipping has doubled, having grown from 2,500,000 tons to 5,000,000 tons. . . . During the same period the agricultural industry of the country has been so far from falling short of this prodigious increase of its commercial transactions that it has signally prospered; the dependence of the nation on foreign supplies has steadily diminished, until the grain annually imported had come on an average of five years, ending with 1835, to be no more than a two-hundredth part in average years of the annual consumption; and the prodigy was exhibited of a rural industry in an old State possessing a narrow and long cultivated territory, not only keeping pace with, but outstripping an increase of numbers and augmentation of food required for the purposes of luxury unparalleled in any age.'

"It should be added that Alison's figures are based on the official statistics contained in the Government abstracts.

"Such, according to the best English sources, was the paramount industrial position of Great Britain at the time when the great Free Traders began their activity. The few but representative figures above given should be sufficient to prove that Great Britain was then industrially and also financially all-powerful. This impression is confirmed and strengthened when we turn to the foremost foreign book of reference of that period, Meyer's *Encyclopædia*. In that work we read the following under the article 'Great Britain,' published in 1849:

"'Great Britain outshines all other countries in every branch of human activity, in the raising of raw produce and in the manufacturing industries. Her rural industries are carried on on a most grandiose scale. . . . Great Britain can be called an industrial State only in so far as her agricultural population is inferior in numbers to her industrial population. In no European State have the rural industries made greater progress than in Great Britain. Agriculture and cattle-raising show an extraordinary prosperity and are a model to all countries. . . . Great Britain occupies not only a commanding position owing to the perfection at which her

agriculture and her mining industries have arrived. She is besides a model to all nations of the earth with regard to the technical industries, for no country on earth possesses industries of a perfection and a size similar to those of Great Britain. **There is no branch of industry which has not been cultivated by the British, none in which they have not arrived at the highest perfection.** Manufactures of many kinds, such as the wool and metal industries, have been celebrated already for three centuries, but their production has only become unsurpassed in quality and quantity since the middle of the seventeenth century, when the inexhaustible mechanical genius of the British, by the invention of machinery, skilfully utilised the vast powers of Nature which had hitherto lain dormant. **England and Scotland are the workshops of the world, which provide not only all the States of Christendom with goods, but which swamp the whole earth with produce of every description.** Great wealth favours enterprise in Great Britain. The liberty of the citizens, an advantageous system of patents which may easily be ceded, together with governmental bounties and grants for the maximum export of manufactured goods stimulate commercial activity. **The use of machinery, which is more developed in Great Britain than in any other country, saves expensive manual labour and makes it impossible for other nations to compete with that country on terms of equality.'**

" These incontrovertible statements taken from the best British and foreign sources make it abundantly clear that Great Britain's industrial position before the advent of Free Trade was unique, and that the prosperity of the country was marvellous. Therefore it would appear that the assertion which is so frequently made by Free Traders that Great Britain owes her prosperity to Free Trade, has no foundation in fact.

" There was no doubt much justification for the demands for Free Trade which were advanced in the middle of last century. This justification may be found in the economic conditions of the world during the early forties of last century. **As we have seen from the foregoing figures, Great Britain possessed practically a universal monopoly in all important industries, for her manufacturing**

output was probably greater than that of all the other Powers of the world combined. Great Britain was the workshop, the banker, the merchant, the shipper, the engineer, the financier, in fact the universal provider, of the whole world. No dangerous competitors were in existence. The United States were a purely agricultural country of less than 20,000,000 inhabitants, and were our best customers for the products of our industries. Germany was an incoherent mass of small and independent States which were jealous of one another and which hampered each other's progress. Each petty State had its own coinage, weights and measures. The internal trade of the country was subjected to all those vexatious and ruinous restrictions which are usually found only between distant countries. France suffered from chronic unrest and revolution, her agriculture was very backward, and an elaborate system of octroi duties and of unnecessary and most galling governmental and communal restrictions hampered the creation and the development of her industries."

Hear! in the next place, now, a contemporary writer,—Friedrich List,†—the economic founder of modern Germany!

"The English Ministers cared not for the acquisition of low-priced and perishable articles of manufacture, but for that of a more costly but enduring *manufacturing power*.

"They have attained their object in a brilliant degree. At this day England produces seventy million pounds' worth of Cotton and Silk Goods, and supplies all Europe, the entire world, India itself included, with British manufactures. Her home production exceeds by fifty or a hundred times the value of her former trade in Indian manufactured goods."

* * * *

"France, Austria, and the German Zollverein, might, for instance, anticipate only very prosperous effects from moderately low reciprocal protective duties. Also, between these countries and Russia mutual concessions could be made to the advantage of all sides. **What they all have to fear at this time is solely the preponderating competition of England. Thus it appears also,**

† Born 1789, died 1849.

from this point of view, that the supremacy of that island in manufactures, in trade, in navigation, and in her Colonial Empire, constitutes the greatest existing impediment to all nations drawing nearer to one another; although it must be at the same time admitted that England, in striving for this supremacy, has immeasurably increased, and is still daily increasing, the productive power of the entire human race."

* * * *

"We have shown how England by the policy which she pursued acquired power, and by her political power gained productive power, and by her productive, gained wealth. Let us now see further, how, as a result of this policy, power has been added to power, and productive forces to productive forces. England has got into her possession the keys of every sea, and placed a sentry over every nation: over the Germans, Heligoland; over the French, Guernsey and Jersey; over the inhabitants of North America, Nova Scotia and the Bermudas; over Central America, the Island of Jamaica; over all countries bordering on the Mediterranean, Gibraltar, Malta and the Ionian Islands. She possesses every important strategical position on both the routes to India with the exception of the Isthmus of Suez, which she is striving to acquire; she dominates the Mediterranean by means of Gibraltar, the Red Sea by Aden, and the Persian Gulf by Bushire and Karrack. She needs only the further acquisition of the Dardanelles, the Sound, and the Isthmuses of Suez and Panama, in order to be able to open and close at her pleasure every sea and every maritime highway. **Her Navy alone surpasses the combined maritime forces of all other countries, if not in number of vessels, at any rate in fighting strength.**

"**Her manufacturing capacity excels in importance that of all other nations.** And although her cloth manufactures have increased more than ten-fold (to forty-four and a half millions) since the days of James I., we find the yield of another branch of industry, which was established only in the course of the last century, namely, the manufacture of cotton, amounting to a much larger sum, fifty-two and a half millions. * * * In the fourteenth century, England was still so poor in iron that she thought it necessary to prohibit

the exportation of this indispensable metal ; **she now, in the nineteenth century, manufactures more iron and steel wares than all the other nations on earth** (namely, thirty-one millions' worth), while she produces thirty-four millions in value of coal and other minerals. These two sums exceed by over seven-fold the value of the entire gold and silver production of all other nations, which amount to about nine millions sterling.

At this day she produces more silk goods than all the Italian Republics produced in the Middle Ages together, namely, thirteen and a half million pounds. Industries, which at the time of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth scarcely deserved classification, now yield enormous sums : * * * "

* * * *

"In all ages there have been cities or countries which have been pre-eminent above all others in industry, commerce, and navigation :

BUT A SUPREMACY SUCH AS THAT WHICH EXISTS IN OUR DAYS,

THE WORLD HAS NEVER BEFORE WITNESSED.

"In all ages nations and powers have striven to attain to the dominion of the world, but hitherto not one of them has erected its power on so broad a foundation. How vain do the efforts of those appear to us who have striven to found their universal dominion on military Power, compared with the attempt of England to raise her entire territory into one immense manufacturing, commercial, and maritime city, and to become among the countries and kingdoms of the earth that which a great city is in relation to its surrounding territory, to comprise within herself all industries, arts, and sciences ; all great commerce and wealth ; all navigation and naval power ; —

A WORLD'S METROPOLIS

which supplies all nations with manufactured goods, and supplies herself in exchange from every nation with those raw materials and agricultural products of a useful or acceptable kind, which each other nation is fitted by nature to yield to her —

A TREASURE-HOUSE OF ALL GREAT CAPITAL,

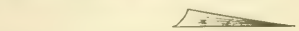
A BANKING ESTABLISHMENT FOR ALL NATIONS.

which controls the circulating medium of the whole world, and by loans and the receipt of interest on them makes all the peoples of the earth her tributaries. * * * *

"Let us then congratulate ourselves on the immense progress of that nation, and wish her prosperity for all future time. But ought we on that account also to wish that she may erect

A UNIVERSAL DOMINION

on the ruins of the other nationalities ? "



The next great point to notice is, That the incommensurable start which Great Britain had over all the nations of the earth in 1846 was further accentuated by

ANOTHER INCOMMENSURABLE AUGMENTATION

before the race between her and her present-day rivals really began.

The industrial progress of the United States in the sixties,—1861 to 1865, was completely paralysed by one of the bloodiest civil wars that ever darkened the pages of human history. While Germany, too, had to forge her way to Empire through the consolidating carnage of three great conflicts, the Danish in 1864, the Austrian in 1866, and the tremendous struggle with France in 1870-71. Up to, therefore, 1872 which marks, by universal consent, the culminating peak in our post Corn Law prosperity Great Britain was without a serious rival in the whole field of industry.

———o———

! * * But *here* let us hear Mr. Haldane !—Addressing,—'The Edinburgh University Liberal Association' :

———o———

"Continuing, the right hon. gentleman said it was all very well "for this nation,

"THROUGH THE ENORMOUS AND CRUSHING ADVANTAGE

"which, to his view, Free Trade gave her, to hold her own in the "world. But suppose—what he should regard from an insular "and selfish point of view as a great misfortune—other nations "were to follow their example and take to Free Trade, what "then ? " —— ! ! ! * * * ! ! !

* * * *

To the incommensurable, therefore, pre-industrial-Corn-Law lead, which we had in 1846, we are bound to add the enormous

tract of Free Trade glory covered between that date and 1872, during which we were forging ahead under 'the enormous and crushing advantage' of the one and only proprietary principle of pure Political Economy.

———o———

But the next to follow after point, (which I think, is worthy of your observation) is the one which I am just after busy,—having already explained to you.

We are familiar every day,—all of us here, on the banks of the Clyde, with the spectacle of a great Atlantic Liner on its way to the Tail of the Bank, passing under easy steam a puffing coal barge going full steam ahead in the same direction. And more or less to our neighbours at the sight, or ourselves, we are disposed to the habit of opining: "Yes! That is very well. But if that great Liner, "now, were going as she goes in the mid-Atlantic, full steam ahead, "what a much *more comicer* spectacle would that poor wheezer "cut!"

Well, in the industrial run between the rival systems on the bounding plains of Political Economy, it is most important to bear in mind that the crushing and enormous advantage which we derive from the motive power of Free Trade, was really *much more crushing and enormous* in the latter part of the contest than in the earlier.—On account of the much higher steam pressure at which the then crushing Principle was working!

Because, apart from the fact that the Flying Schooner of Free Trade was burdened with an extraordinary supercargo of Protective Tariffs up till 1860: which I will be detailing to you presently: and an actual Free Trade duty upon Wheat up till 1869, you have got to bear in mind that a tremendous reduction in the interim took place in that great natural system of Protective Tariffs which was left quite untouched by the Act of 1840 or the Budget of 1860.

A moment ago I was busy reminding you that nothing can possibly reach these island shores of ours,—if we except a discursive occasional whale, that has not been protectively loaded with *freight*.

Well but, in that case, listen now to this little tale of a

Table of Freights. And remember, please, that it begins quite a long way after the divine event.

"FREIGHT CHARGES ON WHEAT SHIPPED FROM CHICAGO TO LIVERPOOL, DURING THE LAST 40 YEARS:—

Average.	Chicago to New York. per quarter.	New York to Liverpool. per quarter.	Total. per quarter.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1866-70	13 11	2 0	15 11
1876-80	6 1	2 $3\frac{1}{2}$	8 $4\frac{1}{2}$
1886-90	5 0	1 0	6 0
1896-1900	3 10	1 0	4 10
1901-1904	3 7	0 4	3 11

"These figures show that **forty years ago** the cost of transporting 1 quarter of Wheat from Chicago to Liverpool, by rail and sea, was 15s. 11d. In 1901-04 the cost was less than 4s. per quarter. **The Farmer's 'Natural Protection,' therefore, has been cut down by 12s. per quarter.**"

But apart altogether from considerations of the kind it is acknowledged by everybody in the world now, and by nobody more frankly than the delighted Free Trader, that Foreign competition in our home market has become in recent years both infinitely keener and more general.

But the absence of Foreign competition is Protection pure and simple, and the universal uninterrupted rampant malignity of the bitterest forms of Foreign competition is the basic absolute rainbeau-dream-ideal of the ecstatic Free Trader. And therefore affirm we may! with the full even and thorough-going convinced consent of Mr. Haldane, that as the race between the Rival Economies went gaily forward our lucky Home Industries were more and more than ever assisted, not merely by the enormous and crushing advantage of Free Trade, but by the actually unmitigated divine compelling power

OF A FREE-ER TRADE!

The salient point *next* that for a flying moment is entitled to arrest our attention is (as before) the converse of the foregoing.

Because, what again, please, is the argument?

The argument is, That Free Trade is an enormous and crushing advantage to the country of its adoption. But, quite clearly, if that be so, it follows,—That Protection must be **an equally enormous and crushing Disadvantage.**

And any country, therefore, which makes progress under Protection, makes progress in despite of that vicious principle. Just, in mercy, for all the world, exactly like a good ship—dragging along behind it its sheet anchor in the mud. The good ship *may* make progress, and often indeed does, with or a gale of good fortune or powerful engines to assist, but the progress of the good ship is all in despite of the dragging anchor, and not, if you please, (mark !)—*on account of it.*

(Pardon my dwelling !)—(a la the illuminating Mr. Spender.) upon a matter which, in itself, is so elementary. But as the point, notwithstanding, is of such transcendent importance to an adequate and scientific understanding of the race between the Rival Principles,—I solicit permission even to go out of my meandering way for a moment in order to exhibit, with the assistance of this illuminating lantern,—which I have brought with me, borrowed for the purpose,

upon this magic screen
what I mean !

"ENORMOUS AND CRUSHING ADVANTAGE OF FREE TRADE!"

STIMULATING EFFECT OF FREE TRADE UPON BRITISH AGRICULTURE.

"ACREAGE UNDER CROPS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

	Average. 1871-75.	Average. 1901-05.	1907.	Decline in 1907 since 1871-75.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Per Cent.
Wheat, ...	3,737,000	1,677,000	1,665,000	55
Barley, ...	2,509,000	2,024,000	1,885,000	27
Oats, ...	4,233,000	4,203,000	4,219,000	.3
Beans and Peas, ..	907,000	425,000	478,000	47
Flax, ...	136,000	49,000	60,000	56
Hops, ...	64,000	49,000	45,000	30
All Corn Crops, ..	11,544,000	8,299,000	8,317,000	28
All Green Crops, ..	5,074,000	4,174,000	3,901,000	23

"The table shows: (1) That the average area under corn crops in this country has declined since 1871-75 by over three million acres, or by 28 per cent. (2) That the decline has been specially marked in the case of **Wheat,** the average area under which has fallen by 2,060,000 acres, or by 55 per cent. **Thus the land which has passed out of Wheat cultivation is considerably greater than the present Wheat area of the United Kingdom.** (3) That the decline has affected all the crops dealt with in the table, even oats showing a decrease."

ACCELERATING EFFECT OF FREE TRADE UPON BRITISH MANUFACTURES.

(By Professor Amery.)

Net Export from the United Kingdom of Manufactures.†

Average.	Million £.
1872	170
1880-89	123
1885-94	112
1890-99	99
1895-1904	91
1902	78.7

RUIN AND HAVOC WROUGHT BY PROTECTION!

THE AMERICAN TIN PLATE INDUSTRY.

Ruin and havoc wrought by the introduction of the M'Kinley Tariff in 1890!

* * * *

Sir Lyon Playfair (1891) on the M'Kinley Bill.

"If the Americans be right in principle, and if they be successful "in practice, the whole policy of the United Kingdom is founded on "a gigantic error, and must lead to our ruin as a commercial "nation."

* * * *

(I beg pardon, Sir, for this interpolation.) My methodical assistant must have dropped it in here, I suppose, because its utterance happens to coincide with the year in which my Tin Plate Table begins.

* * * *

†Excess over imports.

Year.	Home Production. Tons.	Imports. Tons.	Exports. Tons.
1891	999*	462,718	—
1892	18,803	188,472	—
1893	55,182	280,547	—
1894	74,368	202,750	—
1895	113,666	226,803	—
1896	160,358	171,037	—
1897	256,598	102,712	—
1898	326,015	72,171	—
1899	360,875	48,431	92
1900	379,020	66,055	143
1901	399,246	52,625	611
1902	360,000	88,838	1,074
1903	480,000	49,069	694
1904	458,000	56,056	3,620
1905	493,000	71,905	10,264
1906	578,000	53,037	11,592
1907		63,620	8,881

RUINOUS EFFECT OF PROTECTION UPON THE AMERICAN SILK TRADE.

IMPORTS OF RAW AND WASTE SILK INTO THE UNITED STATES.

Average.	lbs.	£.
1875-79	1,340,000	1,230,000
1880-84	3,320,000	2,600,000
1885-89	5,680,000	3,550,000
1890-94	7,240,000	4,520,000
1895-99	9,880,000	5,310,000
1900-04	13,930,000	8,570,000
1905-07	19,440,000	12,430,000

SHRIVELLING EFFECT UPON THE PRODUCTION OF AMERICAN ELECTRICAL MACHINERY.

	1880.	1890.	1900.
Number of Concerns, ...	76	189	580
Capital invested (in million dollars),	1.5	19.8	86
Number of Employees, ...	1271	8802	40,890
Value of Product (in million dollars),	2.7	19.2	92
Wages and Salaries (in million dollars),	.7	5.4	24.9

*Last six months only in 1891.

COLLAPSING EFFECT OF PROTECTION UPON EMPLOYMENT.

"The number of persons employed in the manufacturing industries of the United States was—

In 1890	4,712,622
In 1900	5,718,817

An increase of more than 1,000,000, or 21½ per cent. in ten years.

The value of the manufactured products increased in the same period from 9,372 to 17,361 millions of dollars.

The number of persons employed in the Iron and Steel Industry was—

In 1890	175,506
In 1900	235,705

An increase of more than 60,000, or 34 per cent.

The value of the products of this industry increased in this period from 479 to 836 millions of dollars."

ASTRINGENT EFFECT UPON WAGES.

"Effect of Tariff on Wages in Germany (Krupp's Factory).

(Report of Essen Chamber of Commerce.)

AVERAGE DAILY WAGES.

BEFORE PROTECTION.	s.	d.	AFTER PROTECTION.	s.	d.
1871	3	0½	1882	3	7
1875	3	10¾	1886	3	8½
1879	3	0¼	1894	4	0¾
			1895	4	1¼
			1900	4	9¼

DISTRESSING EFFECT UPON WORKMEN'S CONDITIONS.

"Count von Posadowsky, the German Minister of the Interior, stated in the Reichstag on Saturday that he had a few days before received a deputation of British workmen. The British workmen were astonished to see how much Germany did for the welfare of the working classes, and felt bound to confess that they had been misled regarding the conditions in Germany."

DISASTROUS EFFECT OF PROTECTION UPON SAVINGS BANKS RETURNS.

By Consul-General SCHWABACH, Berlin.

"The increasing prosperity of Germany is easily discerned from the returns of the Savings Banks. * * *

"The deposits in the Savings Banks amounted

In 1875	to	£50,000,000
In 1884	to over	£100,000,000
In 1889	to	£150,000,000
In 1894	to almost exactly	£200,000,000
In 1898	to more than	£250,000,000
In 1901	to over	£300,000,000
In 1903	to over	£350,000,000
In 1905	to	£400,000,000
In 1906	to over	£439,450,000

i.e., an amount almost nine times as large as that of the year 1874."

OVERWHELMING EFFECT UPON GERMAN GENERAL PROSPERITY.

"Mr. Consul-General Schwabach in his report on the trade of Germany for 1906, says:—

"The improvement of German trade and industry, which after the sudden but comparatively short depression at the beginning of the century began at first but slowly and then advanced with ever-increasing force, attained during the year under review what may be termed the high-water mark in the economic development of the German nation. The quantities of goods placed on the market at home and abroad by German factories have almost without exception assumed record figures. Industrial concerns, especially in the iron and steel industries, although they endeavoured to increase the efficiency of their works by enlargements and technical improvements, had still to apply all means at their disposal in order to satisfy the urgent requirements of their customers. The enormous demand for capital for the production of goods in almost all branches of industry withdrew ever-increasing sums from the Money Market, while inquiries for raw materials, particularly for coal, could only be met by strenuous efforts, and in many cases even exceeded the capacity of the home production. **Workpeople of all classes were in strong demand, and received employment without regard to nationality. As the dearth of workmen became accentuated in the course of the year working hours were lengthened, night shifts were put on, and overtime**

became the rule almost everywhere. The railways were unable to provide the number of trucks demanded, and a shortage of rolling stock ensued, which became still more acute according as—in addition to industry—agriculture began to take active part in the commercial improvement and had occasion to consign enormous loads of goods. In short, the year 1906 showed German industrial prosperity at the highest of a distinctly high tide, which was all the more brilliant owing to the absence of the disturbing influence of large strikes and lock-outs as in the previous year."

ANNIHILATING EFFECT ON THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN.

"Among the many remarkable features of the development of modern Japan, there is none more remarkable, and at the same time more significant for the British manufacturer, than the expansion of industrial enterprise that is now taking place.

How recent it has been, and how rapidly it is proceeding, can be seen from a glance at the following comparative table of exports for the last thirty years :—

1876	..	..	..	..	Yen 27 million.
1886	..	..	..	..	Yen 48 million.
1896	..	..	..	..	Yen 117 million.
1906	..	..	..	..	Yen 423 million.

These figures show that the real expansion has been within the last ten years, and all the facts seem to indicate that—large as it is—this is but the beginning of a very much greater development.

When it is remembered that up till comparatively recently, practically the only industries in Japan were sugar refining, the manufacture of raw silk, paper, and paper ware, weaving, ceramics, and fishing, these figures must give the British manufacturer 'furiously to think.'

Now, every kind of industry is being taken in hand, and among those already in successful operation, the following may be especially mentioned: cotton spinning, shipbuilding, copper, iron, cement, and gas works.

The cotton industry, for example, has grown by leaps and

bounds, and the trade of Osaka, the Manchester of Japan, has been practically quadrupled within the last ten years. The mill-owners are now doing their best to improve their power of production; new machinery has been ordered, and one Japanese authority asserted, not long ago, that within two years, the number of spindles at work in Japan will be doubled."

DEVASTATING EFFECT UPON THE PROSPERITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1906.

"Remarkable figures, bearing out the statement of the New York correspondent of the *Express*, as to the extraordinary period of prosperity which the United States is now enjoying are contained in an official summary of the commerce and finance of the country for the year ended June last, which has reached London from Washington.

The total personal wealth of the American people is estimated to have amounted in 1900 to no less a sum than £18,860,000,000, an increase in ten years of over £5,000,000,000. Presuming that the increase in the ten years succeeding 1900 will be only as great as the preceding ten, the personal wealth of Americans in 1910 will amount to the gigantic sum of at least £24,000,000,000.

An extraordinary increase in the foreign commerce of the United States has been coincident with the rapid growth of the national wealth. The figures for the year ended June last bear a striking contrast to those for the same period sixteen years ago, as the following table shows:—

	1890.	1906.
Imports, ..	£157,000,000	£245,000,000
Exports, ..	£171,000,000	£348,000,000

The revenue collected from Customs amounted last year to £60,000,000, an increase of £8,000,000 compared with the previous year."

! ! ! !

"If the Americans be right in principle, and if they be successful "in practice, the whole policy of the United Kingdom is founded on "a gigantic * * Fr—s—t!

* * * *

* T—s—sh ! * Hang that lunatic ! Tell him, Mr. Chairman, for Heaven's sake, to cut off his limelight.

Well, but to resume now the broken thread of my discursion * * !

Having promised to show you in cinematograph an Atlantic run between the rival principles, I was, Artemus-Ward-like, prior to setting off the time-gun, pointing out to you the points of the rival racers.

The ship flying aloft the ensign of the Cobden Club I had already pre-figured up to you as a triple expansion *auxiliary* racing first-class record-riddling schooner in contradistinction to the barque of Protection, which, following hard up in the eloquent footsteps of Mr. Haldane, I was just after describing to you as a sort of beetle-nosed, go-to-blazes coal barge, promoted chiefly along in its industrial progress by dragging its sheet anchor triumphantly behind it in the mud.

I had finished observing that the triple-expansion auxiliary of Free Trade from working along under easy steam in the earlier part of the race had fairly gone a boiler-buster in the latter, and had just arrived at the remark, when my lime-light man also arrived, that exactly the converse was true of the coal barge.

By which, in my flowery way, I was intending just to say : That Protection being a locomotive principle of industrial retardation, the greater the accentuation of the vicious principle the greater the economic retardation of the unfortunate victim which has been so far left to the devil to adopt it.

(But the vicious story to you of this accentuation) I have already recounted. On the tremendous top of its already back-bursting burdens the United States slung up M'Kinley, and on the elephant top of that old 81 ton gun of the sea, the excruciating agony of Mr. Dingley.

In 1853 the French import duty on a quarter of Wheat was nil. In 1860 it was 7d., in 1861, 10½d., in 1862, 1/1, in 1885, 5/2¾, in 1887, 8/9½, and in 1894, 12/2½.

In 1865, in Germany, the import duty on a quarter of Wheat was nil. In 1879 it was 2/2, in 1885, 6/6½, and in 1888, 10/10½.

* * * ! 'Yes, but why again *Wheat?* You have given us that rigmarole before—haven't you?'

—o—

—Ah! well, you see, because if I had mentioned *bacon* I should have had to be telling you that the importation of bacon into Germany from the United States was no less than prohibited from March, 1883, to January, 1892!

And * * * Und so weiter!

Well, but if all that I have said now, be in deed and in truly so, we should be in a position easily, all of us now, to follow with scientific appreciation the sequence of events.

Over the line, with the gun, if these ships, in a dead heat, starting were! * * * The tremendous F.T. auxiliary firing up to bursting and the lightning propellers going maddening ! ! ! enormous round, with acceleration added to acceleration! * * * And the complacent, meanwhile, comic coal clumsy barges casting sheet anchor after sheet into the humiliating mud,—in case they should drift along too slowly! * * * I say, with the most perfect mathematical case, even the least imaginative amongst you can imagine—how far the rivals would be asunder in the course of a very few minutes!

But then I am just after elaborately telling you that they **didn't** *start level!* That, on the contrary, the flying auxiliary Free Trade schooner began with an enormous and crushing start. Not, if you like, *one*, merely, but two—four—five—half a dozen!

'What starts do you refer to?'

I refer to The Enormous Start which she had in 1846.

—o—

'Yes, but what was *that*, please? I came in late, you know, and have not heard your eloquence.'

—o—

Well, Sir, *at that time* Great Britain was 'the merchant,' 'the middleman,' 'the manufacturer,' 'the shipper,' 'the engineer,' 'the banker,' technical instructor, industrial architect, financier, and railway director of the world. 'Two-thirds of the world's shipping flew aloft her flag.' 'Two-thirds of all the coal that came up out of mother earth came up out of British soil.' 'She

owned more miles of railway than all the continent of Europe put together.' 'She produced more cotton and more iron than all the countries of the world put together.' She had completed her Industrial Revolution, fought Trafalgar, won Waterloo, and was undisputed Imperial Mistress of the seven high seas. In a word, in sheer brute force of accumulated precedence, in industry, commerce, invention, investment, naval and military prestige, political freedom, capital, coal, colonial power, sea power, world power,- she was Queen Eclipse among the stars! No rival could approach within the shadow of her throne.

Said German contemporary List: 'England is a world in itself, a world which is superior to all the rest of the world in wealth and power!'

To which the great High English Priest (of the New Delusion) —contemporary Cobden replied:

'Great Britain was
and always would be
the workshop of the world!'

'And Germany! meanwhile?'

Ah! Germany was a negligible poor step-daughter of an agricultural 'impoverished country by war, having nor colonies, 'nor shipping, nor fleet, nor decent coal, nor even a rich soil, or 'favourable climate, * * '

* * * *

A little more lime-light, please!

* * * *

"It was only in 1798 that the first mechanical cotton spinning machines driven by water power were erected in Saxony. * * * The crisis of 1836 and 1839 weeded out the less progressive and weaker concerns, **but even the survivors were far behind the English in technique, as shown by the fact that in 1860 they were just introducing the automatic spindle in cotton spinning, which had been in use in England since 1830, in 1834 there being 400,000 in use in 60 English establishments.**"

* * * *

"**Germany was very late in changing from the household to the factory system in spinning and weaving. Even so late as the**

middle of the century, the greater part of the spinning and weaving was done outside the factories. In 1850 there were about 1,500,000 spindles for flax spinning in the country, of which number only 65,000 were in factories. (Sombart.)''

* * * *

—'Backward in industrial development!' 'Broken up into petty States!' 'Badly furnished with the means of interior communication!' 'Obstructed and undeveloped in respect of internal trade!' 'Having only one good harbour!' And particularly favoured at the benign outset with the exceptional assistance of a lovely revolution!

'And what do you mean by start '2'?'

I mean the progress covered between 1846 and 1871 when the United States and Germany were as yet in their industrial bibs and baby clothes -and had more urgent affairs to attend to.

'And starts '3' and '4'?'

Ah!—From 1871 to 1879, and from 1879 to 1890.

'And why, please, '79 and '90?'

Because at these dates, under Skippers Bismarck and M'Kinley, the respective crews of the German and American coal barges for the first time in the history of the world actually and truly took off their conscious coats and rolled up (slowly and coolly) their deliberate sleeves with—with a view to accelerate their speed by throwing every tariff grapnel anchor they could lay hands on aboard into the retarding mud!

'And what is the point, please, to which you are beating so laboriously up?'

Ah! my point?—My point is this!

With the enormous and crushing advantages of Free Trade working and working with more and more crushing and enormous efficiency, and the grapnel irons of Protection retarding and retarding with more and more *de*-ficiency:—My, in fact, point becomes a query. And my *query!*—Where ought the rival racers **NOW** to be?

(Voice from the gallery * * *!)

Yes! friend!—But I didn't quite catch you!

'The one should be at Mars and the other at Millport!' (Laughter.)

Well, Sir, I'm about half inclined to think that!—that that's about near enough for me. But wouldn't you be inclined to say, rather:—That the one should be at Jupiter and the other at Jericho! (Renewed laughter.)

Well, but, my *dear* friends, what *do* we find?

Mr. Chairman, if you please!—(Tell Mr. Dick to screw up his lime-light!)

THE RACE AS IT APPEARS TO AN ENGLISH WRITER!

"Everybody has a fairly correct idea of the present economic position of Great Britain as compared with that of other countries. We know that its rural industries have been decaying for many years, and that the country receives from abroad by far the larger quantity of the food and the raw material which it requires. We also know that its imports have been rapidly increasing in value during the last three decades, whilst the exports, with which we pay for the imports, have remained stationary during that period. They have actually decreased if we deduct coal from them. **We know that the manufacturing industries of the United States and Germany are flourishing, that the industrial competition between these countries and Great Britain has become extremely keen, that foreign industries have ousted those of Great Britain from many markets, that many of her industries, which formerly were paramount in the world, are languishing, and that some of them have even been ruined by their foreign rivals. We know that Great Britain keeps her industrial position in the world with the greatest difficulty, that the United States and Germany are rapidly overtaking her, and that this country is at present occupying the second rank, and is rapidly sinking to the third rank amongst the industrial Powers of the world."**

THE RESULT AS IT STRIKES AN AMERICAN WRITER!

"So far from realising her ambition to become the manufacturing nation for the world, England has been forced in the last few years to consider a protective tariff to protect her own domestic market against foreign, especially German, competition!

The figures given below show the decline of England's export trade relative to the population. **This is decidedly marked after the period 1870-1874,** notwithstanding the great improvement and cheapening of transportation facilities, which in the absence of counter-tendencies should have caused the expansion of this trade.

THE EXPORT OF BRITISH PRODUCTS FROM GT. BRITAIN.

Year.	Amount per capita of population. Annual Average.
1854	£3 10 0
1855-1859	4 2 3
1870-1874	**7 7 3**
1880-1884	6 13 0
1885-1889	6 3 7
1890-1894	6 2 10
1895-1899	5 19 0
1900	6 17 3
1902	6 13 3

THE RACE AS IT APPEARED TO A GERMAN WRITER!

(Before the Repeal of the Corn Laws.)

"Germany was that which Franklin once said of the State of New Jersey, 'a cask which was tapped and drained by its neighbours on every side.' England, not contented with having ruined for the Germans the greater part of their own manufactories and supplied them with enormous quantities of cotton and woollen fabrics, excluded from her ports German grain and timber, nay from time to time also even German wool. There was a time when the export of manufactured goods from England to Germany was ten times greater than that to her highly extolled East Indian Empire. Nevertheless the all-monopolising islanders would not even grant to the poor Germans what they conceded to the conquered Hindoos, viz., to pay for the manufactured goods which they required by agricultural produce. **In vain did the Germans humble themselves to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Britons. The latter treated them worse than a subject people."**

THE RESULT AS IT STRIKES A GERMAN WRITER!

(Sixty Years After.)

(The writer, be it noted,—L. M. Goldberger, is discussing 'The American Peril,' and *incidentally* we over-hear what he thinks of —'The *English* Peril'!)

"America's practically organised factories, her extensive use of special machines in all branches of manufacturing, her inventiveness, etc., etc., will, in any case, serve to maintain for her the lead over Germany for years to come—in certain industrial fields. But all that she has done we can imitate, and already have imitated in our modern, better-conducted factories. We must still learn, however, and must take the lesson seriously, to keep our eyes open unceasingly and be swift to recognise danger, to study wherein the advantage of our adversary lies and imitate accordingly. But in all this striving we must not underestimate our own strength, or suffer the appearance of the epidemic *Kleinheitwahn* among us; let us remember with what sure-footed uniformity of tread German industry has made its way to the front.

"In England Industrial progress has been at a standstill everywhere. America has gone ahead in the same field by leaps and bounds. Germany's progress though slow has been sure, and per cent. for per cent. is probably equal to America's. We must remain conscious of the fact that nothing could be more injurious to the true interests of the Fatherland than for us to whine and truckle and beat the big drum to the sound of that obnoxious catchword, 'The American Peril.'"

THE RACE AS IT APPEARED TO A GERMAN WRITER!

(Before the Repeal of the Corn Laws.)

"Dr. Bowring groups in his tables the imports and exports of the German Customs Union with the Hanse towns and Holland and Belgium all together, and from this grouping it clearly appears how greatly all the countries are dependent on the English manufacturing industry, and how immeasurably they might gain in their entire productive power by union. **He estimates the imports of these countries from England at £19,842,121 sterling of official value, or £8,550,347 of declared value, but the exports of those countries to**

England (on the other hand) at only £4,804,491 sterling ; in which, by the way, are included the great quantities of Java Coffee, Cheese, Butter, etc., which England imports from Holland. These totals speak volumes. We thank the Doctor for his statistical grouping together—would that it might betoken a speedy political grouping."

THE RESULT AS IT STRIKES AN ENGLISH WRITER!

(SIXTY YEARS AFTER.)

"Owing to Bismarck's tariff, which was improved by his successor, Germany has been able to completely turn the tables on Great Britain. Whereas formerly she used to provide this country with raw produce and to receive British manufactures in return, her tariff, which was deliberately drawn up to effect that purpose, has entirely changed the character of the trade relations existing between the two countries.

Ex. gr., Great Britain exported to Germany in 1902 fully manufactured goods to the value of only about £2,500,000, and partially manufactured goods, such as yarns, sheet iron, etc., to the value of but little more than £6,000,000. On the other hand she exported to Germany *un*manufactured goods, such as coals, metals, fish, hides, horn, tropical produce, etc., to the value of no less than £16,000,000, whilst Germany provided this country with about £33,000,000 worth of fully manufactured articles and with but £9,000,000 worth of *un*manufactured goods. **Thus, through the action of the German tariff, Great Britain has, as regards Anglo-German trade, been relegated to the humble position of a purveyor of raw produce, which she can ill spare, whilst Germany has elevated herself to an exporter of manufactured goods of the highest class.**

"**The fact that Germany sends us £33,000,000 of fully manufactured goods and buys but £2,500,000 of fully manufactured goods from Great Britain, and that Great Britain is forced to pay for foreign manufactured articles with her valuable raw produce, her tools, is sufficiently startling :**"

But Mr. Dick, please, will now leave (these somewhat far-fetched irrelevancies) on one side and give us in their historical stead a few *relevant*

FACTS AND FIGURES.

☞ (Some of which I have no doubt !) you have already had from me, more or less, but then Mr. Dick is always a little more up to *dick* in his dates than I can ever at any time possibly hope to be.

OUR INDUSTRIAL POSITION.†

THE CHANGE.

COMPARATIVE POPULATION.

	1871. Millions.	1906. Millions.	Increase. Millions.	Increase. Per cent.
United Kingdom, ...	31.5	43.6	12.1	38
France, ...	36.1	39.2	3.1	8½
Germany, ...	41.0	60.6	19.6	48
United States, ...	38.5	83.8	45.3	118

THE INCOME TAX TEST.

BRITISH INCOME TAX RETURNS.

(From the Reports of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue, Cd. 3686 and 4226.)

Year ended March 31st.	Income on which Tax was received. £
1897	504,000,000
1907	640,000,000
Increase, 27 per cent. or	136,000,000

PRUSSIAN INCOME TAX RETURNS.

(From Report on the Trade of Germany for the Year 1906, by Mr. Consul-General Schwabach, of Berlin.)

Year.	Total amount subject to Income Tax. £
1896	313,000,000
1906	536,000,000
Increase, 71 per cent. or	223,000,000

† From the 5th Edition of the T.R.L. Speakers' Handbook.

COMPARATIVE COAL PRODUCTION.

	Annual average in 1870-74. Million tons.	Annual average in 1907. Million tons.	Increase. Million tons.	Increase. Per cent.
United Kingdom, ..	120	268	148	120
France, ...	15	36	21	140
Germany, ...	32	141	109	340
United States, ..	42	406	364	870

COMPARATIVE CONSUMPTION OF RAW COTTON.

	Annual average in 1883-87. Million lbs.	Annual average in 1903-07. Million lbs.	Increase. Million lbs.	Increase. Per cent.
United Kingdom,* ..	1,444	1,786	342	24
Germany,†	418	1,000	582	139
United States (years ended June 30th),‡	999	2,312	1,313	131

* Net Imports, *i.e.*, total imports less re-exports.

† Imports for home consumption according to German official returns.

‡ Total estimated consumption of cotton of domestic and foreign origin according to United States official returns.

COMPARATIVE EXPORTS.

(a) DOMESTIC PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES.

	1880-84. Million £	1903-07. Million £	Increase. Million £	Increase. Per cent.
United Kingdom, ..	234	338	104	44
France, ...	138	195	57	41
Germany, ...	155	287	132	85
United States, ..	195	340	175	100

NOTE.—U.K. figures exclude new ships and their machinery, not recorded prior to 1899. German figures include ships and "improvement trade" since 1897.

(b) MANUFACTURED GOODS ONLY.

	1880-84. Million £	1903-07. Million £	Increase. Million £	Increase. Per cent.
United Kingdom, ..	206	272	66	32
France, ...	73	99	26	36
Germany, ...	93	194	101	109
United States, ..	—	—	—	—

NOTE.—U.K. figures exclude new ships and their machinery, not recorded prior to 1899. German figures include ships and "improvement trade" since 1897.

The United States figures cannot be given owing to the adoption by the United States Bureau of Statistics in 1906 of a new classification of manufactures which renders the figures since that year incomparable with those of previous years.

EXPORT TRADE OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES.

"The following tables are taken from the Statistical Statements prepared by the Board of Trade and laid before the Colonial Conference of 1907 (Cd. 3524, page 310) :—

TOTAL SPECIAL EXPORTS.

(*i.e.* manufactures and produce of the countries mentioned.)

Average.		U.K. Million £	U.S.A. Million £	Germany. Million £	France. Million £	Belgium. Million £
1881-85		232	161	155	135	52
1886-90		236	151	158	138	52
1891-95		227	183	155	134	55
1896-1900		253	237	197	150	70
1901-05		297	297	251	175	83
Increase 1901-05 *over* 1881-85	Million £	65	136	96	40	31
	Per cent. ..	28	84	62	29	60

"The following table shows the amount of—

EXPORTS PER HEAD OF POPULATION

for the same countries in the first and last decades of the period dealt with above :—

	U.K. £	U.S.A. £	Germany. £	France. £	Belgium. £
1881-90	65.1	27.8	33.9	35.8	89.3
1896-1905	66.8	35.0	39.8	41.8	114.3
Increase per cent. 1896-1905 over 1881-1890 ..	2.6	25.9	17.4	16.8	27.9

OUR POSITION IN NEUTRAL MARKETS.

"The following figures showing comparative exports to neutral markets are taken from a Government White Paper (No. 351) issued by the Board of Trade in August, 1907 :—

1. EXPORTS TO CHINA (INCLUDING HONG-KONG).

Average.	From U.K. £	From Germany. £	From U.S.A. £
1887-91	8,627,000	1,426,000	1,858,000
1902-06	12,803,000	3,445,000	8,342,000
Increase, ...	4,176,000	2,019,000	6,484,000
Per cent.	48.4	141.6	348.9

2. EXPORTS TO ARGENTINA.

Average.	From U.K. £	From Germany. £	From U.S.A. £
1887-91	7,446,000	2,011,000	1,300,000
1902-06	11,432,000	5,139,000	3,904,000
Increase, ...	3,986,000	3,128,000	2,604,000
Per cent.	53·5	155·5	200.3

3. EXPORTS TO ALL SOUTH AMERICA.

Average.	From U.K. £	From Germany. £	From U.S.A. £
1887-91	22,647,000	7,135,000	6,783,000
1902-06	27,059,000	13,086,000	10,830,000
Increase, ...	4,412,000	5,951,000	4,047,000
Per cent.	19.5	83.4	59.7

It must in fairness be admitted, however, that all this kind of 'comparative fortuity' is somewhat futile and inconclusive.

Mr. Dick will now, therefore, leave these ineffectual statistics on one side, and favour us with an immediate rather

CINEMATOGRAPHIC VIEW
OF THE THREE GREAT RIVAL RACERS
IN THE, TO MY POOR MIND, BY MILES,
MOST CRITICAL AND DECISIVE
INDUSTRIAL CUP TEST RACE OF THE SERIES!

'Which do you mean?'

I mean—**The race in respect of the consumption and production of Iron and Steel.**

'And why do you attach so much importance to that?'

Well, because.—Well, indeed!—in the world what can you do in these days, Friend, without Iron? You cannot build a ship, you cannot construct an engine, a waggon, a carriage, a cart, a house: you cannot plough, harrow, reap, thresh, grind: you cannot saw two planks asunder, or nail them together, fix a button, darn a stocking, iron a handkerchief, shave your beard, write a letter, pare your nails, pin your papers, sharpen a pencil, lock your door,

snib your window, scrape your boots, or roll up your watch, or tune your piano, or plant a cabbage, or dig your potatoes, or water your flowers, or poke your fire, or grill a steak, or boil your porridge, or weigh out a pound of tea, or toast your cheese, or butter your toast, or blow your whistle, or wet your do., or put up an umbrella, or spur your horse, or wheel your bike, or roll your barrow, or trundle your hoop, or hook a trout, or tin a salmon, or pot a rabbit, or open an oyster, or miss a putt—or—or cut your stick,—without its assistance !

Which, of course, all —is but a silly and somewhat spread out merely way of saying in a single eloquent nutshell that Iron is the Lord High Paramount King of modern civilisation, and that if you happen to know—of a nation's industrial progress,—a *better* barometric index,—Why, then, Sir, in that case,—I merely dont !

———o———

And all that, (more or less,) therefore, being as I have so said, Mr. Dick will, in fact, now—re-screw up his lime-light.

———o———

COMPARATIVE CONSUMPTION OF PIG IRON.

	Annual Average in			Increase 1903 over 1876-80
	1876-80	1891-95	1903	
	Million tons.	Million tons.	Million tons	Per cent.
United Kingdom, ..	5.4 ..	6.3 ..	7.9 ..	46
Germany, ...	2.2 ..	5.0 ..	9.6 ..	336
United States, ...	2.2 ..	8.3 ..	18.6 ..	745

———o———

COMPARATIVE PIG IRON PRODUCTION.

(1)

	Annual Average in			Increase 1903 over 1876-80
	1876-80	1891-95	1903	
	Million tons.	Million tons.	Million tons.	Per cent.
United Kingdom, ..	6.6 ..	7.0 ..	8.8 ..	33
France, ...	1.4 ..	2.2 ..	2.8 ..	100
Germany, ...	2.1 ..	5.0 ..	9.8 ..	366
United States, ...	2.2 ..	8.1 ..	18.0 ..	718

(2)

	Annual Average in 1876-80 Million tons.	1907 Million tons.	Increase. Million tons.	Per cent.
United Kingdom, ..	7 ..	10 ..	3 ..	40
France, ...	1 ..	4 ..	3 ..	300
Germany, ...	2 ..	13 ..	11 ..	550
United States, ...	2 ..	26 ..	24 ..	1,200

COMPARATIVE STEEL PRODUCTION.

(1)

	Annual Average in 1876-80 Million tons.	1891-95 Million tons.	1903 Million tons.	Increase 1903 over 1876-80 Per cent.
United Kingdom, ..	1.0 ..	3.1 ..	5.0 ..	400
France, ...	.3 ..	.7 ..	1.8 ..	500
Germany, ...	.5 ..	2.8 ..	8.7 ..	1,640
United States, ...	.8 ..	4.7 ..	*15.0 ..	1,775

(* Figures of 1902).

(2)

	Annual Average in 1876-80. Million tons.	1907. Million tons.	Increase. Million tons.	Per cent.
United Kingdom, ..	1.0 ..	6 ..	5.0 ..	500
France, ...	.3 ..	3 ..	2.7 ..	900
Germany, ...	.5 ..	12 ..	11.5 ..	2,300
United States, ...	.8 ..	23 ..	22.2 ..	2,775

! ! ! !

* * * *

Well, my *dear* friends, and what do you think of **that all!**—The coal barges, you see, have it hands down! And the champion Free Trade Queen Eclipse of '46 * * *. But how!!! What now?

* * * *

"If the Americans be right in Principle, and if they be successful in Practice, the whole policy of the United Kingdom is founded on a gigantic

FROST!

"And must lead to our ruin as a commercial nation."

* * * *

T—T—Sh—Sh!—Hang! Bang the Lunatic! Batter!—Burst the fellow's machine!—Mr. Chairman!

! ! ! !

* * * *

* * * Well! Well! Thank at last goodness! And now that the excitement is over and Mr. Dick and his magic imbecility have been safely removed into the back part of the proceedings—let me see if I can re-collect for you exactly—where the lunatic left us.

What was it again, now, that I was attempting to undertake? I was attempting to present to you in letters so loud that the most obdurate Free Trade Cockle in the land might in the mystic depths of its abysmal infatuation at least *hear*, if it wasn't convenient to understand: That in the Atlantic steeplechase between the rival Principles, the Protectionist coal barges (if they did not indeed carry off the cookie!)—which themselves (and an impartial onlooking world) honestly think that they do! do in any case from every conceivable point of view and with every conceivable allowance for every conceivable consideration put up a wonderful —*wonderful*, indeed, run for their money!

But now that I am *done*:—Alas! And wish to gather up the fruits of my—and my (indefatigable) colleague's magic trouble—what is the egregious reward of our elaborate collaborate labour?

Alas!

Circumspice!

Behold it with your circumspecting eyes! in the—the * * smug * immovable * adorning * * grins!—which embattle this spacious hall from wooden floor to wooden ceiling.

* * * And yet! And yet!—What should we other look for Poor! Alas! than—our invariable always and inexorable foreordination!

You can bring your historical facts and figures up by the square bushel to the convinced Free Trader. But it is all like bringing baskets of fine pearls up to a fed-up donkey. With a wheeze of his sublime nose your invaluable pearls lie scattered in the

gutter, and with another eloquent merely flourish of his implacable tail your attention is—is *re-invited* —to the **MAGNIFICENT** prosperity which succeeded on the abolition of the Corn Laws.

That is *his*—the Free Trader's rejoinder! His crushing reply to any amount of any and every kind and sort of facts and figures! And the *for ever and ever and ever* one and all-sufficient unanswerable semper-abiding demonstration that Free Trade is the God's Eternal Elect Gospel Truth of all reputable political economy for all human time!

Can you deny it?—He proudly asks! *Can you?* **CAN YOU DENY IT?** * * *—The reverberating echo from plain to mountain thunders!

And if you cannot, why then the court is cleared,—the case is finished, and the costs are cast!

Well! as an historical matter of mere fact, as I have honourably already to you admitted, we can't and dont *and won't* deny it. What we can *and do merely do* is: We explain the 'unexampled prosperity' in *another* way.

We admit the darkness, the misery and misfortune: we admit the prophetic Cobden:—Irish Potato Peel: and the Ten Hours a Day Bill denouncing, for Women and Children, Bright. We admit the fine speeching, the intoxicating tum tum of the tom toms, and the frantic universal political sky-cracking hullybaloo. We admit also the passing of the potato dearth,—and the splendour of the succeeding sunshine. And all that we humbly, merely, simply, (as I think I am saying now for the third time over!) deny is: That all this Cobdenite shouting and prophetic dancing and eloquent beating of the tom toms had anything whatever to do with the passing of the *Eclipse!* And—And the subsequent growing of Irish potatoes!

'What had to do with it, then?'

Quite a lot of things! But if you wish that I the tale to you should unfold, in *a couple* of words, your plan is to sit *mum* down! And listen! While I relate the circumstances to you, as they occur to me, in my most circumambient way!

First of all, then, when you tell me that there arrived a wonderful boom of prosperity after the Repeal of the Corn Laws, my most obvious first observation is, That there were Kings in Greece *before Agamemnon!*

By which I gracefully mean to insinuate: that lying here before me is an Industrial, *e.g.*, History of England, written by an extremely able and even brilliant, I should say, Free Trader.† And look see! I close my eyes! I pick up the volume! And—open it at—at * * * * *!*

Well, I admit there *isn't* very much on *this* page. But dont be impatient! Look, see!—I haven't over turned yet but half a dozen pages, when behold—!

———"———

But, please now, listen!—

———"———

"The development of English trade is signalised in this century by the appearance of numerous books and essays on commercial questions. **The increase in the wealth of the country is shown by the rapid re-building of London after the Great Fire, when the loss was estimated at £12,000,000: and Sir Josiah Child, writing in 1670, speaks of the great development of the commerce and trade of England in the previous twenty years. We know from Gregory King that rents had been doubled in this period, and that is always a sure sign of prosperity. The East India Company was so flourishing that in 1676 their dividends were at the rate of 300 per cent. Trade with America was equally prosperous.**

"It was partly, perhaps, this great development of English trade with both the Western and the Eastern markets that stimulated the genius of the great inventors to supply our manufacturers with machinery that would enable them to meet the huge demands upon their powers of production, for, by 1760 the export trade had grown to four times its value in the days of James I."

* * * *

"Even during the above wars (1702-13) English trade had been spreading. English merchants now did business in the Mediterranean with Turkey and Italy, in the North with Holland, Germany, Russia, and Norway, in the East with India, Arabia and

† Industrial History of England.—H. de B. Gibbins.

Africa, in the West with America and the Spanish Colonies. Many companies were started too numerous to mention here. * * * **All this mania for investing capital, however, shows how prosperous England had now become, and how great a quantity of wealth had been accumulated.**"

* * * *

"After a few years, however, we entered upon another war, the Seven Years' War (1756-63).

"We cannot here go into the details of it. It is sufficient to say that, after a bad beginning, we won various victories by sea and land, and at the close (1763) found ourselves in possession of Canada, Florida, and all the French possessions east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, and had gained the upper hand in India. **We held almost undisputed sway over the seas, and our trade grew by leaps and bounds.** Unfortunately we afterwards engaged in other wars of a less necessary character, and wasted a great deal of our wealth before the end of the century. **But the short peace which ensued after 1763 gave us an opportunity which we did not neglect of increasing our national industries.**

AND PRACTICALLY GAVE US THE GREAT START IN MANUFACTURES TO WHICH WE OWE OUR PRESENT WEALTH."

* * * *

But please let me draw up now for a drink!—and a big one! *Because all this beautiful language, you know, is not mine,* but the brilliant Historian Free Trader's!

* * * *

"Between 1685 and 1700 the people of Liverpool had increased tenfold, of Manchester fivefold, of Birmingham and Sheffield sevenfold. * * * The cause of the great increase of population between 1700 and 1760 is to be found in the rapid increase of national wealth gained by foreign commerce, in the progress of home manufactures and of agriculture. Increased wealth means increased comfort in living, increased command of food, etc., **and in this period the increase in national wealth was, in spite of foreign wars, enormous.**"

"The great inventions were all made in a comparative short space of time, and the previous slow growth of industry **developed quickly into a feverish burst of manufacturing production that completely revolutionised the face of industrial England.** In little more than twenty years all the great inventions of Watt, Arkwright, and Boulton had been completed, steam had been applied to the new looms, and the modern factory system had fairly begun. **Nothing has done more to make England what she at present is—whether for better or worse—than this sudden and silent Industrial Revolution,**

FOR IT INCREASED HER WEALTH TENFOLD, AND GAVE HER HALF A CENTURY'S START IN FRONT OF THE NATIONS OF EUROPE."

* * * *

"Of course the enormous advantages of steam over water power became immediately apparent; manufacturers, especially in the cotton trade, hastened to make use of the new methods, **and in fifteen years (1788-1803) the cotton trade trebled itself."**

* * * *

"Of course these discoveries of new processes in procuring coal and making iron enormously increased the wealth of England, and at the same time entirely changed the conditions of industry. For they helped on the textile manufactures by providing any amount of fuel and machinery, **and all these together gave employment to a population that seemed to grow in accordance with the need of the nation for workers. The new textile and mining industries supplied England with that vast wealth which enabled her to endure successfully the long years of war at the close of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th."**

* * * *

"In 1793 the exports were officially valued at over £17,000,000; for every year afterwards they were at least £22,000,000, often more; in 1800 over £34,000,000, **and in 1815 had quite doubled their value at the beginning of the war, being then over £58,000,000** (official value)."

* * * *

"This, then, was the immediate result of the factory system:

the growth of large accumulations of capital in the hands of the new master manufacturers, who with their new machinery, undisturbed by internal war, were able to supply the nations of Europe with clothing at a time when these nations were too much occupied in the internecine conflicts on their own soil to produce food and clothing for themselves. **Even Napoleon, in spite of all his edicts directed against English trade, was fain to clothe his soldiers in Yorkshire stuffs when he led them to Moscow. It was no wonder that the growth of capital was rapid and enormous.** * * *

"The enormous extension of trade rendered extra work necessary, and the mills ran all night long as well as by day."

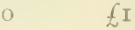
* * * *

"The following table will show the actual figures of English pauperism **at a time when the wealth of the nation was advancing by leaps and bounds.**

Year.	Population.	Poor Rate Raised.	Rate Per Head of Population. s. d.
1760	7,000,000	£1,250,000	3 7
1784	8,000,000	£2,000,000	5 0
1803	9,216,000	£4,077,000	8 11
1818	11,876,000	£7,870,000	13 3
1820	12,046,000	£7,329,000	12 2
1830	13,924,000	£6,829,000	10 9
1841	15,911,757	£4,760,929	5 11¾

* * * *

"Between 1801 and 1811 the population of England increased by 14 per cent. and between 1811 and 1821 by 21 per cent., which is the highest rate that has ever been reached in England."



But what again, please, did you say was the argument?

'The argument, Sir, is—That we have made enormous progress in this country since the repeal of the Corn Laws.'

Very good! But lying here in front of me is the Industrial Encyclopædia of the world and turning to G—E—R:

I read!—

"We have now heard the voice of the English and German

prophets of sixty years ago. Since that time Germany has had about half a century of almost uninterrupted protection, and Great Britain has had about half a century of almost uninterrupted Free Trade. Germany, which was then a country without experience in industry, finance, commerce, and shipping, without capital, without colonies, without good coal, with only one good harbour, a country weighed down by militarism, convulsed by three great wars and a revolution, and, according to Free Trade doctrines, kept back by protection, **has nevertheless become so wealthy and powerful that she competes with us in all markets and presses us hard even in our home market, that she has the swiftest ships on the ocean, that she is paramount in some of the most important industries, and that she can even afford to emulate Great Britain's fleet after having created for herself the strongest army in the world. She has been able to introduce an immense scheme of workmen's insurance against accident and old age, under which German workmen have received £120,000,000 between 1885 and 1889, a scheme which, as we are told, Great Britain cannot afford,** and she is calmly contemplating and preparing herself for a tariff war against this country and the United States, while our Free Traders, who still speak of the economic paramountcy of this country, confess that they tremble at the thought that a change in our fiscal policy might lead to friction with other countries."†

* * * *

† **"Germany's progress under Protection has been steady, continuous and rapid.**

BETWEEN 1850 AND 1900
GERMANY'S PRODUCTION OF IRON HAS RISEN SIXTYFOLD,
HER CONSUMPTION OF COTTON TWENTYFOLD,
AND HER SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS SIXTYFOLD.

Her population has more than double the amount of savings in the savings banks which is to be found in the British savings banks. Fifty years ago the average wages of British workmen were, according to List, 18s. a week, or four times higher than the average wages of the German workman. **Now German wages and British wages are almost equally high in many instances, and German wages have risen fourfold in many trades. From a poor**

† Otto Eltzbacher.

debtor country Germany has become a rich creditor country. Formerly she had to borrow money in foreign countries and on onerous terms; in 1897-8 German capital invested abroad was officially estimated at about £1,000,000,000, giving an average yearly yield of about £60,000,000. Such progress is more than rapid, it is marvellous for a naturally poor country, and when we compare that rapid progress with Great Britain's vaunted progress under the reign of Free Trade, the latter would, perhaps, be more correctly described as stagnation if not as retrogression."

'The Industrial Progress made by England under Free Trade reads like a Fairy Tale!'

Quite! I quite understand! But what is a poor man to do about that when on the very next page, but one—*and in letters as large!*—

THE INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS MADE BY GERMANY UNDER PROTECTION READS LIKE A ROMANCE!

! ! ! !

† "In 1902 over 100 cities in Germany had electric street railways, with a length of 2,200 miles, and representing an investment of a billion dollars. Germany has over one-third of all the electric street railways in Europe and over half of the total mileage. Ninety-one per cent. of all the electric roads of Europe (excluding Great Britain) were built by German firms.

"The six largest electrical companies have an invested capital in stocks and bonds of over 80,000,000 dollars, which has increased since 1894 from 16,000,000 dollars. The Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft has three large factories employing 17,000 men. Their sales for the year 1899-1900 included 10,000 dynamos of 208,000 h.p. Up to that year the company had built 250 electrical plants. Their field includes all Europe, and extends to countries beyond the seas. They have established a branch company, with 2,500,000 dollars capital to handle their business in Argentine and Chili. The export of electrical machinery in 1903 was 5,000,000

† Cause and Extent of Industrial Progress of Germany.—E. D. Howard.

dollars. **Great Britain is by far the best customer, taking in that year over 25 per cent. of the whole export.**"

* * * *

"In 1860 all the dyes used were organic, and Germany was almost entirely dependent on foreign countries for her supply. The annual import of dyes at that time cost the country 50,000,000 marks. By 1900 the conditions had so changed that the import had sunk to almost nothing, and the export on the other hand had risen to 100,000,000 marks.

"Now Germany, not only utilises all the coal-tar produced in Germany, but imports large quantities in the form of benzole from Great Britain, Belgium and Austria-Hungary. All this import and more is sold back to these countries again, multiplied many times in value, in the shape of dyes.

"Four-fifths of all the world's products of dye-stuffs, as well as a large proportion of the medical preparations derived from coal-tar, are made in Germany. The annual production of these dyes amounted in 1897 to the value of 120,000,000 marks.

"In 1892 the German Empire imported 3,556,740 pounds of natural or vegetable indigo, valued at 4,450,000 dollars. In 1902 the import of vegetable indigo had decreased to 833,000 pounds while the export of artificial indigo amounted to 18,308,000 pounds in 1903.

"The capital invested in the Chemical Industry in 104 of the largest stock companies amounted in 1898 to 295,373,100 marks, on which a dividend of 39,921,970 marks was paid, an average of 13.52 per cent."

* * * *

"Since 1871 the tonnage of German Steamships has increased 1447 per cent., or from 5 to 8 per cent. of the whole steam tonnage of the world."

* * * *

"Since 1879 the amount of steam power employed in Prussia has increased as follows :—

	1879	1901
Number of Steam Engines, ..	29,895	75,958
Capacity in horse power, ...	887,784	3,709,662

* * * *

"The great increase in the consumption of iron and steel in Germany since 1890 indicates a large expansion of the machine industry, * * *.

"Between 1882 and 1895 the number of employees increased from 356,089 to 582,676, being an increase of 63.7 per cent. But the greatest growth of the machine industry has taken place since 1895.

"To-day there are in the German Empire 18 locomotive factories with an annual capacity of 1400 locomotives and employing about 20,000 men. In 1903 the export of locomotives and traction engines amounted to 7,603,000 dollars, over 25 per cent going to Russia and Spain.

"Referring to the exhibition of German products at Dusseldorf in 1902 the verdict of a highly competent authority, who has visited every industrial exhibition for the last fifteen years, and who knows the United States as well as England and other parts of Europe, will suffice:

"'It was,' he said, 'the finest exhibition of tools and machinery I ever saw.'"

But really, really, my dear Sir! Meekly again I must solicit your pardon! My broken-down memory has tumbled completely to pieces. What again, *please did I understand you really to say* that the argument was?

"

'The argument, Sir, is—That Germany *may have made* all this petty progress that you prattle about. But she made it in spite of Protection and not on account of it.'

"

Ah! Ah! Ah! But surely meseems, meseems, surely! I have *surely* heard all this before!

—Indeed, if I do mistake me not, have *already replied* to it!

('Question!')

—Mr. Chairman, my good *dear* Sir, would you humbly for me mind apologising to my esteemed friend, Mr. Dick, and —and asking him to return to my assistance!

! ! ! !

Ah ! *Mr. Dick*, I am so glad ! But, would you believe it now, (and notwithstanding all that I and you have already done and said upon the subject :) there appear to be some people present in this audience who are either ignorant or sceptical still *as to the meaning of the Industrial recent Record* of Germany ? Would you mind, **in order to confirm them in their ignorance,** turning on one or two of your historical slides ?

! ! ! !

Effect of Temporary Protection on German Industry.

" During the Continental blockade of Napoleon, when the English supply of cloths was withheld from the Continental markets, the German industry experienced a temporary boom, but fell into desuetude again when a barrier against imports was raised."

Effect of the Zollverein on German Industry.

" What a great nation is at the present day without a vigorous commercial policy—

—Yes ! but *whom* are you quoting now, Mr. Dick ?

' Friedrich List ! '

" And what she may become by the adoption of a vigorous commercial policy, Germany has learnt for herself during the last twenty years. * * *

" To fill up the measure of this contempt, the doctrine was taught from a hundred professorial chairs, that nations could only attain to wealth and power by means of universal Free Trade. Thus it was. But how is it now ? **Germany has advanced in prosperity and industry, in national self-respect and in national power in the course of ten years as much as in a century. And how has this result been achieved ?** It was certainly good and beneficial that the internal tariffs were abolished, which separated Germans from Germans : but the nation would have derived small comfort from that, if her home industry had thenceforth remained freely exposed to foreign competition. **It was especially the protection which the tariff of the Zollverein secured to manufactured articles of common use, which has wrought this miracle.**

"Let us freely admit that if the Zollverein has imposed protective duties of from twenty to sixty per cent. as respects the manufactured articles of common use.

But has agriculture at all suffered under these high duties? Not in the least; it has gained—gained tenfold during the last ten years. The demand for agricultural produce has increased. The prices of it everywhere are higher. It is notorious that solely in consequence of the growth of the home manufactures the value of land has everywhere risen from fifty to a hundred per cent., that everywhere higher wages are being paid, and that in all directions improvements in the means of transport are either being effected or projected.

"Such brilliant results as these must necessarily encourage us to proceed farther on the system which we have commenced to follow."

* * * *

EFFECT OF FREE TRADE POLICY IN GERMANY.†

"The lower Tariff after 1865 bore hard on the Cotton Industry in the German States: while Saxony had in 1861, 707,844 spindles, in 1875 the number had decreased to 471,387."

"The Free Trade era, from 1874 to 1879, postponed still further the development of German Iron production. The following figures show statistically the effect of that policy, as well as the proportion of the German market which was supplied by Foreign and especially English producers:—*

	Domestic Production. Tons.	Imports. Tons.	Rate of Tariff.
1872	1,927,000	663,000	[illegible] per ton
1873	2,174,000	743,000	From Oct. 1, fr[illegible]
1874	1,856,000	549,000	
1878	2,119,000	485,000	

† E. D. Howard. "Causes and Extent of Industrial Progress in Germany."

* Handbuch der Wirthschaftskunde Deutschlands. Vol. III., page 357.

	Domestic Production. Tons.	Imports. Tons.	Rate of Tariff.
1879	2,201,000	388,000	From June 1, $2.60
1885	3,647,000	223,000	per ton.
1886	3,499,000	169,000	
1890	4,626,000	404,000	
1895	5,433,000	200,000	
1899	8,095,000	569,000	
1900	8,469,000	741,000	

* * * *

BISMARCK IN 1879—ON THE EVE OF MODERN GERMAN PROTECTION.

"I think it my duty to try to reserve at least the German home market to national production so far as that policy is compatible with our other interests.

"We shall, therefore, return to those principles which have been proved by experience, which have guided the Zollverein during almost half a century of prosperity, and which we have to a large extent deserted since 1865. I fail to see that that departure from Protection has brought to us any real advantages."

* * * *

EFFECT OF PROTECTIONIST POLICY IN GERMANY.

"The beneficial effect of the Protective Tariff (1879) on German industries was immediate. On the 16th of March, 1881, Mr. von Kardorff stated in the German Diet that 85,901 men were occupied in the German iron and steel industries in January, 1879, and 98,224 men in January, 1881."

* * * *

OPINION THEREUPON OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT.

"Strengthened by Protection our industries have been able to increase considerably their production, and have thereby afforded fuller employment and rising wages to the working classes. The participation of German capital in foreign enterprises has increased. Emigration has very substantially diminished."

* * * *

BISMARCK TO MINISTER OF FINANCE—BITTER, IN 1880.

"With reference to your letter of the 4th of May regarding the decrease in the yield of the income tax on small incomes ('Klassensteuer') I agree with you that it is necessary to proceed with the utmost economy, and to recommend to the local authorities the greatest possible indulgence in levying taxes in view of the diminished prosperity of the country. In reply to your letter I should like to make the following observations:

"The shrinkage in the income tax on *small incomes* is a proof of the shrinkage in the prosperity of the population. That shrinkage has made itself felt for several years past, and according to my conviction it would have taken place several years earlier had it not been for the War contribution of 5,000,000,000 francs which we received from France between 1871 and 1874. Only that circumstance has, for a time, arrested the deterioration in our economic position which has been caused by the free trade legislation that was initiated after the Zollverein period. If these statements should require further proof the fact that the masses of our population are impoverishing should be sufficient. That decline in our prosperity began when our fiscal policy was altered in the direction of free trade. . . . Only the French War contributions stopped for a time the decay of our prosperity that began when we deserted the traditional policy of the Zollverein which had been followed ever since 1823. We may, therefore, hope to see this decay disappear if our legislation continues to advance in the direction which it took in the session of 1879, without regard to the wishes of an opposition, whose action was due rather to the consideration of the requirements of the political parties in the Diet than to considerations of public welfare.

"If I therefore agree with the wishes of the Minister of Finance for economy I cannot help seeing in the arguments which your Excellency has advanced in your memorandum a proof how greatly the free trade disturbance, which has affected the fiscal traditions of the Zollverein, has damaged the prosperity of the German nation, and how necessary it is to continue to oppose free trade. The history of the Zollverein up to the end of the sixties was a history of uninterrupted prosperity for Prussia, notwithstanding the narrow

limits of the country and notwithstanding the greater impediments to our home trade owing to our inferior means of transport.

"During the short space of but half a year since we have deliberately turned away from that mistaken system of free trade we have already witnessed a slight improvement in our economic position, and we may count on an increasing improvement if we continue to proceed on the road upon which we have entered."

THE PRUSSIAN MINISTER OF FINANCE ON BISMARCK'S POLICY,—IN 1908.

BERLIN, *23rd November*, 1908.

The Imperial Chancellor was present in the Reichstag to-day when the House resumed the debate on the Imperial Finance Reform Bills.

Baron von Rheinbaden, Prussian Minister of Finance, next spoke. He said **"We have to thank the Bismarckian protective tariff policy for the great progress of the last ten years. * * *"**

But **ARGUMENTATIVELY NOW,** please, how do we stand?

Your attestation has been: 'That England went gloriously forward under Free Trade.'

And my reply was: 'That Germany has made equally brilliant progress under Protection.'

Your counter: 'That Germany would have done better under Free Trade.'

And my retort as just delivered is: 'That Germany tried your doctrine, suffered severely under it, *and because of her sufferings was induced to abandon it.*'

Also I think there cannot be any doubt whatever, (whatever you and your infatuation may think and feel and say to the contrary) that the statesmen and the people of Germany are quite satisfied—do quite honestly and unwaveringly believe that they owe their abounding prosperity to the economic change which was made by Bismarck in 1879.

But now if you will do me the honour to accept a return complimentary quid for your exploded quo—I say, it remains only now to point out: That the great prosperity which this country enjoyed during the first five and twenty years after the Repeal of the Corn Laws was due to

QUITE OTHER CAUSES THAN FREE TRADE.

In the year 1838, only eight years before the Repeal of the Corn Laws, **the Atlantic was bridged for the first time in the history of the world by steamships** sailing under steam all the way: the Great Western making the eventful passage from Bristol and the Sirius from Cork.

Up to 1840 "the average postage on every chargeable letter throughout the United Kingdom was sixpence farthing. A letter from London to Brighton cost eightpence: to Aberdeen, one shilling and threepence halfpenny—to Belfast, one shilling and fourpence."

In 1840, six years before the Repeal of the Corn Laws, **the Penny Post came into operation.**

In 1837 Cooke and Wheatstone patented the needle telegraph.

AND IN 1846,
THE ACTUAL YEAR OF THE REPEAL,
"THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH COMPANY WAS FORMED FOR BRINGING THE NEW INVENTIONS INTO GENERAL USE."

"In the earlier part of the 19th century canals were the chief means used for the conveyance of heavy merchandise. Of these there were three between Liverpool and Manchester: the average rate of carriage along them being 18s. a ton, and the average time of transit 36 hours. **But the canals were sometimes so crowded that the transit of cotton goods from the seaport to the towns of the interior took a month.**"

1826, says the Waterloo of Peel.

In 1825 the Stockton and Darlington Railroad had been opened by the immortal Stephenson himself,—a courier signalman on horseback riding in front of the revolution.

And four years after, in 1829, **Manchester and Liverpool were joined by rail.**

In 1838 London and Birmingham were linked up, and in swift succession London and Southampton,—London and Brighton,—London and Greenwich,—Manchester and Birmingham,—Manchester and Leeds,—Glasgow and Edinburgh, etc., etc..

WHILE IN 1845 AND 1846
THE YEAR BEFORE THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS AND THE YEAR OF THE REPEAL, "NO FEWER THAN 347 ACTS WERE PASSED THROUGH PARLIAMENT AUTHORISING THE CONSTRUCTION OF 7654 MILES OF RAILWAY AT AN ESTIMATED COST OF £190,344,087 ! "

But please to observe, now, what I have actually said ! I said **1845 and 1846 !** And if you will only be good enough to remember that fact, and bear with it simultaneously in mind, that **up to the 1st of February, 1849,** the duty payable on the importation of Foreign Wheat into Great Britain was 10s. per quarter when the price was under 48s., you will all at once recognise in a thoroughly unforgettable way the very profound gratitude which we owe to the Divine Institution for this appalling Industrial Expansion !

But this miraculous outburst of industrial activity was not confined to these little islands alone. At once the great big outside world began to take a hand. A Railway mania set in. And North, South, East and West, the infection ran wild. From 1848 onwards—'the United States added thousands of miles to its system.' Mexico, Brazil, Argentine, Uruguay, India, the British Colonies, etc., followed suit. And for this enormous expansion, for the most part, English banks provided the money and British furnaces the iron.

"In the sixties we exported of bar and railway iron an average of a million tons a year. And between 1863 and 1873 our exports of iron more than doubled themselves,—increasing from £15,000,000 in the former year, to £38,000,000 in the latter."

And then, also, as luck would have it, and as if to provide the circulating medium in time for all the boom that was to be, in 1848 came the discovery of gold in California, and on the back of that, in 1851-53, the discovery of gold in Australia. And if it indeed be

true, and I am credibly informed that it is, that the imports into Australia in these years increased *ten-fold*, why then, in that case even the passing cow in the street can understand how much of the resulting export boom in British Trade was owing to *Free* Trade.

But the lucky co-incidences that helped to shoulder-high the great Superstition I have not yet nearly exhausted, because in the quarter of a century which followed the Repeal of the Corn Laws there occurred an almost uninterrupted succession of wars: **"during which the whole world plunged deeply into debt to this country and our loans went abroad in British Goods."**

1848 set the ball of European unrest in motion.

In that year from the throne of France the precautionary Louis Philippe took French leave: in Berlin the King, and in Vienna the Emperor had to abdicate: and in Brussels the King very considerately *offered* to do the same thing.

In 1854-56 broke out the Crimean War, **"which gave a great stimulus to our agriculture and had a similar effect on our manufactures."** At least so informs me a distinguished Free Trade Historian.

In 1859 followed the Austro-Italian War.

In 1861-65 the Civil War in America: **"after which there was an urgent demand for English Products to replace the waste of war."**

(Which beautiful language,) as I dare say you have guessed from the tone of my eloquence, is not my own poor, but culled with loving circumspection from the same distinguished Free Trade Historian!

In 1864 came the War of Prussia and Austria versus Denmark in 1866 that of Prussia and Italy versus Austria: and in 1870-71 the fateful struggle between Prussianised Germany and France.

And then what?

Ah! then came **1872!** the memorable high water, red-letter miraculous year, which was supposed to have demonstrated for all human time the unapproachable expansionist perfection of the

great Imposture: and from which the poor humble future historian now dates its decline and fall.

Gathering all of which up into an impartial and convenient nutshell and re-illumining by the light of it our wonderful post Repeal of the Corn Laws British prosperity, what do we see, please, and find?

We see, please, and find, that by a *very* sad co-incidence for the British Empire, and as the fore-ordination of fate would have it, the Repeal of the British Corn Laws synchronised with a *fresh* industrial revolution.

'Why, please, *fresh?*'

In order to distinguish it from the Revolution which took place at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. A revolution, namely, in the means of transit and communication. We had, by the brilliant luck of our mechanical invention, brought about that revolution and we had not only to make it good in our own country, but the rest of the world very naturally applied to the original patentees to do the same for them. We were, industrially, happy thus beyond human measure in these lucky—halcyon—nevermore-to-return-again days!

There was the tremendous impetus given to our coal, iron, engineering and other industries by the construction of our own railways, our own steamships, our own telegraphs.

There was further the incalculable impetus given to every form and degree of human activity as the outcome and result of all these wonderful new applications of science to the business affairs of life.

There was the added impetus given to our industries (and not least, please note, to our shipping!) by the demand for railways and industrial machinery on the part of an awakening world: and to make good the waste of wars.

And there was the additional all-round stimulus to industry and commerce as the result of the accumulating wealth and influence and productive power and prestige which we then so acquired.

'And in fact, my dear Sir, you mean very briefly to say, That the Free Trader has been calmly annexing year by year and purloining and appropriating all the glory and credit and prosperity and kudos which do properly belong to all these quite other causes and bespaying besprigging and bedecking therewith the divine **Ass** of Free Trade!'

My *dear* Sir! What a delightful, penetrating, clever man you have *all of a sudden* become!

'Nay, but waste not the fragrance of thy congratulatory sarcasm! I am but merely satirically setting out for you, (in order to save you the trouble,) your own very lop-sided and jaundiced view of economic history. For myself, as an absolutely convinced and ardent Free Trader, I quite admit the enormous contributions which have been made to our prosperity by the causes which you have mentioned. *But then Free Trade also* was one of the great co-operative causes—the lubricating *oil*, in fact, if I may so say it, which enabled the wheels of the great industrial machine—to which, if you so wish it, the factors you have so eloquently indicated may have provided much of the motive power—to go smoothly and rapidly round.'

My *dear* Sir, I appreciate to the fullest extent, I can assure you, the penetrating and subtle point of your extenuating varnish.

But Free Trade could hardly have been the lubricating oil that performed all this great wonder, when Free Trade at the time, properly speaking, didn't even exist.

'How do you mean?'

Well, I will, perhaps, best explain to you what I mean if, in the mean time, for a moment, you will very quietly listen while I read aloud to you this

TABLE OF TARIFFS,

which I think I promised half a minute ago to give you.

Agates or Cornelians, set, for every £100 value, ..	£10	0	0
Arms, viz.:—			
Swords, Cutlasses, Matchets, and parts,			
Unmounted Iron Cannons and Mortars, the cwt., ..	0	2	6

Unmounted Brass Cannons and Mortars, the cwt.,	£0	10	0
Cannons and Mortars, mounted, and other Fire-arms, viz., Rifles, Carbines, Pistols, etc., for every £100 value, ...	10	0	0
Ammunition, viz. :—			
Lead Shot (large and small), the cwt., . .	0	2	0
Iron Shot (large and small), the cwt., . .	0	2	6
Rockets, etc., for purposes of war and not otherwise enumerated, for every £100 value,	10	0	0
Baskets, the cubic foot, ...	0	0	4
Beads, the lb., ...	0	0	2
Boxes, viz. :—			
Brass, the cwt., ...	1	10	0
Not otherwise charged, for every £100 value,	10	0	0
Brass, Manufactures of, the cwt., ...	0	10	0
Old, fit only to be re-manufactured, ...	Free.		
Wire, ...	Free.		
Brocade of Silver and Gold, the lb., ...	0	5	0
Bronze Manufactures, the cwt., ...	0	10	0
BUTTER, the cwt., ...	0	5	0
Of and from British Possessions, the cwt., . .	0	2	6
Candles, the cwt., ...	0	2	4
Canes, Walking, mounted, etc., the 100, . .	0	6	0
Umbrella and Parasol Sticks, the 100, . .	0	3	0
Caoutchouc, ...	Free.		
Manufactures of, the lb., ...	0	0	4
CHEESE, the cwt., ...	0	2	6
Of and from British Possessions, the cwt., .	0	1	6
China or Porcelain Ware, the cwt., ...	0	10	0
Clocks, viz., not exceeding the value of 5s. each, the doz.,	0	4	0
Exceeding the value of 5s. and not exceeding 12s. 6d. value, the doz., ...	0	8	0
Exceeding the value of 12s. 6d. and not exceeding £3 value, each, ...	0	2	0
Exceeding the value of £3 and not exceeding £10 value, each, ...	0	4	0
Exceeding the value of £10, each, ...	0	10	0

Copper, Ore of, ...	Free.		
Old (Scrap), unwrought, wire, ...	Free.		
Manufactures of, the cwt., ..	£0	10	0
Corks, squared for rounding, the cwt., ...	0	8	0
Fishermen's, ...	Free.		
Ready-made, the lb., ...	0	0	6
CORN, Wheat, Pease, Barley, Rye, Maize, Oats, Beans, the quarter, ...	0	1	0
Wheat, Oat, Barley, Rye,—Meal and Flour, the cwt., ...	0	0	4½
Cotton Manufactures, viz. :—			
East India Piece Goods, viz., Calicoes, etc.,	Free.		
Manufactures, not being articles wholly or in part made up, not otherwise charged with duty, ...	Free.		
Yarn, ...	Free.		
Fringe, the lb., ...	0	0	2
Gloves (cotton or thread), the doz. pairs. ..	0	0	3
Stockings (cotton or thread), the doz. pairs,	0	0	6
Socks (cotton or thread), the doz. pairs, ..	0	0	3
Articles or Manufactures not otherwise charged with duty, for every £100 value,	5	0	0
Earthenware, not otherwise enumerated or described, the cwt., ...	0	10	0
EGGS, the cubic foot of the package, internal measurements, ...	0	0	8
Of and from British Possessions, the cubic foot of the package, internal measurements.	0	0	4
Embroidery and Needlework, viz :—			
On Silk, or Silk mixed with other materials, not Silk net, for every £100 value, ...	15	0	0
Of and from British Possessions, do., ..	5	0	0
Silk net, figured with the needle, the lb.,	0	10	0
Cotton net, figured with the needle, the lb.,	0	8	0
Curtains, Swiss embroidered, on muslin or net, the lb., ...	0	1	0

All other embroidery not enumerated for every £100 value, ...	£10	0	0
Of and from British Possessions, do., ..	5	0	0
Feathers for beds, ...	Free.		
Ostrich, dressed, the lb., ...	0	3	0
undressed, ...	Free.		
Not otherwise enumerated viz :- ..			
dressed, the lb., ...	0	3	0
undressed, ...	Free.		
Flowers Artificial per cubic foot as packed, ..	0	12	0
Glass, viz. :—			
Flint Cut Glass, Flint Coloured Glass, and Fancy Ornamental Glass, the cwt., ..	0	10	0
Gongs, the cwt., ...	1	0	0
Gutta Percha, ...	Free.		
Manufactures of, not moulded, the cwt.,	0	5	0
Articles, moulded, the lb., ...	0	0	2
Hats or Bonnets, viz. :-			
Of Chip, the lb., ...	0	2	6
Of Bast, Cane, or Horsehair, the lb., ..	0	2	6
Of Straw, the lb., ...	0	2	6
Of Felt, Hair, Wool, or Beaver, each, ..	0	1	0
Of Silk, each, ...	0	1	0
HOPS, until the 1st August, 1855, the cwt., ..	1	0	0
From and after that date, the cwt., ..	2	5	0
Iron, Ore of, ...	Free.		
Pig, ...	Free.		
Bar, unwrought, ...	Free.		
Rough Castings, ...	Free.		
Cast Iron, ...	Free.		
Old, Broken, ...	Free.		
Machinery, Wrought Castings, Tools, Cutlery, the cwt., ...	0	2	6
Fancy Ornamental Articles of Iron and Steel, the cwt., ...	0	15	0
Manufactures of, coated with Brass or Copper, the cwt., ...	0	3	6

Jewels, Emeralds, and all other precious Stones set, for every £100 value, ...	£10	0	0
unset,..	Free.		
Lace, Mohair or Worsted, the lb., ...	0	1	0
Thread or Cotton Pillow Lace (not Brussels or Saxon Lace), not exceeding 1 in. in width, the lb., ...	1	0	0
Exceeding 1 in. in width, the lb., ..	2	0	0
Silk Pillow Lace (not being Saxon Wire ground), the lb., ...	1	10	0
Silk Saxon Wire, ground, and Maltese Lace, the lb., ...	0	8	0
Brussels Point and other Lace made by hand, not otherwise charged with duty, for every £100 value, ...	10	0	0
Lead, Ore of, ...	Free.		
Manufactures of, the cwt., ...	0	2	0
Leather Manufactures, viz. :—			
Boots, Shoes, and Goloshes, viz. :			
Men's, Women's, Boys' Boots and Shoes, the dozen pairs, 4s. 8d. to	0	14	0
Gloves, of Leather, the dozen pairs, 2s. 6d. to	0	4	6
Linen, or Linen and Cotton Manufactures, viz.:			
Cambric Handkerchiefs, hemmed, not trimmed, the doz., ...	0	2	6
Articles, Manufactures of Linen, or of Linen mixed with Cotton or Wool, wholly or in part made up, not particularly enumerated or otherwise charged with duty, for every £100 value, ...	5	0	0
Musical Instruments, viz. :—			
Musical Boxes, small, the air, ...	0	0	3
Large, the air, ...	0	0	8
Overtures or extra accompaniments, the air.	0	2	6
Pianofortes, viz. : horizontal grand, ..	3	0	0
upright or square, ...	2	0	0

Harmoniums, each, ...	£0	12	0
Concertinas, 100 notes, ...	0	5	0
Opera Glasses, single, ...	0	1	0
double, marine and race glasses, ...	0	2	6
Ore, ...	Free.		
Paper, viz. :—			
Brown Paper (coarse), the lb., ...	0	0	2½
Paper Hangings, the lb., ...	0	0	3
Fancy Paper, not Paper Hangings, the lb., ..	0	0	2½
Waste Paper, etc., the lb., ...	0	0	2½
Perfumery, the lb., ...	0	0	2
Powder, viz. : Hair and Perfumed Powder, the lb.,	0	0	2
Silk, viz. :			
Raw Silk, ...	Free.		
Silk Turbans or Caps, ...	0	3	6
Silk Hats or Bonnets, ...	0	7	0
Silk Dresses, ...	1	10	0
Silk Shawls, Handkerchiefs, Scarfs, and pieces (plain), the lb., ...	0	3	0
Silk Shawls, embroidered, the lb., ...	0	5	0
Velvet, Broad Stuffs, the lb., ...	0	9	0
Ribbons, according to quality, the lb., 6s. to	0	14	0
Silk Parasols and Umbrellas, each, ..	0	1	0
Etc., etc., etc. .			
Manufactures of Silk not otherwise enumerated or charged with duty, for every £100 value, ...	15	0	0
Of and from British Possessions, for every £100 value, ...	5	0	0
Soap, viz. :—			
Hard and Soft, the cwt., ...	0	0	8
Scented, the lb., ...	0	0	2
Spa Ware, the cubic foot, ...	0	0	6
Zinc or Spelter, crude, ...	Free.		
Rolled, but not otherwise manufactured, ..	Free.		
Manufactures of, the cwt., ...	0	2	0
Stays or Corsets of Linen or of Cotton, the doz. pairs.	0	2	0

Tallow, the cwt., ...	£0	1	6
Of and from British Possessions, the cwt.,	0	0	1
Vegetable, ...	Free.		
Tin, Ore and Regulus of, ...	Free.		
In Blocks, Ingots, Bars, or Slabs, ...	Free.		
Foil and Manufactures of, the cwt., ..	0	10	0
Toys, the cubic foot, ...	0	0	4
Turnery, the cubic foot, ...	0	0	4
Veneers, the cwt., ...	0	1	0
Watches, exceeding the value of £10, ...	1	0	0
Gold Watches, open faces, each, ...	0	5	0
Silver Watches, open faces, each, ...	0	2	6
Gold Hunters, each, ...	0	7	6
Silver Hunters, each,.. ..	0	3	6
Gold Repeaters, each, ...	0	15	0
Silver Repeaters, each, ...	0	8	0
Wood and Timber, the following Duties, with 5 per cent. thereon on all Wood and Timber the produce of British Possessions, viz.:—			
Timber or Wood, not being Deals, Battens, Boards, Staves, etc., or other Timber or Wood sawn, split, or otherwise dressed, except hewn, and not being Timber or Wood otherwise charged with duty, the load of 50 cubic feet, ...		7	6
Of and from British Possessions, the load of 50 cubic feet, ...	0	1	0
Deals, Battens, Boards, etc., the load of 50 cubic feet, ...	0	10	0
Of and from British Possessions, ..	0	2	0
Etc., etc., etc.,			
Woollens, viz., Manufactures of Wool (not being Goat's Wool), or of Wool mixed with Cotton, not particularly enumerated, and not otherwise charged with duty, ..	Free.		
Articles or Manufactures of Wool (not being Goat's Wool), or of Wool mixed with			

Cotton, viz.: —			
Carpets and Rugs, the square yard, ...	£0	0	6
Shawls, Scarfs, and Handkerchiefs, plain, the lb.,	0	0	4
Shawls, Scarfs, and Handkerchiefs, printed, the lb.,	0	0	8
Gloves, the dozen pairs, ...	0	0	3
Wholly or in part made up, not otherwise charged with duty, for every £100 value, ..	5	0	0
Yarn, Woollen or Worsted, viz.:			
Berlin Wool or Zephyr Yarn, and Woollen and Worsted Yarn of two or more threads :—			
scoured, bleached, or coloured, the lb., ..	0	0	6
not scoured, bleached, or coloured, the lb., ..	0	0	3
Raw, for Weaving, not dyed, or only partially dyed, ...	Free.		
Goods, being either in part or wholly manufactured, and not being enumerated or described nor otherwise charged with duty, and not prohibited to be imported into or used in Great Britain or Ireland, for every £100 value, ...	10	0	0
Goods, not being either in part or wholly manufactured, not enumerated or described nor otherwise charged with duty, and not prohibited to be imported into or used in Great Britain or Ireland, ...	Free.		

* * * *

! ! ! !

Well, what I want particularly in the first place to say to you is That very few people in England, probably not one in a hundred thousand, are aware: **That the Tariffs which I have just read out to you (and others which I haven't) were in actual operation in the British Islands in 1855 and that they were not abolished until 1860: and some of them not indeed until after that.**

And now I want you please in the next place, to listen to this:

EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM.

These figures, in millions, are given in the recent Board of Trade Report as follows:

1840	£51,000,000
1850	£71,000,000
1860	£135,000,000
1870	£199,000,000
1880	£223,000,000
1890	£263,000,000
1900	£282,000,000

Increase between	1850 and 1860	..	90	per cent.
.. ..	1860 and 1870	..	47	„
.. ..	1870 and 1880	..	12	„
.. ..	1880 and 1890	..	18	„
.. ..	1890 and 1900	..	7	„

And now, perhaps,—I hope!—I see!—it dawns upon you! the little haven of peace to which I am warping you, despite your reluctance in.

From every platform, from every street corner, every house and house-top and church high steeple in the country we have been hearing and re-hearing and re-re-re-hearing that Protection will topple from the towers of ruin the industrial fabric of our indisputable precedence, and that the sordid bickerings of Preference disrupt will our erstwhile majestic Empire!

And yet, behold! between 1850 and 1860 we had a moderate fair, at least idea of both, and under and with it all, and in spite of it all, our trade was going up **by magic leaps and unprecedented bounds.**

Now!—(That is to say!) after sixty stimulating years of the glory of a Free Trade diet and all the wealth and power and industrial superiority which have accrued to us thereby, such a tariff as I aloud have read with unspeakable patience out to you just now would break in helpless twain our imbecile back. —And yet in the callow hey-day of our hallucination we carried it lovely!

Now, such a tarift would infallibly scuttle and sink (our poor apple cart) into the irrecoverable depths of the dark blue sea **Then,**—it bore us happy aloft into the blue unprecedented ether.

Now, we *daren't* put up such a tariff !

Why ?

Because if we did we should be unable to stop putting up tariffs upon the top of tariffs until we had an unsurmountable Himalayah wall of them upon everything—around these shores.—And yet **Then,** we not only had them, but as cool as a cough-drop and without or fuss, or even a Christian franchise to help us,—took 'em off.

But now, please,—I come to *the nail !*

Up to 1860 we had, I say, a most moderately effective Imposition on Silken Goods. And in 1860 we took this moderation off.

—o—

And—and now, please, note how **The Lubricating Oil of Free Trade began to work !**

—o—

THE SILK TRADE.

"The changes in the silk industry of the United Kingdom during the last 40 years may be summarised in the following table :—

Net Imports (*i.e.* Imports retained for Home Consumption).

Average.	Raw Silk and Waste. £	Thrown and Spun Silk. £	Manufactures of Silk. £
1865-74	5,590,000	250,000	10,230,000
1875-84	2,870,000	170,000	11,650,000
1885-94	2,020,000	260,000	10,460,000
1895-1904	1,380,000	430,000	14,560,000*
1905-07	1,240,000	630,000‡	11,330,000†
Decrease since 1865-74	£4,350,000	*Increase since* 1865-74	£380,000
		Increase 1865-74 *to* 1895-1902	£4,330,000

* Eight-year average 1895-1902. In 1903 and subsequent years the figures are exclusive of those for Silk Apparel, which is included under the item "Apparel," and cannot be separated [illegible].

† Excluding figures for Silk Apparel. See previous note.

‡ Imports of Thrown and of Spun Silk were not separately shown prior to 1889. The [illegible] years for 1905-07 were £540,000 for Thrown and £90,000 for Spun Silk.

"This table shows (1) that there has been a decline of £4,350,000 or 78 per cent., in our imports of raw silk retained for consumption in the silk industry of the United Kingdom; (2) that during the same period there has been an increase of £380,000, or 152 per cent., in our imports of Thrown and Spun Silk—the semi-manufactured article; and (3) that between 1865-1874 and 1895-1902 our imports of manufactured silk goods have increased by £4,330,000, or 42 per cent."

* * * *

Yes! Yes! To be sure! Of course! I know! I know!

o

But if Silk is too insignificant an item for your Highness's consideration, suppose I lump it into the luxurious bin of oblivion and give you in preference rather, by way of illustration,

THE GREATEST

(of this or any other clime!)

—(and this or any other time!)

OF ALL HUMAN POSSIBLE INDUSTRIES.

o

A FREE TRADE PROPHECY AND A FREE TRADE REPLY!

"I speak my unfeigned conviction, when I say I believe there is no interest in this country that would receive so much benefit from the repeal of the Corn Laws as the farmer-tenant interest in this country. And, I believe, when

THE FUTURE HISTORIAN

comes to write the history of agriculture, he will have to state: 'In such a year there was a stringent Corn Law passed for the protection of agriculture. From that time agriculture slumbered in England, and it was not until by the aid of the Anti-Corn-Law League the Corn Law was utterly abolished, that agriculture sprang up to the full vigour of existence in England, to become what it now is, like her manufactures, unrivalled in the world.'"

—(*Cobden, Speech at Manchester, October 24th*, 1844.)

THE FUTURE (FREE TRADE) HISTORIAN! †

Agricultural improvements. The high prices gained by farmers before the repeal of the Corn laws had, however, one good effect in

† The Industrial History of England.—H. de B. Gibbins, 1895.

increasing the development of agricultural skill and of agricultural improvements. The heavy soils of the London clay had at one time been laid out in pasture lands, as being useless for turnip-growing or for root-crops. The Corn duties, however, caused these pastures to be broken up for the sake of growing wheat, barley, and clover; the soil was more thoroughly drained, and mangolds were grown as a rotation crop, so that the area of bare fallow was much diminished, while the quantity of food, both for men and cattle, was much increased. In recent years much of this very land has reverted to pasture for dairy-farming.

But at this particular point of my exposition, perhaps you will excuse me if I turn aside for an idle moment in order to exhibit to you a little experiment.

On the table in front of me full here are three large cylinders of water into which I have put in *differing* doses Thiosulphate of Sodium. And to each, if you do but observe, I am busy now adding Hydrochloric Acid.

And see! I have no sooner added the acid to the first cylinder than behold! you behold a transformation! Disintegration has instantaneously set in and the field of molecular battle is enveloped with a ghost-white cloud of sulphur.

On the contrary!—cylinder No. 2, in the meantime, remains perfectly clear. But here, none-the-less also, a strenuous tug-of-war is going inevitably forward, and if you do but wait for a few minutes more you will see strewn also battlefield No. 2 with the debris of the conflict. And if you have the Job-like patience to endure *for yet a little while after that*, you will cylinder No. 3—discover slowly giving gradual evidence of the same sad symptoms of decay!—

Well, this little simple time-reaction as it draws to a consummation before your eyes will help, I hope, to illuminate with its scientific lustre the lubricating effect of the oil of Free Trade on our various British Industries.

You said, or were about to say to me, just now: 'Yes! Yes! But that is all very fine for a negligibility like Silk! or an insignificant industry in this country like Agriculture! for both of which,

obviously, our climatic conditions are admirably unadapted, - but look at————!

At!—(Yes! you are quite right, friend!)—At my unfortunate cylinder No. 2!—which, as if by way of interruption to your invisible eloquence, is busy now, so to say, turning up its toes!

But if, in the meantime, now, my dear friends, *and notwithstanding*, some highly optimistic Sodium Thiosulphate enthusiast directs my attention to the as yet magnificent and still lovely clarity of my third cylinder, what am I, please, poor,—I mean, as an humble economist, to do? I can, (dont you see), do nothing! I can but assume for the second time the most silken expression of my most agricultural patience and say, **with an aspect of wisdom** - **Wait!!!**

———"———

And so in perfectly like quite manner!

———"———

The lubricating oil of Free Trade made its lubricating patent powers almost in some manifest at a stroke of the pen of our industries. And yet most ridiculously, as it seems now, odd to say, of these—**Agriculture was not one.**

Now! *no doubt*, the most virulent Free Trader in the country will quite gladly and frankly and indeed delightedly acknowledge that the industry of Agriculture has been very badly hit by his invaluable lubricating ointment.

And yet up to about 187; the industry of Agriculture in this country had not been very badly hit at all: but by all accounts, on the contrary, appears, in fact, to have been thriving very moderately well.

How was this?

The explanation is not difficult.

The enormous expansion of our home industries kept up a healthy home demand, improved agricultural machinery, diminished the farmer's cost of production, the as yet but partially

developed resources of the world restricted the area of competition, while high freights *tempered*, and the Crimean and American Civil Wars, for the time being, *extinguished*, what was.

But an end to these high happy times arrived at length. And from the lucky date of that arrival on, the *genuine lubricating action* of the oil of Free Trade on the machinery of Agriculture has been in automatic, full, continuous, unmitigated and delightful operation, with results which are familiar by this time to the man in the moon.

But even then, of course, I mean if we had been philosophers speculating in the seventies, there was nothing very much to bother about. It was

☞ **ONLY** ☜

Agriculture. And the intoxicated with the tum tum of his tambourine Free Trader was still able to cock up his impertinence and point with convincing emotion to—to—the, dont you know 'the *other* industries.' 'Look at Iron and Steel!' he would croon in his cheery way to the mole-eyed pessimist: 'Look at Woollens!'

And, no doubt, if we had looked at them when he asked us to we might, perhaps, have not unreasonably concluded that neither he nor they were very unreasonably far wrong. *But look at them please.* Yes! (Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I had almost forgotten!) I say look, my dear friends, at my third cylindrical infusion now! Because as far as I am able to make out there are no manufacturers at the present moment more loudly crying out for a *little less* of the lubricating tricks of Free Trade than just our erstwhile flourishing Iron and Steel manufacturers.

And as for the achievements of the oil of Free Trade in the direction of our poor Woollens, that, indeed, well! alas! has become so long and strong, and bright, and graphic a story, that only the inspiring Mr. Dick, I am afraid, and his magic slides, and not any poor remaining eloquence of mine, can be expected **NOW** to do adequate justice to such a theme.

THE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY UNDER FREE TRADE.

HAWICK.	Sets.	Looms.
Lynwood Mill—Lease run out and not renewed, not profitable, ...	22	—
Stonefield Mill—discontinued,	—	37
Tower Knowe Mill—discontinued, ...	4	—
Teviot Crescent Mills—discontinued, ...	12	54
Albert Mills—stopped, ...	—	40
Wilton Mills—stopped, ...	10	50
Mansholme Mill—burnt down,	—	20
	48	201

SELKIRK.	Sets.	Looms.
Bridgehaugh Mills—in sequestration, ...	6	24
Riverside Mills—burnt, not rebuilt, ...	15	—
Ettrick Bank Mills—temporarily employed, ...	—	16
	21	40

GALASHIELS.	Sets.	Looms.
Victoria Mills—burnt, not rebuilt, ...	8	44
Waulk Mill Head—standing,	2	
Bristol Mill—standing, ...	5	
Nether Mill—machinery sold,	4	
Galabank Mill—partly occupied,	4	56
Langhaugh—standing, ...	8	
Valley Mills—standing, ...	8	71
	39	171

INNERLEITHEN.	Sets.	Looms.
Cauldhame Mills, ...	4	16

PEEBLES.	Sets.	Looms.
Damcroft Mills—standing empty, ...	—	24

LANGHOLM.	Sets.	Looms.
Wauchope Mills—burnt, not rebuilt, ...	4	44

DUMFRIES.

In Dumfries, Kingholm Mill is empty, and has been so for years. Nithsdale Mill has no looms now, but only a few sets of carding machines, some of the looms having been taken to Troqueer Mills some years ago. Taking everything into consideration, there are at least 12 sets of machines and 100 looms less running in Dumfries than there were fifteen years ago.

ALLOA.	Sets.	Looms.
Springfield Mills—burnt, not rebuilt, ...	19	—

ALVA.	Sets.	Looms.
Strude Mill—burnt, not rebuilt,	8	—
Strude Mill—burnt, not rebuilt,		
Boll Mill—idle, ...	3	—
Boll Mill—burnt, not rebuilt,	6	—
Brookfield Mills—burnt, not rebuilt, ...	8	101
Harrowers Mill—idle, ...	2	—
Cobblecrook—idle, ...	3	—
	30	101

MENSTRIE.	Sets.	Looms.
Elmbank—now a wood factory, ...	16	—
Forthvale—idle, ...	—	12

TILLICOULTRY AND GLEN DEVON.	Sets.	Looms.
Devondale—empty,... ...	14	90
Craigfoot—empty, Castle Mills—empty, Bridge Mills—empty, ...	11	—
Barn Park Mill—empty, ...	3	—
Wardlaw Mill—empty, ...	1	—
Glendevon Mill—burnt, not rebuilt, ...	3	—
	32	90

KINROSS AND MILNATHORT.	Sets.	Looms.
Orwell Vale—empty, ...	6	—
Bridgend Woollen Mill—now dwelling-houses, ...	5	—
	11	—

STIRLING.	Sets.	Looms.
Cambusbarron—empty, ...	27	146
Forthvale—now a rubber work, ...	8	—
Bannockburn, ...	4	23
	39	169

A TWENTY YEARS' RECORD.

	TOTAL. Sets.	Looms.
Hawick.	48	201
Selkirk.	21	40
Galashiels.	39	171
Innerleithen.	4	16
Peebles.	—	24
Langholm.	4	44
Dumfries.	12	100
Border Total, ...	128	596

	Sets.	Looms.
Alloa.	19	—
Alva.	30	101
Menstrie.	16	12
Tillicoultry and Glen Devon.	32	90
Kinross and Milnathort, ...	11	—
Stirling.	39	169
Hillfoots Total, ...	147	372
Grand Total, ...	**275**	**968**

"Were these sets and looms working to-day they would employ 5900 workers, whose yearly earnings would be (at an average of £1 a week) fully

£300,000

and represent a population of

20,000." *

* * * *

! ! ! !

[illegible] my ridiculous task, now—dear my friends and fellow countrymen, I think is about well-nigh done." By which I mean to say that when you get quietly home to your ain fireside, if indeed you have followed me quite so far, and begin to figure up for yourself [illegible] England since 1849, you will have no

* This appeared in the *Border Standard* of Feb. 6th, 1909, and are due to Mr. A. J. Craig, of Galashiels.

difficulty, *now*, I mean, off your own bat, in pursuing and understanding.

Not at least if you remember what I have said: and obliterate the obsession, as the cardinal first idea, once and for all, out of your cranium that Free Trade *began* in 1846:

* * * *

I say, you will have no difficulty in sizing up, so to say, the whole sad story of about one of the *softest* superstitions, one of the stupidest, rottenest, and most ruinous economic hallucinations that was ever perpetrated on a civilized community.'

Stark in front of me here, see, is a high stone wall, and beyond is a garden: and on the high stone wall is a coping of glass. If I remove the coping of glass I have diminished, *in so far*, no doubt, the difficulty of getting over the wall, but if the wall is only high enough I have not in any way diminished the difficulty of getting into the garden.

In Germany the duty per Imperial Quarter on Wheat in 1888 was 10s. 10½d., and in 1892 it was 7s. 7½d.

Well,—now, Sir!—How do you call that?

'I call it rank protection.'

I agree with your Highness.

But if now the freight on a Quarter of Wheat is fourteen shillings and the duty is four, and the duty is entirely abolished,—How do you call that?

'I call it Free Trade.'

I knew that you would: but wouldn't it be just as logical to call it a diminution in the cope of a *moderately* high garden wall.

Well, but whether or no, that, in any case, is exactly what I meant, my dear man, a moment ago, when I said that Free Trade could not have been very well the cause of our post Corn Law Prosperity, because Free Trade, as the Free Trader is enamoured of it now, *didn't exist*.

There are so many really you know, (apart from artificial tariffs,) forms and degrees: so indeed many that almost I quite sincerely sometimes my own self get lost in their contemplation of Protection.

A ship can protect herself from the guns of a Dreadnought by dressing in a Dreadnought's armour, or she can protect herself by speed without any armour at all: or by mere sheer distance without either armour or speed.

And so, more or less, my friends, in like quite manner!

England is *historically*, blissfully supposed to have attained to the High Heaven of Free Trade in 1846. But for long innocent years after 1846 **England was working along and thriving along under High Protection.**

She was protected in respect of the home market by high freights she was not devoid even, as I am just after pointing out, of a certain measure of artificial protection, as in the case of her Silks, etc. she was protected by the industrial impotence of the old world and the expansion needs of the new, by the national struggles and misfortunes of her potential rivals, and by the Godsend, as she is indeed more or less now, of those unrivalled coal resources which we are so delightfully busy casting with such criminal prodigality —to the weeping and wondering winds.

And, now, yes! thank you! I see!

—I see from the growing up around me grins that the divine joke bassets into blazing view to which I am gently leading your thickheads up:

—The Formula, to wit!

Which not only meets the case, not only explains our progress

amazing at first,
and then becoming slower,
and slower,
and slower,

until in much it resembles more like a regress than a progress, since 1849, but is in itself so easy,—and clear,—and self-credentialed,—and convincing,—that even a casual crow without alighting might pick it up in passing and flatten with it out the most obdurate skull in the kingdom of the most convinced Free Trader.

'And this tremendous flattening-out formula?'

Ah! this tremendous formula! Merely, my dear Sir, —merely this: That your divine Free Trade, so far from being the fabulous lubricant of your poetic imagination, has been *neither more nor less* **than just a cast-iron cog in the wheels of our industrial machine** *all the way along*:—potential chiefly at first, and therefore unsuspected, because obscured and impeded and neutralised by countervailing facts and forces,—deadly at last and destructive, because active, unimpeded by comparison, and free!—

'And the joke?'

Ah! the joke.—I was forgetting the joke!—So that when the banjo-banging Free Trader breaks into jumping hysterics over the brilliant prosperity which befel the country after 1846,—the—ah! well,—*the reply* is the **joke:**

'YES! WASN'T IT LOVELY!—THANKS TO THE INVALUABLE CURSE OF PROTECTION!'

But even at *this* the 'joke' is not quite finished. Because in building up an estimate of all that we owe (in the way of gratitude) to the Divine Institution, you have got to bear in mind both the negative and positive contributions of the Great Principle.

I am the more persuaded to refer to this little point because many of my Tariff Reform friends who, in the subconscious homage which they still pay to a through and through rotten dogma, are but indifferently removed from the imperturbable infatuation of the confirmed Free Trader, have thrown up to me their confiding hands in absolute bewilderment at the appalling rapidity with which we have been overtaken by Protection.

But the wonder is not by any means so appalling when you come to realise that all the time *that we have been hampering our own industrial progress*

We have been helping that of our rivals!

If a ship which has received a magnificent start of another divides its motive power into two, employs one half for going full

open asylum and present gratis and for nothing the remaining half to its rival asylum to go full speed ahead!' the—well—result is appalling enough, no doubt; but it is all in the nature pretty much of a foregone conclusion.

And this is precisely, superbly, what we have been so magnificently doing all the way along with such single-hearted, strenuous, fanatical zeal—for our lucky rivals: and precisely what has brought them so quickly so hard upon our industrial heels and in many particulars past us. And, indeed, to give them the justice that is their due, our rivals do quite openly now acknowledge—(now, perhaps that they see that the little game is about well-nigh up!) our very handsome, commercial, philanthropic *woodenheadedness*.

Thus Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz:—

'Yes, but who is he, please? I have never heard of the man.'

"Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz is no stranger to the English reader: his works on social problems, on Russian finance and administration, and more recently his volumes on 'British Imperialism and English Free Trade at the beginning of the 20th century,'—1906, and 'England and Germany,'—1908, are well known."

'Yes, but is he a writer of authority?'

That his statements have authority may be inferred from the fact that Prince Bülow made frequent use of them in introducing his latest financial Reform Bill."

'Well, Sir,—pass it at that!—And what says this distinguished authority?'

'Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz believes that a reversal of England's fiscal system is likely to be soon in operation, the effect of which will be largely to restrict Germany's Export Trade to England and her Over-sea States."

'Yes, but stay, please!—Is Germany's Export Trade to England of any account?'

'England is Germany's **best customer**, her purchases being far in excess of either those of Austria, America, or Russia, as set forth in the following table:—

Germany's Foreign Trade in Million £, 1908.

	Exports to
Great Britain,	53.5
United States,	31.8
Russia	12.8
Austria-Hungary,	32.4
France,	19.1
Argentine,	8.5
India (British),	5.7
Italy,	11.5
Denmark,	9.8
Brazil,	4.2
Chili,	3.6

"In some quarters it is suggested that a counterpoise should be found in a Central European Zollverein to checkmate the policy of trade exclusion which the English tariff movement intends to compass, but this idea he rejects as utopian, as Germany can gain nothing, he thinks, by combative measures, and will do better by pursuing a conciliatory policy to the extent of making, if necessary, substantial sacrifices for the sake of a workable understanding. All the irritations of a petty fiscal warfare, including dumping, etc., so chafing to British producers, should be avoided and desisted from.

"To some extent Germany must suffer from any change in England's fiscal system,

SINCE SHE DERIVED
HER INDUSTRIAL STRENGTH
LARGELY
FROM FREE TRADE ENGLAND.

But even such an economic disturbance would neither disturb the German nor deliver him over to pessimism."†

* * * *

And so you see, dear and gentle my fellow countrymen, by slow degrees,—on a little scientific inspection, how the horizon of our amazing British imbecility widens and widens out into farther and ever farther going incalculable vistas.

† From an article on "A Coldstream on the Woodwards" [sic] in *Truth*, February, 1910.

Our stupid old wise forefathers who knew not a scientific B from an economic Bull's foot nursed England from the negligibility of nothing up to the incommensurable greatness of a mighty world empire on Protection, and left her actually and factually without a solitary industrial rival on the face of mother earth. Since when, we—we who have been laughing at the imbecility of our old forefathers for sixty odd now years have been strenuously with coats off, sweating, and sleeves rolled up to the arm-pits, tugging and tearing with sublime indefatigable assiduity, nursing and feeding and fattening up our erstwhile blockhead, despised, insignificant rivals to their present alarming proportions on—on Free Trade.

But the joke in its elaborate unexpectedness isn't even yet quite finished !

Because one of these rivals is at the present moment openly and above board, and without any bones about it ! laying down fast incredible Dreadnoughts, and not only laying them fast down, but working overtime on them in order to lay them a little faster—in order in positive, actual, intentional, thoroughly planned-out presumption to dispute with you, (one of these unexpected days,) your English immemorial mastery of the seas.

! Confronted with which for an unexpected new incredible (un-away-explainable) peril we are being urged now by ardent Free Traders like Mr. Stead to lay down two keels for every Germany's one.

Two Keels ! As if keels were cookies and cost about threepence for half a dozen.

(Not that Mr. Stead, mind you, is wrong,) because as a matter of fact he never in his life was righter !

But *Two Keels !* Think of it, my dear friends, slowly and calmly out, until you have fathomed what it is like to mean for this poor country—in the time of ten years, and then inform me, when you are finished if ever the perpetration projected was of such a concatenation of human folly in the fool history of time.

Two Keels for Germany's ——— !

Germany who sits over there, benignly smiling! across the sweet blue waves, denying us the freedom of her market and building her Leviathans with the proceeds of the Freedom of ours !

Two Keels !—

When even a cat might see !

That if, instead of *finding* Germany in two cosmopolitan millions with our left Free Trade fist and then throwing four millions after the two into the gutter with our right,—(making six in all for nowt !) we merely only in the first place set about doing unto her in our market what she has been so long delightfully doing to us in hers,—we should by a simple stroke of the pen, for the future, not only enormously increase our own power of building ships but by arresting simultaneously hers diminish the need to.

! ! ! !

What a world my masters !—at all points of the compass!—for a humble patriot's eye to rest upon at this moment of time !

This in the nearest East,—at our actual own doorstep, in the busy process of on-going ! And in yonder farthest East an awakened (very wide indeed awake !) Japan and a fast awakening China ! And on the map of the world below them a great big island continent coloured crimson, meanwhile, (and may God forefend the omen!) which, properly speaking, if anything rightfully and naturally belongs to anybody on earth, belongs as an overflow yellow appanage to the immemorial yellow Chinese Empire,—peopled by a handful of Britishers who are very valiantly addressing themselves to the stupendous (perhaps impossible) task of defending their (perhaps impossible) vast heritage.

Everybody can see that for her vital defence Australia needs population. And for population she needs trade. And for trade she needs—what she has already asked from the mother country, —and been by the mother country refused !

* * * *

And yet ! And yet ! indifferent alike to near East and farthest East, and every other kind of East, as if nothing on earth were happening very much in particular at all,

CC

This great big blindfold fumbling Mug of a Superstition

sits gaping unmolested on,—steeped to the blithering lips in the accumulated mumbo jumbo of its own helpless imbecility, and all the poor helpless (idiotic) while that is busy being handed over, as if it were a cough-drop, with one hand the Atlantic to the German, and with the other the Pacific to —a possibility for which there is no equivalent even in Hell!

—**This Island Home of Freedom!**

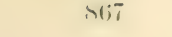
And erstwhile common sense!

! ! ! ! ! **Hopping and hotching all round** ! ! ! ! !

with trumpet-blowing, banner-waving, hosanna-to-the-highest howling hordes of Interested Knaves, Cosmopolitan Clowns, Free Food Fanatics, Follow-my-Leader Flatheaded Liberal Flounders, Little England Radical Rats, Labourist Lunatics, Trade Unionist Blacklegs, Babbling-in-General Idiots,—and Economic Professors—

Who can't, (or say that they can't,) see it!

! ! ! !



LXVI.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I come now at last to bid you

ADIEU !

And I suppose, in closing, that I ought really to apologise, in the first place, for the unconscionable length of my sermon ! ! ! But the very protraction of our palaver has not been without its compensations. Since you began to listen, and I to speak, history has been happening. The foolish Government which held the reins of power in 1903 has been succeeded by an unprecedentedly strong and rabid Free Trade Administration !—

WHOSE CHIEF TITLE TO DISTINCTION IN HISTORY

will be that it did more for the cause of Tariff Reform in two years than many people hoped had been possible in two hundred.

There have been, Gentlemen, in power in this country, before now, rotten enough administrations, but such an administrative exhibition of bare-faced retail political drapering and shameless unprincipled huckstering as the astonished world has witnessed since *this* Government of Pawnbrokers came into power is fresh to our annals.

What is their record ?

They are scarcely seated in power, these Gents, the echoes of the hustings have scarcely died away, before they hasten to repeal the only sensible measure which had been passed by their Predecessors. I mean, namely, **The Export Duty upon Coal.**

Why did they rush with such feverish haste to do this ?

Was the tax injuring you or me ?

Was it the mandate of the electorate that they so should ?

It was neither.

But an I.O.U. to that effect had been pledged to the miners, and the coal owners, and the coal exporters, —in return for their votes. And the Bill came due and the price was paid !

What followed ?

This! The Export of Coal went booming up to Foreign Protected Countries—which, by every theory of Free Trade, ought to have been rotting in their industrial graves long ago,—with the result that prices at home rose. The National Bill for Household Coal went up on poor and rich alike by millions of sterling pounds. —Almost, in fact, doubling itself! The great Railways were heavily bled: and they in retaliation turned and recouped themselves upon the general public. (And are busy at the occupation still!) And yet ever still the price of coal went up and up until at last like an automatic extinguisher it snuffed out the industrial furnaces on which it fed.

And then at last in the Halls of Olympus the laughter of the Gods *could be distinguished even upon our poor earth!*

! ! ! !

Why did the Gods laugh?

Well, you see!—This patriotic Government of all the virtues had come rolling into grandeur and power in order to prevent the wicked Mr. Chamberlain from injuring British Trade by raising the Cost of Production with his nefarious system of Tariff Reform. And the apostles of virtue themselves are scarcely but a few months enthroned in the seats of the mighty ere they have so raised the Cost of Production, by raising the price of coal which is the basis of all production, that hundreds of British employers were forced to damp down their furnaces and—and—smile!—while British Coal Owners grew fat—feeding the rival furnaces of the foreigner *at a cheaper rate.*

With what odd result?

With the further odd delightful result that the products of these foreign manufacturers, produced by our own coal, are in their turn dumped upon the British Market and still further increase the number of British unemployed.

And what then?

Ah! then!—Faced with the Problem of the Unemployed *of their own creation* the Liberal Government at once very thoughtfully fell back for the Relief of the same on a measure passed by their Predecessors—which themselves, when in opposition, had opposed!

It is estimated that the Exchequer in 1907 lost by the Repeal of the Coal Tax £3,141,398 !

Into this depleted Exchequer—depleted by their own boot-licking time-serving (Political Economy) they now further dip in order to provide Local Authorities with funds for the Relief of the Unemployed.—Much like an ass of a contractor who having hired other people to do his carting (and kindly lent his carts for the purpose) brings at last in, (in order to complete his triumph,) a bill against himself (and his wife) for the upkeep of his idle horses.

And having performed this notable feat ! They pause ! And take breath ! And look expectfully around for the Free Trade Gratitude of Labour ! And the Applause of History ! For their wonderfully generous Liberality and Consideration ! ! ! So unlike, you know, the wicked Tories, who, in their place,—would have been enriching the public exchequer a year by £3,000,000 by putting up a tax upon the friendly foreigners' coal !

Well, as I was about to say, these very Liberal Gentlemen took off the Tory shilling upon the ton of exported coal. But perhaps you will allow me to read to you,—because otherwise you will not *quite* understand how the laughter of the Gods (in the Halls of Olympus) was so **loud !**—these delightful paragraphs:

" Unionists deny that the tax has proved a drawback to the export trade, and declare that it was paid entirely by the foreigner. **In proof of this contention, one Unionist member pointed out that in coal contracts with Scandinavian firms a clause has been specially inserted stipulating that in the event of the remission of the tax the purchasers of the coal are to have the shilling per ton refunded to them.** Moreover, it is urged that the duty has in no degree reduced the output. The withdrawal of the tax is regarded by members who take this view as a clear gift of a million sterling by the British taxpayer to the foreigner. It is further admitted that, despite the tax, the exports of coal from South Wales ports for the first three months of the year showed an increase of over one million tons."

"Relief for Foreign Shipping.

"We (the 'Yorkshire Post') have received from a correspondent a copy of the well-known Vienna newspaper, the 'Neue Freie Presse,' dated May 4, in which reference is made to the English coal tax. It is quite evident that in the opinion of this newspaper Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman need not have been in such a hurry to remove that tax. The following is a free translation of the paragraph in question:—**'The English Coal Tax and the Austrian Lloyd. The abolition of the English coal tax is a most important matter for the shipping companies obtaining their coal supplies from England. These companies have had to pay the coal tax levied in England upon the exported coal, and will feel the benefit now it is to be repealed. It is estimated that the saving to the Austrian Lloyd Company will amount to about £5,000 per annum.'** As a matter of precision the figure given by the 'Neue Freie Presse' is 125,000*k*., which, taking the gold twenty-crown piece as equivalent to 16s. 8d. sterling works out at just over £5,200. This is the amount by which our Government propose to relieve one foreign shipping line. For that British shipowners will not thank them; nor will the taxpayers."

The Liberal Government, I say, took off that Liberal shilling! And having taken it off:

The Colonial Premiers were invited to a Conference!

The automatic unimaginative erstwhile barrister, who is now Prime Minister, whose mind, as far as I have been able to decipher it, appears to be a tabula rasa for everything but the time-serving brief,† the somewhat down-at-heels rhetorical Hen-crib Cracker

†I appear to be not alone in the estimate I have formed of this 'erstwhile barrister.' "A Susceptible Premier. No Prime Minister was ever so susceptible to pressure as Mr. Asquith (declares the 'Daily Express'). He is driven hither and thither by every wind of doctrine, if the doctrine is held by a sufficiently insistent section of his supporters. He will promise anything, propose anything, withdraw anything if haply he may receive encouraging cheers from some body of faddists. Whole-hearted belief in any theory, however wild it may be, commands a certain respect. You fight your enthusiastic opponent, and his enthusiasm adds to the keenness of the fight, and to the gladness of victory. But the freebooter who backs a cause in which he has no belief, and leaves it at the first convenient moment can command no respect."

who hopes to supplant him in that ambition, and the political well-advertised adventurer who now presides over a department of state for which he is about as fiscally fitted as a monkey from Morocco would be to teach the higher mathematics—were set up to retail before these experienced veterans the economic small beer which had done such magnificent duty before the cheering stupidity of English Free Trade Liberal audiences.

Wearied and sick with the protracted rigmarole of puerile and inconsequent jabber the Colonial Premiers turned about at last and wound up by saying:

'Well, well, we quite agree! We quite acknowledge that you 'are bound up to the eyes by stupid pledges which you have given 'to an electorate as wooden as yourselves, not to put *any tax on* 'which might in any way assist us.

'*Couldn't you take one off?*

'You at present have a duty upon all imported wines and 'tobacco. Couldn't you arrange to take off a shilling of this in the 'case of Colonial tobacco and wines? so that we might all be able 'to go gratefully home and tell our incredulous—delighted 'enthusiastic! people that you had given us at least *that much* 'little Preference in your markets. We know that you would 'sooner cut your own oratorical throats than do anything that 'would in any way increase the cost of manufacture, or take a 'penny out of any poor consumer's pocket. But wines surely and 'tobacco, as far as we know, dont enter into the cost of any manu-'factured article: unless it may be the manufacture of fools like 'yourselves * * * *!'

And these distinguished Economists who had so obligingly removed the Tory shilling from the German Emperor's Navy coal bill couldn't and *wouldn't* take a shilling off Colonial tobacco.

Why?

'Because the Coal Exporters had votes and the Colonials had none?'

—*Sir!*—Perish the insinuation!

'Because the German Emperor had rushed to our assistance

'in the Boer War and the Colonials had laughed us to scorn and 'jeered at our misfortunes?'

'No, Sir! But because to have done so would have been a 'flagrant violation of the Sacred Principle of Free Trade, for the 'inviolable defence and conservation of which—the enlightened 'British Electorate returned us by an overwhelming majority!'

But no sooner has the whole of this all been eloquently said and triumphantly done! than one of this distinguished trio,—Mr. Lloyd George, drives a stage coach and four, (and, I'm afraid, a steam roller to boot,) slap through the Sacred Principle by passing with the assistance of this triumphant Liberal unprecedented Free Trade majority—his 'Shipping Bill' and his now notorious 'Patents Act.'

I have already explained to you all about British Shipping. British Shippers labour (or at least laboured until the other day) under very serious disabilities,—disabilities imposed upon them by our own laws and regulations, in our own ports, as against their foreign rivals. *That*, say the Free Traders, was very bad and criminal.

But British Shipping lives and moves and has its being by taking cheap coal away to foreign countries, in order that coal may be dear at home, and bringing back foreign manufactures which compete with our own, and which, made under conditions which do not conform to British Laws and Regulations, place British Manufacturers who have to conform to these Laws and Regulations under very serious disabilities. *That*, say the Free Traders, is delightful and good. To interfere with *such* disabilities would be a *flagrant* violation of the Sacred Principle. But to remove the disabilities which impose upon our beloved Shipping,—is to promote the *beneficent yield* of the Sacred Principle.

! ! ! !

As for the delightful Patents Act—our first and most obvious clear duty, of course, before we say anything about it, is to hear —what *its author* has to say about it!

"PATENTS ACT.

"MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S APPEAL.

"Mr. Lloyd George, M.P., President of the Board of Trade, was present last night at the annual dinner of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, held at the Midland Hotel. Replying to the toast of 'The Board of Trade,' Mr. Lloyd George reminded them of what they had achieved in the last session of Parliament over the Patents Bill. It was a year old. He (Mr. Lloyd George) was the nurse—(laughter)—he helped to cut its teeth. (Laughter.) There was a good deal in the Act for the trade and commerce of this country. He had got out, as far as the resources of his Department would allow, a list of the patents taken out in this country and worked abroad. If they looked at it they would be amazed. It was a big volume of hundreds of patents, some of them no doubt insignificant, some not very valuable, but some of enormous value, covering every branch of industry. **IT MEANT THAT EVERY ONE OF THOSE PATENTS REGISTERED HERE AND WORKED ABROAD WAS EXCLUDING A VALUABLE PROFITABLE BRITISH INDUSTRY WHICH WOULD AFFORD EMPLOYMENT FOR A GOOD MANY PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY.** To call that Free Trade was to libel a good cause. Therefore it was really worth while to make an effort to see that this Act was a reality and not a sham."

"GAIETY THEATRE, MANCHESTER.

"TRADE POLICY.

"I have never been a believer in the do-nothing policy of Trade, and if there were time—but I have to go to another meeting—I would just indicate two or three points where something more could be done. There are great things to be done even for the advancement of trade in this country and a good deal has been done in the improvement of our foreign consuls, establishing agencies in the colonies. **AND IN THE PATENTS ACT, WHICH HAS BROUGHT MORE EMPLOYMENT TO OUR SHORES—AT LEAST, IT WILL,—THAN A HUNDRED TARIFFS.** That Act has got to be ruthlessly and rigidly administered and I have every confidence that Mr. Winston Churchill in his new office will do so."

Well, but now, what is it just, please, that is implied in this Patents Act? Under the Act a foreign manufacturer is compelled against his will, and in complete violation of his hitherto liberty, to manufacture his patented article in the United Kingdom on penalty of forfeiting his patent rights. But this compulsory interference with the natural flow of the economic river implies an added cost to the expense of manufacture.—But for this Act the English market would have been supplied from the foreign country. This Bill, therefore, involves the erection and the working of two factories where one before sufficed. But the foreign manufacturer in erecting his second factory and therefore implementing the conditions of the Patents Act secures the reward of his so doing,—Protection. That is to say, he secures the privilege of putting the additional cost which the bill has forced upon him—upon the English consumer!

(But that is a little observation merely by the way!) Because the outstanding, everlasting merit of this singular Bill is, That it relieves Tariff Reformers now, for good, of the necessity of making any future observations at all,—unless by way of congratulation and thanks to its distinguished author! Because there cannot be the slightest doubt that the Bill has dealt a fatal, malicious, traitorous stab in the back to the most cherished and vital of all the beloved principles of the convinced Free Trader.

Indeed, to give the Devil his honest due, it is only right and fair and honourable to allege that in passing this now famous Act Mr. Lloyd-George has settled and buried for all time this prolonged stupidity.—Hauled down Mr. A.'s triumphant flag! Handed his gory own swashbuckler in! And presented gratis to its grateful enemies the key of the Impregnable Citadel of—The Great Imposture.

! ! ! !

How?

Well, when we poor Tariff Reformers have suggested that we might increase the employment of this country by manufacturing at home many of the articles which we now import, what has been the convinced unanswerable Free Trader's inevitable reply? We

have been sarcastically informed from every platform in the United Kingdom that we were mere Asses. '*Goods are invariably paid for by goods!*' And therefore if you prevent, by a tariff, goods coming into this country, you merely what?—You merely throw out of employment the workmen who are at present manufacturing those articles which are being exported in payment of these goods.

Now but all these Foreign Patent articles have hitherto arrived on our shores as Imports, and would for the future continued have so to arrive. But this miserable Free Trade Patents Act has come precisely in like a Prohibitive Tariff and is going to cut down our Imports, and is therefore going to throw out of work hundreds and thousands of workmen in the country who otherwise would have been happily employed in producing the coal, or the china clay, or the 'tops,' or other economic product, with which the Patent Imports would have been paid.

And therefore, clearly, when Mr. Lloyd George comes down to Manchester and boasts about the wonderful employment which his Patents Act is going to create, what does he prove?

He proves merely that he is like the rest of us poor Tariff Reformers,—an egregious Ass, knowing nothing whatever—not even the most meagre elementary rudiments of the great Principle of Free Trade to which he owes his,—his five thousand a year!

But I am but only half begun to tell you of the historical achievements of this unprecedented Liberal Government in their brief but startling tenure of power.

There was, e.g., as you may recall, the other day the Great Hop Agitation.

'What was the Hop Agitation?'

Ah! well, the Hop Growers of Kent, dont you know? were being dumped out of existence by foreign-grown hops, and they invited the Government to put up the shutters on the foreigner in order to save their industry from extinction.

'And what did the Government say?'

They said "*Really!!!* Hop fields, did you say, being dumped

out of cultivation by the—the—how many thousand acres, did you say?—How delightful to know that the Sacred Principle is still in such active effective *beneficent* operation!"

'And what about the meanwhile poor Hoppers?'

Oh, they have a perfect—(beautiful) plan for these. Them they intend to plant out in a crofterised Scotland, as I shall be explaining to you presently, in order to perpetuate Liberal Philosophy on the Popularisation of Cabbages.

'Why wont they put a tax on Hops and keep the Hoppers hopping?'

Because to put a tax upon Hops would increase the cost of Production.

'The Production of what?'

The Production of the vile curse—which, by means of another measure, they are going to do their level best to crush and suppress.

They would not harm a hair of the Productive Brewer's head—not if their soul's salvation depended on it—by a five or a ten per cent. tax upon Hops: but they bring in with acclamation another Bill which, before it has passed, has half ruined him already, and they threaten that if that Bill is thrown out by the House of Lords they will bleed the Productive Publicans and Brewers by a high license.

'Why would they do this?'

Because.—Because while a tariff on Hops would add to the cost of Production—a high license wouldn't!

But that, of course, is not my joke. My joke is to come. My joke is that this fine Government which wouldn't violate the Sacred Principle of Free Trade by a tax upon Home Hops or by taking out a shilling from Colonial Wines go deliberately out of their sacred way—!—But really, my dear friends, I shall have to put a hitch up at this point in the looseness of my language. Because what they really did I confess to you honestly I dont know. I know it was something about Sugar and the Sugar Convention. And by the power of intuence I have concluded that it must have been very dreadful.

But all that I am really truthfully entitled to say about it is, that, on account of it, and over the head of it, the distinguished Free Trade purist who is now at the head of the Government was compelled to receive a deputation—(of his own distressed followers) in the Introduction of Which—this very Graphic Delightful (and Historical) language was uttered:

Mr. E. A. Villiers, M.P., said,

"They desired to lay

Three Grave and Serious Charges

at the door of the Liberal Government. The first of these was that the Liberal Government, which was looked upon as the champion of Free Trade, and which owed its present power and position to Free Trade, had, by renewing the Convention, thrown over and betrayed that most cherished principle. In the next place, the Government, in attempting to renew the Convention without consulting Parliament had infringed the rights of the House of Commons. Considering that Free Trade was the issue at the last election and that they had denounced the Convention in uncompromising terms, the Government should not have taken this serious step behind their backs leaving them entirely in the dark. They alone among parliaments had been ignored. Further, the Government by its action had violated the Constitution."

They get into power upon the Irish Vote. The Bill comes due and the price is paid. They bring in what they call an Irish Devolution Bill. They bring it in, and look sweetly at it, and hold it up with trembling hands for Mr. John Redmond's baptismal blessing, and then they send it up to the House of Lords.—Which for the august occasion met in Dublin. When the Bill emerged for Mr. Redmond's blessing on the electric floor of the House of Commons, it was the Sacred Will of the People. The mandate had been given. The democracy of the United Kingdom had spoken. —But next afternoon when it was jeered out of the House of Lords in Dublin, it was no longer the Sacred Will of the People.

Then took place, the day after that, a curious thing. The Irish Secretary, Mr. Birrell, who will be known, no doubt, to

future time as Mr. Squirrell, got up from his place in the House of Commons and said the only really sensible thing which has ever been said on the Irish Question, to my mind, since that great controversy began. He said, addressing the Irish Benches: 'Look here! I have put the best of my time and brains and ingenuity the other day into a Bill which you the other day have incontinently and even contemptuously rejected. Will you be good enough now to sit down and draft a Bill for yourselves, stating precisely what it is that you do want,—as distinguished from my Bill which you dont want? And then I,—and other people, will be able to *know* precisely, *and tell you precisely*, whether you can get it or not."

Clearly at long last the Will of the People *had* spoken, (and spoken well,) and every patriot in the country paused and took a deep long breath and said, '*Now* at length we know where we are. Why is it that nobody ever said such a sensible thing before?'

And then, the day after the day after that again, odd 'number two' thing took place.

When the political adventurer who had been appointed to the Colonial Office (to look after Mr. Chamberlain) (and flout his superior) (and teach economy and manners to the Colonial Premiers) was elevated for his arduous impertinence to look after in turn the Board of Trade Statistics, he was compelled to fight for and lose his seat at Manchester. In his anxiety to lose his seat he issued a promise on behalf of Mr. Asquith and himself to the effect that although the Will of the People was at the last election unmistakably in favour of Devolution—at the *next* General Election if the Irish in Manchester would only oblige with their votes then,—*and especially now*, he and Mr. Asquith would see to it that the Will of the People now would no longer be the Will of the People *ever again*.

They brought in a Small Holdings Bill to crofterise the whole of Scotland,—stem the fast-flowing tide of Canadian Emigration, and bring the lost agricultural labourers back to the land.

'On what Principle?'

Agriculture struggling for a bare subsistence under Free Trade has been forced to economise in every direction, has had to employ instruments which diminished the need for labour, and throw arable lands into pasture in order to dispense with any labour at all.

'With what result?'

With the result that tens upon tens of thousands of agricultural labourers have been thrown off the land.

Now when two little ordinary businesses are amalgamated into one, everybody claps his hands with approval and says, 'What a delightful exhibition of the Principles of Political Economy!' But when two little farms are in like manner thrown into one, and one farm steading takes the place of two, everybody can recognise *surely* the identical principle at work. The divine Principle, (no less,) which the Free Trader has so long lauded to the skies,

Economy *forced upon the Producer at the point of the bayonet* of Foreign Competition. Nothing could be lovelier!!!—But the Liberal Government came into power on the votes of the 'Back to the Landers.'—*And the Bill came due* and the Price was paid. The beautiful results of Free Trade and Foreign Competition must be reversed somehow.

'How?

'By the divine Let-alone Principle of Free Trade?'

Oh, no. By the rotten Protectionist Principle of Governmental Interference. The big farms that cannot pay must be broken up into little ones that will pay. Because clearly if the strenuous labour of one man succeeds in growing a turnip which barely pays if you put two men on the job, it is bound to pay and leave abundance over for the expenses of the administration of the Act.†

Accordingly they make two Bills. One for England. And

† The judicious reader, I hope, who has caught the cut of my philosophy will not make the blunder of supposing that I am opposed to Small Holdings. Because the exact reverse is the case. The *ad hominem* philosophy which I suggest in the text of growing two blades of grass in the *most economical* way is a good enough, rotten enough stick for the back of the ordinary convinced fool of an abstract Free Trader, but has no meaning at all (or only just no more, I mean, than it should) for one who believes that the vital principle of political economy is not the growing of two blades of grass where only one grew before, but the growing of two *healthy* human beings, where only one, or one and a half, or one and three quarters grew before.

quite a different one for Scotland. Apparently because there are two Wills of the People and the Cheviots are the separating line.

They send up the Scotch measure to the House of Lords, and the House of Lords, not being very clear as to the geographical disposition of the Wills of the People, threw the Scotch Bill out.

And then a very odd and startling development took place. The genuine, Simon Pure, True Blue Will of the People had really spoken at last. Although nobody at the moment had never suspected it. The House of Lords had rejected that Will. And, therefore, *obviously*, the House of Lords must at once be abolished. And thereupon Mr. Asquith came all the way down from London to Tayport to explain to the world that **two** legislative chambers were quite absurd and that one chamber controlled by himself, and Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Churchill, was good enough for all time.† But Mr. Asquith had scarcely finished burying the last remnant of his never very high reputation for political sagacity—and pickling for the inspection of posterity the high water spew of Liberal Political Twentieth Century Humbug when a series of very odd and startling developments took place. Mid Devon took place. And South Hereford, and Peckham, and North-West Manchester, and Pudsey, and Haggerston, and Newcastle took place.

And then the House of Lords scratched its poor puzzled pow and said: 'Which Will of the People are we really opposing? The Will of the People of Mid Devon and South Hereford and Peckham and N.W. Manchester and Pudsey and Haggerston and Newcastle at the *late* General Election or the Will of these People *now*?'

And then some wag outside the House of Lords invented and presented this for a conundrum:

'If the House of Commons is going to abolish the House of Lords for opposing *yesterday's* Will of the People, hadn't it better begin by abolishing *itself*.—for opposing *to-day's* Will of the People?'

† "The veto of the House of Lords must go where the veto of the Crown had already gone."—Speech at Tayport, 29th October, 1907.—*Times* Report.

They came into power on a furious red-hot anti-Chinese riot of indignation against their predecessors for sanctioning the introduction of Yellow Labour into the Rand.

The Randers, (rightly or wrongly,) being in straits in regard to labour, (or thinking that they were,) and being anxious, (no doubt,) to buy that labour on Free Trade Principles, in the cheapest market, conceived the idea of introducing Chinese labour into the mines, and took it into their foolish noddles to consult the Tories at home on their highly original conception. If they had had the sense only to have come and consulted me on the matter their difficulties would have been at an end.

I should have said:- (and every sensible Free Trader would have endorsed my saying !)

'My dear Randers,—If you want Chinese labour in the Trans-'vaal mines what are you palavering about? Go away and get 'your Chinese labour. And be hanged to it! My wife has a great 'belief in the virtues of the Norwegian serving maid and when she 'is in want of one she doesn't even consult me, let alone the British 'Government. She merely writes away to Norway, and by the next 'packet the serving maid is over. And, being over, she is free to 'stay, or leave, or come and go, and even get married, as she very 'well pleases. I am myself an Hotel Keeper and have a strong 'partiality for German Waiters. They are quicker and civiler, and 'if they are German spies at the same time, which they usually 'are, they are all the cleverer and more obedient and obliging and 'attentive to my customers. Well, but in that case I ask nobody's 'consent. When I want a fresh Fritz I send for him merely, and 'by the Hamburg packet Fritz arrives, and he too asks nobody's 'leave, but comes and goes and falls in love, or gets drunk and 'falls down the stair, and does in fact as any other reasonable 'blockhead would.

'If, therefore, you are in real need of Chinese Coolies get away 'for Heaven's sake and get 'em.'

But the wicked English Tory Government, being consulted by the Randers, very oddly said,

'No!'.

Why, I cannot for the life of me even yet conceive. But in any case they chose to say :

'No ! If you insist on having Chinese labour on the Rand you 'must consent to import your Chinamen under Tariff restrictions. 'You must bring them in under indenture, compel them to live in 'compounds removed from the rest of the population, so that they 'may be continually under wise observation, and when their 'indenture is finished you must send them back to their own 'countree.'

Disgracefuller conditions it is impossible for any British-born Son of Freedom even to conceive, and if I had been the Chinese Emperor I should have declared war on the miserable Power that imposed such contemptible conditions upon my subjects.

And, in fact, no indeed wonder the poor fellow has since turned up his toes and expired !

Yes, but what then happened ?

Ah ! The Liberal Government with banners flying happened ! to arrive in power on a wave of Free Trade—and all that Free Trade works and lives for,—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and the Everlasting Brotherhood of man !

I and thousands of thousands of others who, in season and out of season, have always insisted, 'That a man's a man for a' that !' were not *sanguine* merely. We were *certain* that the Liberal Government would signalise its advent to power by immediately emancipating these poor Chinese slaves from these atrocious Tory restrictions, and giving them the common rights of common manhood in a free country. To our utter confusion and astonishment, however, this Liberal Government denied the poor devils any human rights at all. The Tories had imposed a Tariff Restriction of 20 per cent. upon the Yellow Importation. The Free Trade Liberals raised the Tory Tariff to one of Absolute Prohibition and ordered the poor Chinaman, neck, crop, bag and baggage, out of the pale of Christian Civilisation.

That, in itself, of course, was magnificent. But they weren't content with even the glory of that.

A Tory Government, had it been endowed with the capacity for an inhumanity of this description, would no doubt have tried to do it, as is their measly way, on the cheap. But a Liberal Government had to show its Liberality here again, and very kindly presented the Randers with a loan of £5,000,000 in order to fortify their dubious resolution and screw up their Christian Charity to the necessary cosmopolitan pitch of—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,—and Free Trade!

* * * *

But, Gentlemen, I must bring my run-away tongue to heel. —Not that the story, by any means, of their glory is finished, (and it is being added to day by day,) but that I dare trespass not much longer on your patience. Clearly we have a Government here of pawnbroking Hucksters,—(and wooden ones even at that!) entrenched behind an unprecedented majority, who have reduced the legislation of our poor country to a bare-faced principle of mercenary barter.

What have you to sell?

'Votes!'

What is your price?

'An eight hours' day for miners!'

How many votes can you guarantee?

'600,000.'

—Granted!

—But what about raising the cost of manufacture in the Kingdom?

D—n manufacture—and the Kingdom to boot!

What have you to sell, did you say?

'Votes!'

What is your price?

'Revolution!'

'Revolution,' did you say, or '*Devolution?*'

'Revolution!'

But you sold them to us at the last Election for 'Devolution,' didn't you?

'May-be,—but these are our terms at the next. Take them or want them.'

How many votes can you guarantee?

'We hold the balance of power in a hundred constituencies.'

'Sht!—Dont mention it.—*Granted!*

* * * *

Thank you, Sir, for your interruption!

—Some gentleman is audibly wondering what the bearing is of all this upon the task in my hand.

Well, my man, the answer is not difficult. I could not help going out of my way for a moment in order to contrast by way of implication the Principles of these unprincipled Free Trade Puritans with those of the great statesman to whom the country owes its great awakening on Tariff Reform.

Here, on the contrary, thank God! was one at least **MAN** to England left! * * Who freely and gladly demitted office, power, and emolument,—severed political ties, broke life-long partnerships, and came down into the midst of an ignorant, somnolent, prejudiced country not to tell them what he thought they would like, or to lay some easy vote-catching bait in front of them, but to say what he believed to be indispensable in the interests of the Empire, knowing full well that what he said would be unpopular—resented with bitterness, and fought to the death!

And, in the second place, I couldn't resist the temptation of giving *public* praise to Providence for entrusting the sacred citadel of the great Free Trade Imposture to such a parcel of time-serving canting hypocritical political pedlars and ensuring (in consequence) the triumph of the Truth, with so much unexpected celerity, —and with so little trouble upon our poor part.

But *now*—having got my burning gratitude off my chest, perhaps you will allow me to address myself in a parting word to those amongst you who are adrift *still* upon a sea of hesitation. The approaching momentous decision, which is to be so big with history, and which the world beyond these islands awaits with almost fear and trembling, rests after all in *your* uncertain hands.

—As for the Convinced Free Trader we will leave *him* severely alone.

I am too old a Parliamentary hand to think of convincing the inconvertible. All my political experience has been to me but a banging and beating—for the most part in vain, of passion to shreds against the vast Chinese wall of English Thickheadedness. And (as a result) I have learnt at least as a Propagandist of any new faith

TO RELY CHIEFLY ON THE GRAVEDIGGER!

And so, from the very even beginning of this Fiscal Controversy I have never worried very much about the Fool who is a convinced Free Trader,—save as a spittoon for my contempt.—He is at liberty to carry his convinced convictions freely for me to another and a happier land. But the majority of British people are not just *convinced* Free Traders. They are merely for the most part

thoroughly illiterate unreflective asses,

with a huge inveterate century-ingrained overpowering disinclination to be convicted of the fact.

Happily for us poor Tariff Reformers thousands upon thousands of these,—our noble countrymen, have already been converted to the faith without any trouble upon our part at all.

They have been hit in the pocket!

And that thoroughly characteristic irresistible British argument has settled the matter (for them) for good.—(As I say again,)—very happily for us!—and all honour to the helping Foreigner!—Because otherwise we should never have made the slightest progress with the movement at all. The Free Traders are never done sneering at our movement just because of this fact. And perfectly I accept the sneer because I know it to be just. Indeed, I not only know it, but in all my daily life, as I have already said, I act upon it. I do never for an instant, e.g., dream of buying a British boot, or a British any other article, if I can get its German counterpart, because otherwise I should be neglecting the most absolutely effective British argument in the whole of my repertoire.

I yield, therefore, the point freely to the Free Trader. We have

about as many * * * on our side of the fence as he has upon his. Indeed, to say sooth, *I find myself sometimes wondering* if we haven't even more. Because almost every speaker upon the Reform Platform seems to make a point of dwelling upon the extraordinary change of world conditions which has taken place since we adopted Free Trade, and of insinuating, if he does not actually say, that what was a very wise and beautiful thing *then* is antiquated and absurd *now*. *That*, of course, is unmitigated bunkum. Free Trade was no more true and just then than it is now. The Principles of Tariff Reform are no more true now than they were then. There were even also, I am happy to think, thousands in the country at that time, to their high honour be it said, who were perfectly well aware of the fact.

On May 18th, 1849, *in our own city*, no less, an influential meeting was held, at which was founded, of all odd things in the world, **"The West of Scotland Reciprocity Association."** And the resolution which was unanimously passed at that meeting is worth repeating to you even now:

"That a nation can only exist by promoting and encouraging "its own industry. * * That the interests of this Empire "require complete Freedom of Trade with all its Colonies and "Dependencies and the adoption of fair Reciprocal Treaties with "those Foreign States from which similar or corresponding advan- "tages can be obtained, **it being evident that a one-sided "system must result in the decay of our home, colonial, "and foreign trade."**

The 'West of Scotland Reciprocity Association' died a very early, and, I have no doubt, a very *natural* death. But less than sixty years afterwards, you see, *the Glasgow and West of Scotland Tariff Reform Association has to rise up and continue its work*. Nobody listened then. *Everybody listens now*. Why? What has happened in the interim? Well, the booming fifties and sixties and (part) seventies happened in the interim. **And that was supposed to have settled the problem for all time.** Just as the boom of Trade which has occurred since Mr. Chamberlain's

agitation began is supposed to have again settled it for all time. But no boom of Trade will ever settle the untruth on which our Fiscal system is based. *It can merely postpone the general perception of that untruth.* Every year as soon as Summer arrives I invariably take off the topcoat which I have worn through the Winter. But I have never at any time succeeded in persuading myself that *the removal of my topcoat* was the cause of the summer weather. And yet that is precisely the delightful delusion under which poor England has laboured so long. She took off her century-old topcoat in 1846 and she enjoyed, thereafter, beautiful summer weather. Therefore, *clearly*, clothes are an absurdity. If you want perpetual Summer, wear none!

! ! ! !

And *this*! (no less) is the great Fiscal Free Trade Truth which another little spell of sunshine is supposed to have *re-established!*

Quite recently, again, the Reform Movement has received another great sheaf of recruits for much the same reason.—So that the irony of History is about to roll round presently in full circle.

To whom,—or to what, do we owe Free Trade?

To Adam Smith?—No.

To Peel?—No.

To Cobden?—No.

To the force and power of Free Trade Logic?

—To nothing in God's earth less!

We owe our present English Free Trade Bedlamite system wholly and solely to our English incapacity for abstract thought, assisted by the Irish potato famine.† And at present,—lovely to

† "At the end of the Session of 1845, Sir Robert Peel's Government, which took office in 1841, was still as strong as it ever had been. The Whigs seemed still totally demoralised, and the only movement that counted in England—Cobden and Bright's, for the Repeal of the Corn Laws—seemed for the moment to have lost some of its strength.

"But in August the little cloud was already rising out of the sea. It was at the beginning of that month that Peel first heard of the appearance of the potato disease in the Isle of Wight.

"From that moment onward the whole sky began to become overcast. The same

say, we are moving fast back into the pathways of common sense, helped and directed again by the same ineradicable abstract incapacity. We poor, as I have said, Tariff Reformers might have talked ourselves black and blue in the face till doomsday and made no impression at all upon this English stolid stupidity.

☞ But look how the Gods themselves have helped us !

The thundering stupidity of England sent into power with the most thundering majority of modern times the most thunderingly stupid Cabinet of this or any other time. And in little over two years' time this Cabinet, aided and urged thereto by its own great thundering thickheaded majority, (and their very friendly and

news came from all parts of England, Scotland and Ireland—especially Ireland.

" At first it seemed that the potatoes were only touched, but as August grew to September, and September to October, it became clear that at least half the crop was ruined.

" Throughout October an active correspondence went on between the three Ministers responsible—the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, and the Viceroy of Ireland, Lord Heytesbury. Anxiety deepened into fear: and fear into something like panic. Throughout that terrible autumn the rain fell incessantly, and imprisoned Ministers looked out from their country houses on the steady, ruthless downpour which was sweeping away the Corn Laws.

Sir Robert Peel gave the Irish Government a free hand in relief, and early in October sent over several experts, of whom the chief was Dr. Lyon—afterwards Lord Playfair. Their report, promptly given, was that things were even worse than rumour had represented.

" Faced with this terrible reality, the minds of Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham worked along the same groove to the same conclusions. It is a singular and impressive fact that the letters in which each of these great men proposed to the other the final and total Repeal of the Corn Laws crossed in the post.

'The removal of impediments to import is the only effectual remedy.'

" That was the note struck by Sir Robert Peel from the very outset—as early as October 13th—and never again did he drop to the semi-tone of compromise.

" Peel may have been a Free Trader in theory already, and the State Corn Law League may have prepared the way by converting the people. But it was Nature that struck the final blow.

* * * * * * * * *

" 'It is awful to observe,' writes Sir James Graham, in a style not then out of fashion with English statesmen, 'how the Almighty humbles the pride of nations.' Of nations—aye, and of statesmen too. For the Peel who wrote so convincingly in October about the need of total and final Repeal was the same man who, as Disraeli was soon to remind him, had for five years led a Government pledged to the protection of agriculture by placing taxes on corn." - HAROLD SPENDER,—*Fortnightly Review*, October, 1903.

faithful ally the German Emperor !) have done for the cause of Tariff Reform what all the passion of eloquence and power of logic of all the angels of Heaven speaking with unanimous voice could not have accomplished in a thousand years. Between them and Free Trade they have piled up frightful millions of obligations against a depleted and falling Exchequer. They have thrown the coal tax into the coal scuttle, the sugar tax into the treacle barrel, and while Free Trade has been knocking the bottom out of our vain-glory and piling up masses of unemployed, they, instead of providing the nation with a carefully thought-out National Scheme of Old Age Pensions, 'Sick-Relief' and Social Amelioration, have plunged with burglar hurry into a gambler's bid for popularity with one of the most recklessly devised schemes for encouraging thriftlessness, roguery and prevarication—

"Somerset House officials are dealing with an average of thirteen cases daily in which old-age pensions have actually been paid to persons who have not reached the stipulated age."

"Taunton, in Somerset, provided on Saturday the first criminal prosecution arising out of old-age pensions. The indictment was that the defendant attempted to obtain a pension by false representations—that he earned about 5s. in some weeks as a carpenter, and that his wife had no means whatever. According to the report of the pension officer, the applicant paid £30 for his house and three acres of ground, and carried on a carpenter's shop, employing two men, while his wife ran a laundry worked by three women. The male applicant was organist of the parish church, parish clerk, and church caretaker—all salaried posts. Also he kept a pony and trap, poultry and pigs, and a boy to look after them, and his character was admitted by the prosecution to be 'very excellent up to now.' His agent complained that the defendant had been selected as a scapegoat. The selection will appeal to most people as an excellent one. The penalty was only £1 and part of the costs, the magistrate expressing the hope that applicants for pensions 'would be extremely careful in future.'"

"Another curiosity of old-age pensions is described by a correspondent, who states that in one Scotch district a man 'who has no settled residence, but whose appearance is known over a wide area,' has been successful in obtaining from two officers pension orders payable at different ends of the same county. The enterprise was confounded by chance in a casual conversation between the two officers; and while few pensioners may be so situated as to find this form of double-dealing easy, it points to the necessity of overhauling all the pensions in every district so as to detect duplicates."

"It seems to be demonstrated that in Ireland the number of pensioners is actually some forty thousand in excess of the total number of persons in the population estimated to be of the age of 70 or over."—LEADER. *The Glasgow Herald*, 17*th Feb.*, 1909.

RESULT OF OFFICIAL INQUIRY. "Some astounding revelations may be expected when, if ever, a report is published of the investigation now being carried on in regard to Old Age Pensions in Ireland (says the London Correspondent of the *Scotsman*). The demand for pensions in some districts has amounted to wholesale fraud, the success of which has been rendered possible by gross official carelessness. Pensions were granted not to individuals but to batches of thirty and forty at a time, and in some parishes a fourth of the whole population were pensioners. Now that inquiry is being set on foot there is found to be an amazing mortality among pensioners, and books of coupons are being returned in abundance. In one case, I am informed, an able-bodied car-driver, thirty-seven years of age, had been granted a pension. As a result of the Treasury inquiry, the Exchequer will be saved in the year more than half a million sterling."

ever conceived and constructed by the mind of man: and, to crown all, their close bosom-friend and ally, the German Emperor, comes just forward in the nick of time and with great brotherly love and affection compels them to spend untold millions on the navy.

With what result? With the result that they are now compelled to prowl around the precincts of Mayfair and Belgravia seeking, by their own confession, for promising cribs to crack.

With what result? With the further (to us) delightful result that thousands upon thousands of well-to-do people who were either Free Traders before, or neutral, have begun to reason in this way:

> 'Protection, they say, *is going to* bleed us.
> Free Trade, we now know *for certain, is.*
> (Suppose we try a change of bleeding!)'

And so, quite within the last few months, it has come about that our ranks have been recruited by thousands of political refugees who couldn't think or reason consecutively for two minutes on the abstract merits of Tariff Reform.

! ! ! !

Only the other day Lord Cromer got up in the House of Lords and ingenuously bewailed of the present Government that whereas they had been returned to power to preserve and fortify the Principles of Free Trade they had proved traitors to their trust and—dug its grave.

How?—Because they had piled up against the finance of the country these enormous obligations!'

But these enormous obligations are no argument against Free

Trade. On the contrary they are an unanswerable argument in favour of Free Trade, if we believe that Free Trade is the most productive National Policy. But Lord Cromer doesn't merely believe this. He *knows* it for a gospel fact. And therefore *his* at least alarms and private own misgivings should disappear. For what fool having £1000 a year and finding his household expenses increasing would rush to meet his new liabilities by reducing his income to £500 a year! And yet that is what Lord Cromer deliberately *expects his logical countrymen to do*. And Lord Cromer is right! That is exactly what they *are* going to do.

Not!

! ! ! !

! And so, my dear friends, as I say, it comes to pass that half of our present ranks are filled by people who have been already hit in the pocket by Free Trade Folly, and the other half by people who are going to be hit, or think they are going to be hit, by Free Trade Finance.

What indeed a spectacle for the poor future unfortunate English Historian!

An ass turned into the wilderness (which for sixty years it fondly believes to be the Promised Land!!!) by a Potato Famine Clout on the ignorant jaw, and turned at last in the direction of common sense by another bang from the blue, administered by a parcel of fools *whom its own folly* had sent into triumphant power for the express purpose of tying and tethering its own egregious fathead down in perpetuum—to its own egregious folly.

Oh! that I were an artist on the hop for immortality!

What a picture to bequeath to the gods and our great great grandchildren! Ears the length of our tail! The Potato Clout turning us squee-gee! Liberal finance setting us round right! And a constant foreign battery from behind driving us elegantly irresistibly forward in the way—which we should never have left!

With these and then like then, as I say, we have luckily no

trouble. But there is another and a very large class of electors belonging to every shade of political opinion whose animating impulse in this great Chinese puzzle, solely, is to do the best they know by the interests of the country—*if only they could be sure quite how*. But as the matter stands they are not sure quite, and even after all that has been said and done for the last five years they are still uncertain and know not how they should act.

To these 'tis that I wish to make my parting appeal and I want to do so right away down on the very simplest ground at my possible command.

That is to say, I am going to burn up and bury all that has hitherto been said and thought and done upon the subject and endeavour in my humble way just to lay the simple position before you calmly, merely as it would present itself to any freshly arrived dispassionate economic observer, say from the planet of Mars!

First of all, then, we in Great Britain, here, are very prosperous. *And we owe this abounding prosperity of ours to Free Trade!*

Well, but if that be so,—(and the Law of English Gravity is not more certain!)—I say, if that all be really so, how comes it to pass!—That no other nation in the world *credits the astounding fact*, and hastens to take a flying leaf out of our abounding book? They are all,—every one of these nations, just as anxious as ever were we, to increase their wealth and magnify their power. They have our brilliant example to enlighten and illumine them for the last sixty years. They do us the honour annually of migrating over here in their tens of thousands, all classes and conditions of travellers, philosophers, economists, scientists, statesmen, and keen alive-o business men. They see your astounding prosperity, they breathe it, they touch it, eat it, drink it, hear it, and smell it. They examine your history until they know it *a long way better than we know it ourselves*. **THEY KNOW ABSOLUTELY EVERYTHING THAT THERE IS TO BE KNOWN ABOUT THE HUNGRY FORTIES.** They know all that Cobden ever wrote or spoke or prophesied or protested about Free Trade. Or John Bright either! And all

the way along,—Adam Smith they have known for more than a century by heart. And yet, curious to say, differing from one another in a hundred thousand respects, they are all unanimous on this:

'That they will not have this Free Trade System of yours at any price!'

———o———

WHAT CAN THE REASON BE OF THIS EMPHATIC UNANIMITY?

It isn't a question of Geographical Position, or Size of Country, or Age of Civilization: because we find that big countries and little countries,—old countries and new countries,—countries North South East and West of us in every degree of latitude and longitude are equally enthusiastic—in their disapproval of our Fiscal System.

It isn't a question of Language, or Religion, or Race. Because people of all languages and religions, and not least our own Colonial kith and kin, are unwaveringly at one in their opposition to our—belovèd superstition.

It isn't a question of Form of Government. Because we find that autocratic kingdoms like Russia,—semi-autocratic states like Germany, and countries like France and the United States where the franchise is broader-based even than it is with us, are equally contemptuous in their repudiation of what is worshipped by us as the **End-all Revelation of All Economic Truth.**

It cannot be a question just of pure crass Ignorance. Because Germany is the most highly educated nation in the world.

Nor of lack of logical acumen.

Because France is the logicalest clearest-headed nation in the world.

Nor of mere sleepy-headed inertia.

Because America is the most up-to-date go-ahead business nation in the world.

Nor can it be just a question either of Want of Experience. Because Germany has tried a modified dose of our system, suffered under it, and calmly and *deliberately*—for all time—rejected it.

It isn't a question neither of Capitalism versus Labour. Because Protection has no more devoted worshipper than His Royal Highness Himself,—the British Working Man: 'after he has shaken from his shoes the mud from these shores and forgotten in the Colonies the superstitions of his childhood.' New Zealand is by repute the most socialistic state in the world, and, to a man, New Zealand's voice is loud in convinced favour of what our British Trade Unionist fools continue to reject on this side with ignorant scorn.

But I give you Japan.

Yesterday, in terms of her own history, Japan as a kingdom might have stepped in full panoply out of the mediæval ages. But her statesmen arose one morning—to break with the glory of a thousand years and bring the Fatherland up *double-quick* time into line with modern civilisation. How did they set about their gigantic task?—They dispatched with locomotive expedition their brilliantest students to Europe to imbibe the knowledge, and literature, and art and science of the West!

They wished to create a great army.—To whom did they go? To Mr. Brodrick for advice, or Mr. Haldane for instruction?

To the greatest military power on earth and had their young officers drilled in military strategy by German officers.

They determined to create a formidable navy. For information and enlightenment whither did they turn? To Germany? Russia? France?

They came to the greatest Naval Power which the world has so far seen. Had their warships built in English yards and their officers trained in English schools.—And you and I and the astonished world have just seen the stupendous results which she has achieved *by her statesmen's wisdom and forethought.*

But Japan also is very poor.

And if she has one consuming ambition at the present moment it is to become rich as Western Nations are rich. To whom—in the solution of this the most momentous of all her problems, does she turn for instruction and guidance. *She is as ravenously ignorant as a learn in matters of Political Economy* as she has been in

military science and the construction of warships. We claim to know, if we know anything, warship building and the Principles of Naval Strategy. Japan has examined and *endorsed* that claim and at Tsushima she staked her destiny upon her judgment. But we claim also, even with more absolute conviction, to have in our possession **the Open Only Secret of National Opulence and Greatness** in our beloved system of Free Importation.

Japan hears!

And with characteristic calmness and deliberation, and the utter annihilation of all preoccupation on the subject, examines with profound sympathetic care *our claim, and every proof that we have to offer of its truth*, and although her insular situation and size are much like our own, *and she may have the great secret gratis for the lifting*, she she leaves the Inviolable Secret of Greatness in the land of its origin.

"

As one of the few luxuries of modern civilisation which she cannot afford!

"

But I hope now, please, that you are following with perfect lucidity my point. I have already spoken to you of the world-wide difference between Free Trade and Free Importation. And what I am saying to you as fast as I can is: *that even if you had the pure white genuine unadulterated article of Free Trade*, which so many ignorant speakers upon the Unionist side are in the habit of alleging is all that we in this country either need or want, *even no less than this, if you had it to offer*, all these great nations would refuse to accept *at any price*. And the sad poor patriotic point I am busy making is: *How infinitely less, if that be so.*

"

The magic imbecility which we worship as Free Importation!!!

Well but now, with these preliminary observations successfully concluded, the quick-eyed visitant from Mars, you may be sure, would not fail to be struck with this odd further fact: namely,

That while all these enlightened nations are unanimous in declining even to look at Free Trade, on their own, they are equally

all in the most unanimous and even desperate funk,—**That we should continue to move steadfast along on the lines of that Fiscal Path which has brought us into so much wealth and glory.'**

How most very considerately thoughtful and kind !

In the late Boer War when disaster upon disaster attended upon the heels of our military incompetency special midnight editions apprised the capitals of Europe of the glad tidings; and people danced out their delirium in promiscuous cotillons at the street corners.

Odd to say ! Or was it merely one of those fantastic Jack-o'-lantern inexplicable coincidences ?—When the Liberal victories in the late General Election were flashing in triumphant batches across the wires of the world *the same European enthusiasm prevailed !* and the proudest man in Europe (at the time and all the time) was not Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, as many people, including, no doubt, himself, imagined,—but the German Emperor. And the most disappointed saddest people in all the world at that time were not the Tories or the Tariff Reformers or even Mr. Chamberlain, —as the Liberals in their ecstasies concluded, but, on the contrary, our own Colonial kith and kin—whose dead sleep side by side with ours on the battle plains of South Africa.

Summing in brief at this point up, therefore, his observations, (in order to communicate them by wireless succinctly to Mars,) our Martian Economist would set out in his note-book these :

The Rivals and Enemies of England are unanimous in their conviction that Free Trade would ruin their own industries.

They are also unanimous, and even, as far as I can judge, bitterly anxious, that England should cling to the system which has brought her, in her own estimation, so much power and wealth and glory.

The Colonies of England are absolutely agreed with her Enemies and Rivals that Free Trade would ruin their Colonial Industries.

But They are unanimous and even bitterly urgent that England should change her fiscal system.

But now, if you please ! —and before we go any further, let us see if we can grasp in relation to all this the Free Trader's idea !

His idea is, —He asks himself and you and me to believe that all these mighty nations –the statesmen, dead and alive, who have been and are responsible for the direction of their policy are and have been unpatriotic fools of the first degree. And that the suffering inhabitants of these countries, and our own colonies, many of whom have enjoyed the blessings of Free Trade in this country for half a lifetime, are such brainless baboons that they haven't even the ghost of an inkling of the cause of the miseries and privations from which they suffer.

They went out, these fools, from the economic blessings of a land flowing-over with Free Trade milk and honey into the economic miseries and misfortunes of the United States and the British Colonies, they have the power of the vote that might bring to them back to-morrow the blessings which they left, and yet, year in and year by, they *stolidly stupidly refuse to vote those blessings back !* -

The Free Trader goes further. He asks us to believe that our Great Forefathers who built up the sea power of this country and the mighty empire which we now inherit were in like manner 'unpatriotic fools of the first degree.' In his superabounding, long-suffering charity the Free Trader goes further. He asks us to believe that the thousands of working men in this country (and I hope, when the next General Election comes, they will be numbered by hundreds of thousands !) who repudiate our present policy of Free Imports, that Statesmen like Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour, life-long Liberals like Mr. Samuel Storey, Socialists like Mr. Bernard Shaw, and distinguished Writers like Sir A. Conan Doyle are a paired of designing mercenary knaves anxious to raise a wall of protection round these shores in order that they may line their avaricious pockets with the pillage and oppression of the poor.

Now,—well !—Gentlemen, it may, of course, be, I say,—that the Free Trader is right : and that all the rest of the world is wrong. It might be, in his inscrutable Providence, that God Almighty had decreed that the true wisdom of National Economy should reside alone within the compass of the convinced Free Trader's skull.

DD

But, Gentlemen, what I want to ask of you, respectfully, is: Isn't the—ah!—

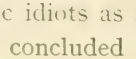
IT

a very large order? (Knowing them especially so well as some of us do!)

Lord Rosebery, if I remember, in one of his speeches remarked as a kind of self-evident proposition—out of Euclid,—(in regard to which there could be no difference of opinion anywhere!)—That the Onus of Proving that Free Trade was Wrong! rested undoubtedly with the Tariff Reformers.

(The reply to which is) that we have accepted that Onus to the full and carried the burden of it along, I hope, *triumphantly* daily. But isn't the boot *really* upon the other leg? Isn't it the incumbent, serious, immediate life and death duty of the Free Trader to burn the midnight oil—henceforward till the crack of doom (because I'm afraid he will need it all!) in endeavouring to demonstrate to an incredulous world—That Free Trade is Right.

Certainly I do think, on the whole,—I mean with all these facts and circumstances in front of me, that if I were the most convinced Free Trader on earth I should be inclined to pause for a respite in my convinced infatuation. And if I were a statesman responsible at this moment for guiding the destinies of England—the reins would tremble in my hands, and I should sleep for fear nor day nor night lest I should be directing her fortunes in my self-willed blindness on disaster. And if I were a *prayerful* man I should, I am sure, pray nightly for the spirit of humility and therein robed make an effort *occasionally* to urge Heaven that it might so far open the obdurate shutters of my convinced misunderstanding as to enable me to acknowledge, at least, as a human or inhuman possibility, that, after all, the whole civilised world and our kinsmen beyond the sea *might possibly not* be such utterly abandoned unprincipled knaves and economic idiots as from my infancy upward I had been taught—and had concluded them to be!!!



But suppose now—because that also is a reflection which would have its aspect of appeal to me. Suppose that Free Trade

is the Economy of Pure Wisdom and that our whole future National Policy should concentrate on securing as much of it as we can possibly get. It is surely, in all conscience, obvious enough now to the most wilfully blind that the Protectionist countries intend to adhere at all costs to their ignoble infatuation. But if that be so, what are we busy now in the process of doing? We are busy merely by our rigid adhesion to Free Trade putting a premium upon their heresy, accentuating and perpetuating the economic waste—upon their side and our own, and—retarding the millennium! If you are in the habit of permitting a free thoroughfare through your estate, and neighbouring proprietors, while taking advantage of your indulgence, insist on closing up theirs to your acknowledged inconvenience and detriment, you will be far more likely to get Free Trade in the matter of thoroughfares by blocking up your estate to your neighbours until they are prepared to purchase the privilege, which they now obtain gratis, by a quid pro quo. This is the position, as far as I know it, of the Balfourian Retaliationists and it is a doctrine, as far as it goes, which is quite unassailable from any reasonable Free Trade point of view. That is to say, if you are really an honest, earnest and convinced Free Trader and want to see *a little more* Free Trade in your intercourse with nations the idea is that you will best and most quickly achieve your end by negating for a purpose your own Free Trade, and employing this negation as a counter in negotiating a diminution or remission of foreign tariff barriers. If the experiment fails you can always cancel the breach of Free Trade upon your own side—and be assured that you are no worse off than before.

I think,—I say,—if I were in a state of suspension on the merits of this dispute, that that is an argument that would appeal with some degree of force to me, as against the mere policy of do-nothing.

Another reflection which would not be without its influence upon my indecision would be this:

If Free Importation, as we have it in Great Britain at the present moment, be the rotten imposture which all the civilised nations of the earth believe it to be, then are we poor British people indeed

THE MOST HOPELESSLY IRREMEDIABLE FISCAL IDIOTS that ever drew the breath of human life.

But if, on the contrary, Protection be indeed the Folly which Convinced Free Traders with us believe it to be then at least we know this. We know from the experience of all sorts and conditions of Nations that its evils are at least humanly endurable. And we know also this. We know, at the worst, that we cannot be *any worse off* than the Foreigner. And, therefore, if we believe in the natural superiority of the noble Briton, (and who is the noble Briton that doesn't !) why need we hesitate to fling, like the chivalrous Roderick Dhu, upon the heath our bull's hide Free Trade targe and enter the industrial lists **equally handicapped with our rivals,** trusting to our native prowess, climate, inherited skill, coal,—and the magnificent lead over all the nations of the earth which our sixty years of unparalleled progress under Free Trade have given us, to bring us through ! ! !

Nor would this also, I am sure, be without its effect upon my judgment : The fact, namely, that by the unequivocal acknowledgment now of the Convinced Free Traders themselves much can be done by legislative action to promote the interests of British Trade. The New Shipping Bill and Patents and Designs Act prove, as I have already said, that our industries have been suffering for years from stupid restrictions and injustices *which could have been removed long ago by legislative action.* And they leave the inference a not unreasonable one that British Industries may be suffering even now from many other obstructions *that could be removed in like manner by further legislative action.* The Tariff Reformers tell us every day that if we put up a twenty per cent. tax on Motor Cars, Silks, Woollens, etc., millions of Foreign Capital will come rolling into the country for the erection and equipment of factories.

The Tariff Reformer is, in the main, of course, a thumping ass. But the New Patents Act doesn't seem to prove that he is necessarily an unprophetic one.

Because since that Act was passed the newspapers have been full of paragraphs like these :

"NEW PATENT LAWS.

"PROTECTION FOR OUR WORKMEN.

"German Factory in England.

"At a meeting of Lever Brothers, at Port Sunlight, Cheshire, yesterday, Mr. W. H. Lever, M.P., stated that the Bayer Company, of Germany, whose capital was thirteen millions sterling, as a result of the amendment of the British Patent Laws, had purchased twenty-four acres of their Sunlight estate for an aniline dye manufactory, which, being in close proximity to the salt-beds of Cheshire and the coal fields of North Wales, would become the first manufacturing centre in the kingdom, and give employment to large numbers."

"EFFECT ON FOREIGNERS.

"Acquiring Land in England.

"The 'Iron and Steel Trades Journal' has received the following communication from a foreign correspondent, in which he says respecting the Patent Law, which comes into force on the 28th inst.:—

"The foreigner affected by the same has to look to the future to protect his manufactures, with the result that the following important firms have acquired land and factories in England to carry on their business:—

"Elberfelder Farbenfabriken (represented by the Bayer Company, Limited) have acquired twenty-four acres of land at Port Sunlight, Cheshire.

"Hoschlis, Arkwerke & Company have acquired seven acres of land at Ellesmere Port, Cheshire.

"Gillette Razor Company—Works at Leicester.

"Sanatogen Food Company—Land in Cornwall.

"Pintsch Suction Gas Plant Company—Works in London

"National Cash Register Company—Works in London.

"In addition to the foregoing specific instances of actual movements, we are in negotiation with numerous German and American manufacturers requiring sites and factories in different parts of England. The trades to be carried on consist principally of chemical, engineering, and pottery industries. We feel certain,

having gauged the feeling abroad on the effect the passing of the Patents and Designs Act is having on manufacturers, that the movement is only beginning, and that there will be a big development of it, principally among German manufacturers who are makers of various chemical products largely used in dyeing, etc. American industry, being more in machinery, is not much affected, but from the watch, electrical, pottery, and other industries we may have firms opening up works in England.

"The feeling at the present time abroad is that the alteration in the Patents and Designs Act is the insertion of 'the thin edge of the wedge' to England bringing in a reform in her fiscal policy, and in view of this, the foreigner is likely to acquire a property sufficient to manufacture enough now to protect his patent, and extend his operations when needed."

IN OPERATION TO-DAY.

"The Patents and Designs Act (1907) comes into operation to-day.

In addition to the lists already published, the Deutsche Waffen and Munitions Fabriken, of Berlin, is looking for a site on which to erect workshops for the manufacture of the famous Mauser rifles. Another German firm is seeking fifty acres of land in the neighbourhood of Flint, North Wales, on which to build extensive works for the production of mercerised cotton. Eventually 1000 'hands' will be employed. Germans have opened new works at Brimsdown, Enfield, and a number of Manchester women have just returned from a visit to the firm's headquarters after being initiated in the duties they will have to perform. The Clinton Wire Cloth Company, of Massachusetts, U.S.A., are on the point of acquiring a large property in Cheshire. In North-East London the Buffalo (U.S.A.) Speciality Company have acquired a factory, while an American Engineering firm is on the look out for a site in the London district.

Altogether about thirty foreign manufacturers, principally German and American, have commenced or are about to commence operations in England to prevent the sacrifice of their patents. In a short time several industries quite new to England will be in working order.

The articles that are to be produced in this country by foreign

manufacturers whose hands have been forced by the new law include the following :—

German Aniline dyes, pottery, plant for gas making, rifles, patent foods, electrical contrivances, mercerised cotton, furnaces, and sanitary appliances.

American Typewriters, safety razors, phonograph records, shoes, telephone implements, and wire cloths."

SOME RESULTS OF THE NEW LAW.

"Berlin, Thursday.—The 'Morgenpost,' discussing the effects of the new English Patent Law on German industry, points out that patentees who have not large means at their disposal will have to abandon their English rights, while heavy expenditure is imposed on the large German firms, which are now compelled to erect factories in England with all speed. Some idea of the extent of these sacrifices, the journal says, may be gathered from the fact that a group of dye factories in Berlin has had to invest no less than £200,000 in building new factories in England, while of course its German business, owing to the transference of the enormous English export branch to England, has fallen off correspondingly. The Chemische Fabrik vormals A. Scheuing, in Berlin, has had to raise its capital to £50,000. The journal, in conclusion, quotes Sir Alfred Jones as having said that up to the present as the result of the law £25,000,000 sterling of foreign capital, principally German, had been invested in England."—Reuter.

THREATENED RETALIATION BY GERMANY.

"Berlin, Wednesday.—The influential concern known as the Union of Industrialists (Bund der Industriellen) has presented a petition to the Imperial Chancellor, Federal Council, and the Reichstag, pointing out that the time limit fixed for fulfilling the provisions of the new British Patent Law, whereby a patented article must be manufactured in sufficient quantity by August 28, must seriously injure German interests. The petition proposes (1) to secure through diplomatic channels an extension of the time limit from August 28 to at least a year hence ; (2) to put into force similar measures against British patents in virtue of German patent law, which admits of retaliatory measures ; (3) to open negotiations

with the British Government with a view to removing as soon as possible the compulsory manufacture of patented articles by placing the inhabitants of both countries on an equal footing on the lines of the agreement reached between Germany and Switzerland. It is felt in commercial circles that if the new British Patent Law is really meant as a blow at German industry, the British Government will not consent to the extension of the time limit. Under existing conditions, Germany cannot hope for much success from retaliatory measures, since the German export trade is more important to England than the export from England is to Germany."—Reuter.

This last paragraph is delightful in several odd ways :

(1) It proves *on the acknowledgment of the Germans themselves* that the New British Patents Act *has* injured them,—or is going to.

(*Which implies*) *that up till now they have been receiving a valuable favour in the British Market for which they have never paid anything,* —and, as a matter of fact,—(have never been asked to !)

(2) It shows up in shining perspicuity the value of Mr. Balfour's Principle of ' Giving an English Government something to Negotiate with ! '

—' Here have you Germans, by your own confession, been
' receiving from us a very handsome annual Patent subsidy,
' —for nothing ! And here, if you please, in like manner, are
' 250,000 cases, now, in which you are receiving from us the
' same delightful Free Trade absurdity. What price ? '

(3) It sets securely for reference down in the immovable archives of History,—That a Free Trade Government has not been deterred, (and isn't going to be,) from pursuing a policy which it believes to be in the interests of British Industry—by the Spectral Dread of Retaliation.

(4) (It will exhibit to us all very presently)—*the very lively horrors we shall all have suffered from this Retaliation.*—(When it comes !)

(5) And it, in the meantime for our consolation,—epitomises in a particularly striking manner the extremely correct estimate which the Germans have formed of our universal Free Trade Woodenheadedness—when they have been able to assume the conscience to suggest—as much ! ! !

But all this, after all, is but the gentle incline of the avenue that leads me up and at last around to my concluding suggestion :

WHY NOT GIVE TARIFF REFORM A MODERATE TRIAL?

You may in the first place be quite sure that a trial in moderation is all that it will first get.

The Conservative Party is the only party that is prepared at this moment to give it even a trial. And the Conservative Party is led by a very cautious ultra-conservative statesman who is pledged to go a little way along the pathway of Tariff Reform, certainly, but neither very fast nor very far.

Well, but *even I*, in that case, rabid, as you recognise, and reckless on Reform to the verge of lunacy—am prepared to homologate.

When a poor fellow has been fed up on infatuation until he lives in a menagerie of blue devils—you do not dream of withdrawing from him his accustomed beverage *violently*, or of doing injustice even to his hallucinations. And so in a similar poor manner we poor Tariff Reformers will be profoundly thankful even for the mercy of a small beginning.

Why ?

Well, because, for one thing, a large and quick beginning might have fatal effects. It would be like trying to pour into a simple breakfast tea-cup a Loch Lomond of Prosperity. On the morrow of our reform, *e.g.*, so many people would be wanting to set up factories in the country that we wouldn't have the masons or the material to build them. And as a consequence the masons (that were) would become so swollen as to their immediate heads and demand such a rise of wages that nobody would be able to build anything at all.

And then, also, you must remember, if only out of pure human compassion, we are bound to exhibit some degree of consideration for that vast army of distinguished Free Traders like—like Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Haldane, (and Lord Cromer,) etc., who have been expounding for the last five years

and exposing to a wondering world the miraculous profundity of their economic acumen.

Do you really think, now, and I am speaking, mind you, with a full sense of the serious import of what I say,—(my dear friends!) that if the combined mass of Englishmen, including yourselves, came in the course of twenty-four hours to realise that in the course of sixty odd years we had been losing wealth to the extent of three or four times the National Debt through the fanatical adhesion to a dogma that never at any time did or could hold water,—that had been found out and laughed at and *buried* by every civilised nation on the earth, and that these distinguished economists had been responsible for the deliberate prolongation of this agony,—do you really think, I say, it possible that they could venture to walk abroad anywhere in innocent daylight without immediate risk of being strung up from the nearest lamp-post by an exasperated populace?

———o———

To you advisedly, and in all strenuous seriousness, I say, my dear friends, **No!** We—We *must* in pure human charity endeavour to temper by degrees the stupendous revelation to the mob.

———o———

And after all, when you come to think of it, their punishment, in all conscience, surely, will be bitter enough. Even I with all my passion of contempt for them could not have devised a cruelty of more exquisite refinement.

Imagine being pilloried!—having, your—your distinguished physiognomy eternally engraved on the foolscap of History as a sort of Aunt Sally for the gibes and missiles of generations of little school urchins and moralising pedagogues: and your spirit, by way of commentary on all the absurdities you have so laboriously and ponderously uttered with so much intellectual satisfaction and superior unction in life, in Purgatory reading this:

'Such was the intellectual poverty and level of patriotism in 'England at the beginning of the Twentieth Century

That *This* was appointed Prime Minister!'

! ! ! !

(Or this !)

'Such was the weltering chaos of economic ignorance and 'incapacity at this vital epoch in our history that Mr. ——— was 'appointed to save a few innocent coppers to the Public Exchequer 'by laboriously cutting down to skin and bones the recruiting of an 'already impossible army, while all the busy while he was devotedly 'and even passionately arguing away—before little simple fisher-'men at Cockenzie and elsewhere, **50 millions a year !** by his con-'vinced and strenuous and philosophical adhesion to a worn-out 'superstition —and was paid at the rate of £5,000 a year for his 'distinguished trouble ! '

———o———

I say, therefore, that every consideration —financial—political —industrial and —*humanitarian* points to a small and a tentative beginning.

For example ! —It would not put an unbearable strain surely, do you think, would it ? upon the industries and resources of our beloved country, or upon your own timorous dubiety, to give the Colonials a remit of that one poor shilling on their tobacco—which they asked—and were refused ?

———o———

And yet—and yet !—I am perhaps too sanguine !

———o———

Because *even this much* would appear to be too much for the timidity of some people.

There are, e.g., that cry out in season and out of season with tearful solicitude (like **The Glasgow Herald**) for the appointment of

A Commission of Experts

to examine carefully into the whole profound fiscal conundrum and report.

But what, my dear friends, is the use of *Experts ?* The ordinary Englishman—all the world over is an acknowledged fool. The ordinary educated or (to put it more correctly) half-educated Englishman is a worse. But your ordinary English Expert is the worst of all human fools. Because he charges an exorbitant price for his folly and usually gets it endorsed.

You appointed the other day, e.g., **a Commission of Experts** to examine into your Coal Resources. And what did you make of

that.' After the most profound, exhaustive and overwhelming examination they come and tell you with *one very grave side of their mouth* that our coal measures are on the eve of panning out, and then with the *other*,—on the very next page of their Report, smile and say, 'Pshaw!' *And advise you to export them wholesale in case they dont go done quick enough!*

You appoint **a Commission of Experts** to control your navy and —and they invent a method of *selecting*—and may please God forgive me the abuse of the English Language!—and *educating* the officers of the navy—of which I will say only, That not all the ingenuity of all the Experts in the Lower Regions could have invented a better—for our enemies. You ask of them to dispose of your fleets in the most effective strategic manner for the defence of these islands. And these worthy *Experts* divide them up into little penny packets and keep them fiddling about the Mediterranean, where their chief duty appears to be to entertain the German Emperor when he desires further information about our fleet, and about the Atlantic, pivoting, Heaven help us! on Gibraltar, and about the English Channel and the Irish Sea, pivoting apparently,—and may Heaven preserve us again! on Lamlash Bay!—when any cockle gathered promiscuously from the sea shore could inform you that every squadron that we have should be marching in echelon (and never out of it) within a quarter of an hour's steam of one another *under one admiralissimo*,—in the German Ocean.

And so in like just manner with this vital all-important Fiscal Question. What mortal good of any kind could we get by the appointment of a Commission? There are only Fourteen Economic Experts who know anything at all about Political Economy in the Kingdom at the present moment.—The immortal Fourteen Professors! And they have already *conferred* their wisdom upon a grateful country, without charging a copper for their arduous trouble, and without ever even being asked to. What further information could they give us if they were gazetted to-morrow into a Royal Commission and paid a Royal Commission,—for their previous contribution.

No, there are more effective things in the world even than

Royal Commissions. When we are in doubt about any point in Science, *e.g.*, we never think of appointing a *Commission of Experts* to tell us what to do. We merely up *—and away and do it!* To the fount of all knowledge, that is to say, and make an experiment. And if we are not satisfied with the result of one experiment, we make half a dozen, and if we are not satisfied with half a dozen, we make half a hundred.—And we note with discrimination—the conclusion !

And so, in like manner, with this great Fiscal Uncertainty. *You dont require to pass another moment of your national existence in any uncertainty whatever.*

ARRANGE SOME SIMPLE EXPERIMENT !

There is nothing unconstitutional or difficult *or even unusual* in the idea. The other day the Unionist Government put up a shilling a ton upon exported coal. And on the tablets of history engraved now for ever are the records of the result ! The exports increased. Millions came into the Exchequer. And nobody was a hair the worse. The Liberals came into power and they took that shilling off. Millions were lost to the Exchequer and everybody without the least exception in the country suffered from dear coal.

Mr. Chamberlain asked us the other day to put on an import duty of 2/ a quarter on all Wheat coming in from the United States, etc., and allow Colonial Wheat to come in Free.

How did the Liberals receive Mr. Chamberlain's proposition ? They solemnly swore themselves black and blue in the face that we should have to pay that import duty of 2/, not only on the American Wheat, but on the Colonial Wheat as well : and that this great country rolling over with the unimaginable wealth of sixty years of unparalleled Free Trade prosperity would be ruined by the payment. The innocent country believed what the truth-loving Liberals said. And the truth-loving Liberals came rolling into unparalleled Free Trade power.

And then what happened ? Ah ! Well then this happened ! The Colonies of Great Britain—poor and struggling and entirely on the make ! *They*, in the meantime, *afforded to be untrained*. That

is to say, without the slightest thought, or compunction, or fear, or scruple, they out of their abounding poverty very calmly afforded to do what the great Wealthy Liberal Mother of Empires was even alarmed to attempt.

Mr. Chamberlain, as you may remember, asked us to make this (tremendous) preferential sacrifice, — for *something* —for a quid pro quo. The simple-minded Colonies undertook to do it—for fun.

With what stupendous result?

Ah! 'With what stupendous result?'—With the stupendous result that the fun apparently was so comic that they insisted on going in for a still delightful larger and more exhilarating dose of it.

! ! ! !

Well but well, now, let me see!—Because I'm afraid I have lost again the tangled ravel of my wandering ideas. I was—was—ah, yes! advising you, of course, to make an experiment such as the Colonial Premiers at the late conference so pathetically urged you to do, and like the Colonies in their own quiet right are not alarmed to be doing every day of their existence,—and note the result.

(Thank you, Sir!) It is quite true, no doubt, as this opportune gentleman reminds me, that we have already ourselves made one of these wild experiments with the reckless the other day shilling registration duty upon wheat. (And it is also quite true) that the author of that duty, who ought to have been following closely, if any man should, the result of his own experiment, has declared it as his opinion that the Yankees contributed to that duty. Well, but, of course, it is just possible that Sir Michael may have been quite wrong. I for myself cannot say whether he was or not. But if the Free Traders have any reasonable doubt on the point, what is there to be gained by squatting around down like a posse of apes on opposite sides of a see-saw plank and jibber jabbering to no end or purpose over the same old empty coco'-nut—until we grow sick and die?

Why not try *another* experiment ?
And *the whole of us* get on the bound this time
And watch !

* * * *

No doubt, no doubt, I dare say, even here again we shall be warned that there is a difficulty in the way. Lord Rosebery vaticinates that if once we start on the inclined path of Tariff discrimination every additional step forward will be but a deeper plunge backward into the Serbonian bog out of which there is no recession.

But why that should really be so I have never yet been able to understand. It isn't, e.g., been his Lordship's own experience of life. His whole political career, on the contrary, appears to have been made up chiefly of beginning things from which he afterwards recedes. And if my ideas are right he will require to consummate another Political withdrawal one of these days unless he wishes to withdraw finally from any political influence in this country whatever. And what my Lord Rosebery can accomplish *with so much ease*, —surely, surely, the rest of us should be able at least to *try* !

But what does the idea mean really ? The idea actually means that voting at the coming election for a trial of Protection, we cannot at any future election, with the secrecy of the ballot to assist us, vote for its reversal. Or that voting as hard as ever we can for its reversal we cannot reverse it. But that in turn must mean, in a country with a democratic franchise, that the experiment must have suited, and be suiting, a majority of the democracy. And according to the fundamental Liberal tenet of modern philosophy the majority must reign.

But even these lugubrious puerile prognostications for all they are very well worth, and that's about a cat's sneeze, have been answered a thousand times over in our own poor times.

The records of Fiscal History make perfectly clear that countries can do, and do do, exactly what they very well please in regard to their tariffs.

In 1882, *e.g.*, Austria-Hungary increases her duties, and Portugal

reduces hers. France in the same year, at one and the same moment, increases some of her duties and lowers others,—such as those on Iron and Machinery.

Germany in 1879 increases her duties to 'Protection level,' and still further increases them in 1885,—and then in 1891 'considerably reduces them.' From 1888 to 1891 her duty upon wheat per Imperial Quarter is 10/10½, and from 1892 onward—7/7½.

In 1895, again, Belgium takes it into her foolish noddle to reduce her duties on manufactures, and in some odd unaccountable way *actually succeeds in doing it.*

Even in hopeless Trust-ridden rotten America the M'Kinley O.P. Tariff of 1890 can be watered down into a U.P. 'Wilson Tariff' in 1894.

While in our own brilliant Free Food Fool Paradise, as I am just after relating, the recent coal imposition has been gloriously reversed, the shilling wheat abomination *twice* abolished, and after an experiment which lasted for no less than I cannot tell you really how many hundred years—Protection by a single magic master stroke of insanity was abolished—in favour of the present nightmare under which we sin and suffer.

! ! ! !

On every platform in the United Kingdom the country is assured that we diabolical Tariff Reformers are about to re-introduce the hungry forties, ruin home industry, crush our export trade, fill our poorhouses, raise the price of bread,—and in general pillage the poor and plunder and oppress the helpless!

Well but all that being done and in process of doing! isn't it just possible that the people of this generation with so much to assist them that the people of a past generation had not,—School Board Education, Household Franchise, The Ballot, Old Age Pensions at 70, Graduated Income Tax, The Cobden Club, The Editor of the Spectator, The Present Cabinet, The Fourteen Professors, and so many other degrees and forms of stupidity, including their own,—isn't it just surely possible that they might all together by one heroic magnificent effort annihilate the folly of Tariff Reform and

reproduce for the second time in our national history that stupendous act of unparalleled stupidity,—The Introduction of Free Trade?

! ! ! !

Gentlemen, speaking to you quite seriously, I—I think it *could* be done. A nation that could take off so gaily as ours the other day did the Coal Tax

AND SEND SUCH A THUMPING LIBERALITY TO DO IT

! ! ! !

is fit for anything.

APPENDIX.

"PICTURES AND TARIFFS.

"Under the new American tariff works of art over twenty years old—that is, according to some critics, all the masterpieces—will be put on the free list. The concession excites mixed feelings (remarks the "Newcastle Journal"). As a consequence of the new arrangement a large number of the World's greatest works of art, which have been bought by American Millionaires and kept in England on account of the old duty, will now be shipped across the Atlantic. So long as these works remained in this country, there was a hope that some of our public galleries would ultimately receive them, but we fear that when once they get to America they will remain there permanently."

"DO IMPORT DUTIES RAISE PRICES?

"*To the Editor.*

SIR,—In my letter, published in your issue of the 20th of February, I exposed the false assumption of the "Cobden School," that an import duty must necessarily raise prices. I showed that experience proved that if the article is, or can be, one of home production, and if the duty be moderate, and not prohibitive, the imposition of a duty is generally followed by a fall in price; and I explained the reason of this fall.

I now forward a list of prices of fifty-six articles in common use in the United States at five different periods—1857, 1889, 1890 (the year of the M'Kinley Act), 1891 and 1906. The prices in 1857 were practically the same as those in 1860 (the year before the passing of the Morill Protective Act).

The prices of 1857, 1889, 1890, and 1891 were given in the *American Economist* of 2nd October, 1891, and they show that the fall of prices was immediate after the passing of the M'Kinley Act; and the prices in 1906, laid before the House of Representatives of the U.S.A., 21st May, 1908, by the Hon. Joseph Fordney, show that the fall has been permanent.

M. Thiers, in his speech of 22nd January, 1870, stated that a tariff on linen and cotton thread had reduced the price of a kilogramme of linen thread from 7 to 3½ francs, and that the price of cotton thread had been reduced in greater proportion. In introducing the tariff, M. Thiers said—"It is urged that all protection accorded to industries constitutes monopolies: and, to enrich a few monopolists, we burden the whole country. It is true there is a monopoly, but it is not in France,—it is in England. I say this little monopoly which you accord to French industry destroys the monopoly of foreign industry."

I am prepared to furnish you with innumerable instances in which the imposition of a tariff has been followed by a fall in prices. My letter of 27th March, 1907, to Lord Rosebery gave a number of cases in which the price of wheat had

fallen under a tariff: but I think that you will agree with me that further evidence on this subject would be like "flogging a dead horse."

GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH.

The Manor House, Bexley, Kent."

"The tables forwarded by Sir Guilford Molesworth are appended :—

Articles.	1857.	Oct. 1889.	Oct. 1890.	Sept. 1891.	1906.
	$	$	$	$	$
Axe, ...	1.49	0.95	0.92	0.88	0.90
Binding Twine, lb., ...		0.14¼	0.14½	0.11	—
Blankets, pair, ...	6.83½	4.23	3.09½	3.70	3.70
Blue Shirting, yard ...	0.17¾	0.11½	0.11	0.09½	0.09
Boots, ...	4.76	3.27	3.07	2.78¾	2.56
Calico, yard, ...	0.14½	0.07½	0.06¾	0.06	0.06
Carpets, yard, ...	1.30¾	0.77½	0.72¼	0.66½	0.50
Cotton Gloves, ...	0.34¾	0.24¾	0.22⅔	0.19½	0.20
Cotton Hosiery, ...	0.47	0.25¾	0.25½	0.20½	0.25
Cotton Knit Goods, ...	0.98	0.52¼	0.46½	0.41½	0.40
Cotton Thread Spool, ...	0.09½	0.05	0.04¾	0.04½	0.05
Crowbar, lb., ...	0.11½	0.07½	0.06¾	0.06½	0.06
Drawing Chains, pair,	1.28½	0.71½	0.65½	0.58½	0.58
File, ...	0.42	0.27½	0.24	0.20½	0.20
Fork, 3-tined, ...	0.99½	0.56¾	0.52¼	0.46½	0.46
Flannel, yard, ...	0.70	0.39¾	0.37¾	0.34¾	0.34
Fruit Cans, per doz., ...	3.00	0.72	0.65	0.54½	0.60
Gingham, yard, ...	0.22⅔	0.10¾	0.10½	0.08¾	0.09
Hand Saw, ...	2.43½	1.62½	0.53	1.39	1.39
Hoe, ...	0.85	0.48½	0.43	0.37½	0.37
Hemp Rope, lb., ...	0.21	0.14	0.14¾	0.11½	0.11
Linen, yard, ...	0.83	0.48½	0.47	0.42½	0.42
Mowing Machine, ...	121.15	56.98	52.60	47.10	45.00
Nails, Wire, lb., ...	—	0.05	0.04½	0.03¾	0.03
Nails, Iron, lb., ...	0.08½	0.03¾	0.03½	0.03	—
Oilcloth, yard, ...	0.84	0.38	0.35½	0.31	0.31
Overalls, ...	1.20½	0.83¾	0.79½	0.70½	0.71
Pearl Buttons, doz., ...	0.22½	0.11½	0.11⅔	0.13¾	0.14
Pins, Paper, ...	0.11½	0.06¾	0.06½	0.05¾	0.06
Plough, ...	20.12½	14.37½	13.93½	12.90	12.00
Rake, Horse, ...	41.25	22.56¾	21.24½	19.40¾	19.41
Reaper and Binder, ...	247.85	142.36	129.85	115.95	116.00
Rubber Boots, ...	4.83½	3.10¾	3.00	2.73½	2.74
Salt, lb., ...	2.30	1.75	1.65	1.38	1.38
Shoes, ...	5.84	3.45	3.15	3.06	3.50
Sheeting, yard, ...	0.12¾	0.08	0.07⅔	0.06¾	0.06
Shovel, ...	1.47	0.97½	0.93⅔	0.80½	0.80
Spade, ...	1.44½	0.96¾	0.95¾	0.84	0.84

Articles.	1857.	Oct. 1889.	Oct. 1890.	Sept. 1891.	1906.
	$	$	$	$	$
Starch, lb., ...	0.13½	0.09¾	0.09¾	0.09½	0.10
Straw Hat, good. ...	1.75	1.28	1.25	1.10	1.10
Straw Hat, common. ...	0.44	0.31	0.28	0.23¼	0.23
Sugar, lb., granulated.	0.19¼	0.09¾	0.09½	0.05½	0.05
Sugar, lb., brown. ...	0.16¼	0.08½	0.08	0.04½	0.04
Sugar Bowl, ...	0.61	0.38½	0.37½	0.32¼	0.32
Scythe, ...	1.22	0.85½	0.74½	0.68¾	0.68
Tin Dipper.	0.25	0.12¼	0.11½	0.10¼	0.10
Tin Milk Pail.	0.75½	0.46¾	0.43¼	0.39¾	0.39
Tin Milk Pan.	0.37½	0.18½	0.17½	0.15½	0.15
Ticking, yard, ...	0.35½	0.20	0.18¾	0.17	0.17
Waggon, ...	130.00	95.00	90.00	75.00	75.00
Washboard, ...	0.41	0.24½	0.24	0.22¾	0.22
Washtub, ...	1.20	0.70½	0.65	0.65	0.65
Wheelbarrow, ...	2.23	1.65	1.60	1.40	1.40
Wooden Pails, ...	0.45	0.24½	0.22	0.20½	0.20
Woollen Clothing. ...	24.00	16.75	14.50	14.25	10.00

"It may be interesting also to reprint Sir Guilford Molesworth's letter to Lord Rosebery respecting his Lordship's speech at a Liberal League meeting in March two years ago--

'The Manor House, Bexley, Kent,
March 27, 1907.

Dear Lord Rosebery,—Allow me to congratulate you on your vigorous and outspoken "croak from the withered branch." I trust that you will hop on to a sound branch before the withered one breaks under you.

There appears to be only one obstacle to your so doing, and that is one which a careful study of facts would at once remove. It is based on the mistaken assumption that a tax on food stuffs must increase their price. Experience has proved that this is not the case. The price of corn is generally regulated by that which may be termed the "world's level of prices," a level due to the general conditions of exchange, currency, transport and production. Tariffs, in their direct action, have but little influence on prices, unless they are excessive or prohibitory. Under a well regulated system of moderate import duties there is an action tending to the equalisation of prices in different countries, and this is maintained by constant telegraphic communication of brokers with the principal markets of the world. A few examples will suffice. The Committee of the Belgian House of Representatives, in their report of 1886, stated that on several occasions on which duties were imposed on wheat the price thereafter fell, and when the duty was abolished it rose, except in one instance. Again, in a consular report, dated 14th May, 1883, Sir E. Malet wrote—

> 'Eight years' experience has shown that the higher duties introduced in 1879 had been attended with the most successful results fiscally, but they had failed as protective duties—that is, they failed to raise the price of wheat—prices had fallen instead of rising.'

Again, Mr. Vansittart, Consul at Wurtemberg, reported in 1888—

'Since the addition of the duties, all kinds of grain were cheaper than ever.'

In 1888 the duty on wheat in Italy was raised from 1 franc per quintal to 4 francs, and practically the price of bread remained unchanged, the tendency being rather to a fall than a rise, although large quantities of foreign wheat were imported into Italy. Similar results ensued in Germany in 1892, when the duty was raised, and the price of wheat fell 9 per cent. Also in France in 1895, when the duty was raised and the price of bread fell 7 per cent.

Again, when the duty of 1s. a quarter was imposed in Great Britain in 1902 the price of imported wheat fell slightly, and it was only after this useful tax had been wantonly flung away by Mr. Ritchie's economic pedantry that the price of wheat rose. A valuable source of revenue was thus foolishly sacrificed, and the burden of taxation, which had been borne by the foreigner, was transferred to the British taxpayer without a single compensating advantage.

Of course, if the duty be so heavy as to be prohibitive, the price will rise in times of scarcity, as was the case when a duty of 12s. 6d. was imposed in France at a time when the "outside level of prices" was as low as 27s. or 28s.

Yours faithfully, GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH.'"

"EFFECT OF PATENTS LAW.

"GERMAN FIRM BEGINS WORK IN ENGLAND.

"The first factory to begin operations in England under the new Patents Act started yesterday near Penzance. A German firm has installed plant in premises formerly used for tin smelting to manufacture a patent food.

Besides the employment of many hands, large contracts have been entered into with agriculturalists in the district to supply separated milk, and this will undoubtedly stimulate the dairy industry in the neighbourhood."

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
Los Angeles
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

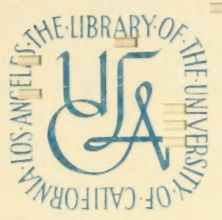
REC'D LD-URL
LD-URL FEB 17 1969
FEB 19 1969

Form L9–25*m*-8,'46(9852)444

UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA
AT
LOS ANGELES

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
AA 001 007 311 2

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS BOOK CARD



University Research Library

CALL NUMBER
SER
VOL
PT
COP
AUTHOR
TF2015 .W33C

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 5
IBM L302 02